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MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE
ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

WITH LISTS OF MONUMENTS
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

BY
ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER

VOLUME II
NORMANDY AND THE ILE DE FRANCE

NEW YORK
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MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

CHAPTER VII

ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ILE DE FRANCE

HISTORICAL conditions of the Ile de France in the XI century were in sharp contrast to those of Normandy, where the concentrated monarchy and the reformed church proved so favorable to the development of architecture at the same period. In the royal domain, the XI century was the age of feudalism, a time when the powerlessness of the Capetian monarch reduced the land to practical anarchy. It was above all the age of the degradation of the Church. Yet the historian, who possesses the great advantage of knowing what was to come after, can easily see that this age was all the while paving the way for the great economic advances of the XII century, and amid the darkness, he is consequently able to trace occasional flashes of the coming light. Architecture, however, reflected only the darkness; light was still in the future tense, and the material development of art is always influenced by the present or even by the past, rather than by the future.

The XI century was, then, in general, an age of lawless feudalism. The Capetian king, sitting on his hollow throne, offered a strange spectacle of mingled misery and grandeur. The impotent monarch, notwithstanding the pomp of his title and the prestige of his office, was totally unable to cope with the lawless feudal lords who ran riot in the land. Fearless of the king's authority these barons pillaged and burnt at will, and racked the land with all the horrors of petty warfare. The very excess of this feudal tyranny and oppression, however, at last roused the indignation of the people, and thus was kindled that spark of popular loyalty and democracy, which in the XII

century burst into so brilliant a flame, and enabled the Capetian king to subdue and bring to order one after another of the great lords.

Such political conditions were inevitably reflected in the Church. At the beginning of the XI century simony was everywhere rampant; many bishopries had even become the hereditary patrimony of ducal or noble families, and were used as a provision for younger sons or bastards. In Gascony a single baron possessed no less than eight bishopries, and passed them on to his heir,[1] while in the Ile de France matters seem to have been not much better.

Under such abuse it was natural that the episcopacy should lose its temporal power, and the authority of the bishops was still further weakened by the claims of the popes, which assumed such prominence about the middle of the century, and by the constant struggle of the abbeys to gain independence. The spiritual authority of the bishops, on the other hand, was endangered by the very fact that the episcopacy had become feudal, since prelates, who were also great lords and landed proprietors, naturally transferred their energies from ecclesiastical to secular affairs.

This decadence of the episcopacy did not appear everywhere, it is true, in the same degree. In one see the bishop was scarcely to be distinguished from a baron; in another he preserved something of his spiritual character, his independence, and his dignity. But everywhere the episcopacy had become largely feudal. In the Carolingian epoch the king had named the bishops, and the palace had ruled the Church; but now the Capetian had kept his authority only over the bishopries of Sens, Reims, Lyon, Tours, and Bourges.[2] Everywhere else, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Aquitaine, or in Languedoc, the duke or count had supplanted the king. The bishop elect paid the local feudal lord homage, and by this very fact the majority of bishopries were transformed into fiefs, and the bishop into a feudal personage, with all the obligations of a vassal.

Here again, however, the very degradation of the Church caused a reaction, for the danger which menaced Christianity

[1] Lavisse, *Histoire de la France* II[1], 111. [2] Lavisse, *op cit.* II[1], 108.

became so apparent, that in certain monasteries and at Rome there came into being a current of opinion destined to sweep over all Europe as the Gregorian reform. To tear the bishops from the temporal interests which absorbed them, from the feudal customs that debased them, to prevent the clergy from becoming secular, — this was the program of the first phase of the Cluniac movement.[1]

It was in the last half of the XI century that the question of reform first became burning. Leo IX (1049–54) summoned a great council at Reims. This, the first alliance of Pope and monasteries for the purpose of reform, attacked simony and especially the simony of bishops, several of whom were deposed. Everything depended upon the attitude which the bishops should assume in answer to these measures. In fact, the episcopacy was divided as to the course to be pursued. A few bishops quietly acquiesced in the Cluniac program; the vast majority, however, remained faithful to the traditions and interests of the episcopal body, and demanded the maintenance of old conditions. When the character of the episcopacy is considered, the wonder is, not that the majority of the bishops sided with the old régime, but that any accepted the ideas of Cluny.

If the bishops were divided on the question of the Gregorian reform, the monastic world in overwhelming majority was ultramontane. There could be only one result. France became in the second half of the XI century the scene of a desperate battle between the non-reforming bishops and the abbots. This strife of the two clergies, the secular and the regular, was only an incident of an antagonism as long as their existence; but never, before nor after, did the quarrel degenerate into such open warfare. On both sides recourse was had to physical violence. Other powers entered the lists: the papacy and the reforming bishops backed the cause of the abbots; the party of the non-reforming bishops was supported by the king and the feudal lords, that is, by those laymen who did not wish to be deprived of their power over the Church.

This position of the king on the side opposed to reform is

[1] Lavisse, *op. cit.* II [1], 108.

noteworthy. At the beginning of the XI century the Capetian monarchs had firmly believed in the religious superiority of the monks, and they had admired the efforts of certain reformers, notably the abbots of Cluny, to introduce into the cloister of the order, the regularity, the discipline of the ascetic ideal. In consequence they had been inclined to favor the monasteries and even to increase their power by emancipating them from the control of the bishops. Furthermore, in addition to this purely altruistic preference, the kings were not slow to perceive that the royal authority had much more to fear from the power of the bishops than from that of the abbots. Thus under Robert I (996–1031) the monarchy became openly the champion of the monks, and defended them against their enemies. The episcopal body complained bitterly against this partiality, as is witnessed by a satirical poem Adalbéron, bishop of Laon.[1]

The extreme pretensions of the pope, however, at last tried the patience of the Capetians, and forced them to support the non-reforming bishops. Still this support was always half-hearted, and after a time the king changed back again to his original position on the side of the monks. His temporary aid, however, enabled the bishops to prolong the strife up to the very end of the XI century (1099).

Although king and bishop might join forces to oppose, they were powerless to prevent the popes from founding their universal monarchy over the consciences of Christians and over the Christian Church. All the Middle Ages had been tending towards this end. From the days of Charlemagne, the papacy had been steadily undermining the episcopal power, both from above by opposing the claims to power of the archbishops, and from below by favoring the independence of the chapters and abbeys. The clergy of France, with some few exceptions, ended by yielding to the irresistible force which concentrated at Rome all the thoughts and all the energies of the religious world.

The condition of the French Church in the XI century was therefore one of strife and turmoil — a state of affairs far differ-

[1] Lavisse, *op. cit.* II,[1] 119.

ent from that which prevailed in the Church of Normandy, where the alliance of duke, pope, and monk had downed the reactionary bishops almost without a struggle, and had secured the triumph of reform half a century earlier than the Cluniac ideas were established in France. Nor were French ecclesiastical conditions analogous to those which prevailed at the same time in the Empire, where emperor was pitted against pope, Germany against Italy, and the German episcopacy as a rule backed the emperor. In France the struggle took on more of a civil character, it became a battle between two internal factions of the French Church, fought to the bitter end at a time when the pope was too busily engaged with the Empire to be able to intefere effectually, and when the king was too half-hearted to exert all his power on one side or on the other.

This civil, internal strife, although doubtless far less dramatic than the spectacular struggle of the Empire and the Papacy with its climax at Canossa, was yet in its way no less vital and exhausting. It is, therefore, not surprising that the French Church had no resources left for magnificent building, and that French art remains up to the very end of the XI century faltering and obscure, the most timid of all the schools of Romanesque Europe.

Thus between feudal anarchy and the schism in the Church, architecture found little sustenance in the Ile de France during this period. There were, however, a certain number of circumstances favoring the growth of art. Although the fruit of these was fully reaped only in the XII century, the foundations were laid during the Romanesque period. The most important of all these favoring causes was the enormous growth of religious enthusiasm, — an enthusiasm that found expression in the Cluniac reform, which it stimulated and by which it was in turn itself stimulated, but that attained its most striking manifestation in the First Crusade (1096) — "gesta Dei per Francos." Familiar as is the story of the expedition, it is difficult for us to-day to grasp the depth of religious feeling, the exalted faith, the hysteria, that lay behind this extraordinary movement. We of the XX century cannot comprehend the

fanaticism so blind and yet so sublime, that sent a quarter of the population of Europe to face nearly certain death in the Holy Land. But the crusade was only a beginning. In the XII and XIII centuries there ensued other miracles of faith that almost equaled this, the supreme miracle. It is significant that the First Crusade was preëminently a French achievement; already France was assuming that supremacy in religious fervor and intellectual activity that she maintained so proudly throughout the later Middle Ages.

Another manifestation of the religious feeling of the age is to be found in two mystic institutions of the period, the Peace of God, and the Truce of God, both ideas essentially French which soon spread over all Europe. The Peace of God aimed at protecting from violence certain classes of victims, whom it was forbidden to harm at any time in the course of warfare. The Truce of God, on the other hand, forbade all warfare during certain periods rigidly fixed. Both institutions tended to curb the violence of the feudal lords and add to the economic prosperity of the country.

While the religious sense was thus awakening, there were not lacking signs of an intellectual revival even as early as the XI century. Berengar, the first great heretic and free thinker, died in 1088. During the XI century were founded most of the schools of the Ile de France that were afterwards to attain such fame: — Reims, Chartres, Laon, Angers, Paris, and Orléans.

Similarly, intercommunication developed in the XI century to a most surprising degree. There was constant circulation not only between the various parts of France, but between France and foreign nations. This society, that it is traditional to picture as a sort of frozen skeleton, was in reality constantly in motion. The cities had their merchants who were continually sailing up and down the rivers of France, and who journeyed into far countries by sea or by land to sell or buy their wares. Before the XI century the merchants of Normandy had swarmed over Britain; those of Flanders and Lorraine frequented the markets of Germany and even those of Italy and Spain. The clergy were always traveling, moving hither

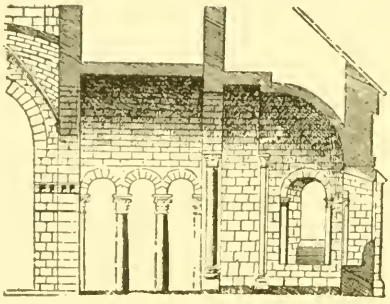
and thither on various missions, or to attend councils of the Church. The relations, ever becoming closer, which bound the higher clergy to the court of Rome, tended to make it obligatory for each prelate to journey at least once to the See of St. Peter; and those clerks who were intelligent or ambitious went to attend the monastic or episcopal schools distinguished for learning, for any priest who wished to rise must follow the lessons of the masters at Orléans, or Paris, or Angers, or Reims, or Bec, or Poitiers, or Cluny. The peasants and serfs now free, or half free, were no longer attached to the soil, and many of them wandered here and there seeking the work of clearing or cultivating land. These laborers who went from one place to another offering their services to the highest bidder formed a regularly recognized social class and are called in contemporary documents "guests" (*hospites*, *habitatores*) or "strangers" (*convenae*, *advenae*, *pulvera*, *albani*). Thus not only France, but all Europe, was in constant motion, and an idea discovered in one place, was not slow to make its way everywhere.

To the XI century belong the beginnings of the corporations or merchant guilds of the Middle Ages. In the cities the workmen of certain trades began to unite in brotherhoods of a religious character. Not being able to count on the protection of their feudal lords, they gradually came to acquire the habit of defending themselves, and for this end they often lived in the same street or quarter. Thus the workmen grouped together in the same section of the town according to their trade, commenced to form corporations at first directed and watched over by the officers of the bishop or lord. These corporations, little by little, became more independent until they acquired the power to elect their own chiefs and make their own rules, but this movement culminated only in the XII century.

Architecture in the XI century was weaker in the royal domain than elsewhere in France. Since there is extant of this period not a single monument of size, we are forced to judge of its progress and character as best we may from the few unimportant country churches that have come down to us.

Fortunately, these documents, though very few and small, are unusually well dated, and show quite clearly the development of the style during at least the last half of the XI century. They have also been studied and published with exceptional care, so that the chronology of this architecture offers less difficulty than that of many more important styles.

Before studying the school of the Ile de France itself, it is worth while to glance at the characteristics of certain of its near neighbors. There was a constant interchange of influence between the various schools of Romanesque France, and it is impossible to study intelligently the progress of any one without knowing something of what was going on next door. Now the



Ill. 154. — Section of Choir of Genouilly.
(From De Kersers)

Ile de France lay geographically midway between Normandy and the South; and in fact its Romanesque architecture was half way between the styles of Normandy and of several of the Southern schools, and borrowed peculiarities now from one, now from the other of these two sources.

Of the features borrowed from the South the most important was the ambulatory, a construction which, we have seen, had been employed at Tours and Le Mans in the Carolingian era, but which never appeared in Normandy before the Gothic period. In the Ile de France itself the ambulatory does not occur before the XII century, but it was frequently employed during the XI century in the neighboring Southern schools. In Auvergne it became a regular characteristic of the local style, with the peculiarity, however, that the radiating absidioles are

Ill. 155. — North Aisle of Morienval

even, instead of odd, in number, so that none is placed on the axis. In the school of Berry, there are one or two examples of XI century ambulatories, and still further north, in the département of Loiret, on the very edge of the French Romanesque style, there is an excellent example at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. The primitive cathedral of Chartres seems also to have been supplied with an ambulatory.

Thus the tradition of an ambulatory was kept alive just outside the border of the Ile de France, and must have been perfectly familiar to the builders of the royal domain, when in the XII century they were ready to take up the motive and give it so surprising a development.

No school of architecture is more closely related to the Romanesque of the Ile de France than that of Berry, whose monuments, for the most part small, have been made accessible in large part through the systematic labors of M. de Kersers. The most striking peculiarity of the school is perhaps the treatment of the choir, which regularly consists of three aisles, each terminating in an apse. These aisles are separated not by piers but by round slender columns bearing arches (Ill. 154), — an arrangement which became so traditional that even where the side aisles are omitted a reminiscence of the usual design is preserved in arcades built along the choir walls. This peculiarity in the design of the choir is also frequently found in the Ile de France.

The second prominent characteristic of the churches of Berry is the use of the barrel vault, which was employed almost invariably in the choir and transepts, apparently from the very earliest years of the XI century.[1] These barrel vaults were in the XI century semicircular; but at Pleinpied there is a pointed barrel vault in a church which appears to be authentically dated 1080–92, and in the XII century the pointed barrel vault was regularly employed in Berry. Now barrel vaults

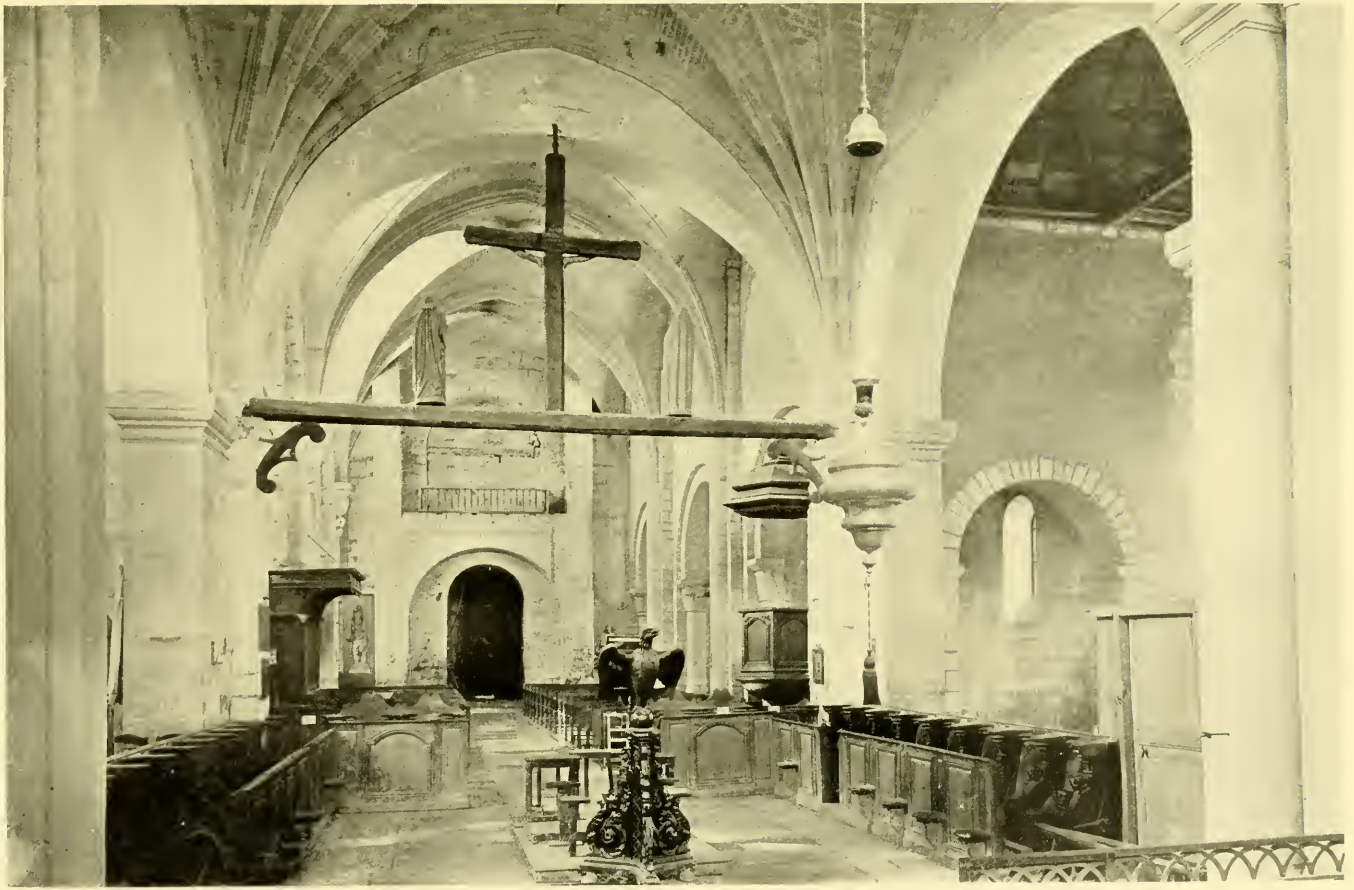
[1] The chronology of the monuments of Berry is not at all clear, owing to the unfortunate lack of documentary evidence. It is certain, however, that the school was advanced; if its monuments are small, they yet show skilful technique and execution. M. de Kersers has unfortunately not given the chronology of these churches the study it deserves. I do not hesitate, however, to follow him in assigning St. Aoustrille and other barrel-vaulted choirs to before the year 1050.

are characteristic of the royal school in the second half of the XI century; and the earliest pointed arch that has come down to us in the Ile de France dates from at least twenty years later than the vaults of Pleinpied. Consequently it seems probable that both these features were borrowed from Berry by the French builders.[1]

In other respects the churches of the Cher differed radically from those of the Ile de France, or even borrowed from the latter school. Buttresses for the nave vaults seem seldom to have been provided, since the small size of most of the buildings enabled the masons to raise a barrel vault even above a clearstory without danger. In a few churches, however, half barrel vaults thrown across the aisles were made to abut the great vaults of the nave, — an arrangement entirely analogous to the dispositions of St. Sernin of Toulouse (Ill. 130). Pilaster strips marked the bays externally, and were often very salient even at an early period. The crossing was covered usually with a dome or an octagonal cloistered vault on squinches or even on pendentives. These domes were a thoroughly Lombard feature and one never adopted in the Ile de France. The transept was almost universal in Berry even in the smallest churches; on the other hand, the nave was often of a single aisle, even when there were three aisles in the choir. Transeptal absidioles were well-nigh universal. The central tower was frequently placed on piers falling within the nave walls, thus leaving a passage from the nave directly into the transept.

The character and execution of the ornament in Berry was usually inferior to contemporary work elsewhere. The chief elements were the chevron and chipped zig-zag, both perhaps imported from Normandy; the billet moulding and engaged arcade of Carolingian tradition; the flat and arched corbel-tables with grotesque carvings, derived (perhaps indirectly) from Lombardy. The flora, on the other hand, was either native or derived from the neighboring schools of the South. While there is a continuous and marked progress in ornamentation, this art always remained backward, and the portals in especial, even in the XII century, show nothing to rival the magnificent

[1] Horseshoe arches occur in Berry at Charenton, Limeux, and Vesdun.



Ill. 156. — Nave of Morienval

doorways of England, Normandy, Lombardy, or Provence. The survival of classic tradition in Berry, as throughout the south of France, led to a certain awkwardness in the proportions of capitals and columns.

The façades of Berry were usually characterized by a Greek cross, placed in the gable, and by the peculiar portals which were often flanked by two blind arches, the whole being built out into a sort of edicule submerging the buttresses. Towers were for the most part without character or interest, and form a sorry contrast to those of Normandy or of the Ile de France. About the middle of the XII century they came to be placed at the west end, instead of over the crossing. Rib vaults were unknown until the middle of the XII century, when they were introduced from the Ile de France at Angy-sur-l'Aubois. Square east ends were never built before the XIII century.

Before the year 1100, the school of the royal domain remained far weaker than even its modest neighbor of Berry. The direct heir of Carolingian tradition, it seems to have preserved unaltered during the first half of the XI century the Carolingian forms in all their crudity. Four monuments have come down to us that may be ascribed to this epoch;[1] they are all characterized by the use of rectangular piers and archivolts of a single order, and are constructed of rubble or herring-bone masonry with a minimum of ornament. Vaults were used only in the half-dome of the apse. In a word, the whole structure shows but the slightest advance[2] over such a monument as the Basse Oeuvre. It is interesting that one of these monuments of the first half of the XI century — the chapel at Filain — has a square east end. About the middle of the XI century, certain innovations were introduced. The archivolts were built in two orders (Ill. 155, 156) instead of in one, and to support this second order a colonnette was engaged at either end of the pier (Ill. 155, 156). This arrangement which became very typical of the Ile de France persisted into the XII

[1] Filain (Aisne), St.-Remi-l'Abbaye (Oise), Sarron (Oise), and Rue-St.-Pierre (Oise).

[2] The prevailing opinion that the size of the windows is a sure test of the age of a Romanesque structure is erroneous. The size of the windows seems to have been purely arbitrary.

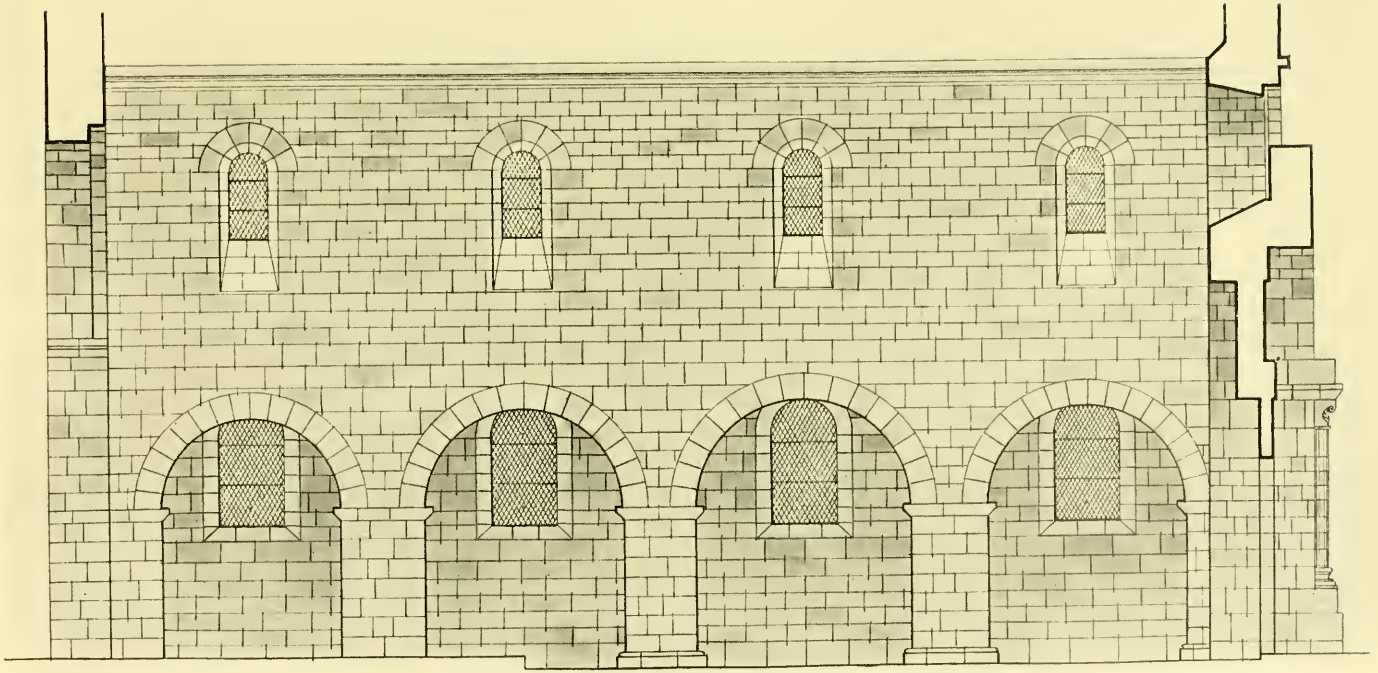
century. The barrel vault [1] also appeared in the second half of the XI century, being employed over the choir and crossing, and even over the transepts, although at this period the nave was never vaulted. About the same time the groin vault came into use (Ill. 155). Employed timidly at first, and only in the side aisles (as at Rhuis, c. 1050), by the end of the century it had been used at Trouquoy to vault even the great choir. In the side aisles it was regularly constructed with transverse ribs (Ill. 155). The plan in general preserved throughout the XI century its Carolingian characteristics — transeptal absidioles, and a choir lengthened at most one bay.

About the year 1075 shafts engaged on the faces of the piers appeared in the Ile de France (Ill. 156). These shafts were probably borrowed from Normandy, although the French builders of this time were undoubtedly acquainted with the architectural achievements of Lombardy. We have seen that the Norman builders borrowed the engaged shaft together with the alternate system from Lombardy, but rejected the transverse arch.[2] At the Abbaye-aux-Dames they had applied the engaged shaft to a uniform system. Now the fact that in the Ile de France the engaged shaft was always employed in connection with a uniform system (the alternate system never occurs in the royal domain at the period [3]) seems to prove that this feature was derived from Normandy rather than from Lombardy direct. Although engaged shafts were never as universally adopted in the Ile de France as in Normandy — the old flat type of pier persisted in perhaps the majority of buildings (Ill. 157) — yet the use of shafts was frequent, and examples may be found at Morienval (Ill. 156), St.-Thibaud-de-Bazoches, Berny, Rivière, etc. Most singular of all, in certain monuments (Berny, Rivière, and St.-Léger-aux-Bois) analogous shafts are engaged on the aisle side of the piers. This curious construc-

[1] *e. g.* at Rhuis, Montlevon, etc.

[2] How extended was Lombard influence is proved by the fact that at a later period the Ile de France borrowed these transverse arches besides many other motives from Lombardy. Such transverse arches are found at Béthisy-St.-Martin, Trucy, Vailly, and Cerny-en-Laonnais. Examples are also found at Lavardin (Loire-et-Cher) dating from the XI century.

[3] The earliest example of the alternate system in the Ile de France occurs at Melun c. 1100.



Ill. 157. — Section of Nave, Rhuis. (Redrawn from Lefèvre-Pontalis)

tion is also Norman, and occurs at Notre Dame-sur-l'Eau of Domfront.[1]

But little ornament was employed, generally speaking, in the French Romanesque monuments of the XI century (Ill. 157). Most interesting, however, is the use of griffes (Ill. 155) which must have been derived from Lombardy. Chevrons and dog-tooths do not occur in the XI century. The capitals have usually a great volute under each angle of the abacus (Ill. 155); the bases have an attic profile. The roped moulding is common. Arched corbel-tables usually have a triangular form peculiar to this region — a good example of this ornament may be found at St. Baudry, Aisne. Arcades are used especially towards the end of the century. The single ornamental innovation introduced in this period was the plated ribbon moulding whose character is clear from the reproduction (Ill. 197). This motive, peculiar to the Ile de France, assumed great prominence in the XII century.

ROMANESQUE MONUMENTS OF THE ILE DE FRANCE

Monuments of the First Class

MORIENVAL, Oise. *Abbaye Notre Dame.* (Ill. 155, 156, 164, 186.) This monument offers the best extant example of two crucial periods in the history of architecture — the Romanesque of the XI century and the first phase of the transition. The Romanesque church, as restored by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, consisted of a nave three bays long; of two side aisles returned across the western front so as to form an interior narthex, over the central bay of which rose a western tower; of transepts with eastern absidioles; and of a choir, a single bay long, ending in a semicircular apse and flanked by two towers, whose lower stories formed a lateral chamber opening off the transepts. The piers separating the aisles were square with four engaged shafts, one on each face: the shafts facing the nave were continued as a system to the roof, although the main body of the church was not vaulted, but covered with timber; those at the ends of the piers supported the second order of the archivolts; those towards the side aisles, the transverse ribs of the groin vaults with which these aisles were covered. The transepts had a timber roof, as did the crossing; the choir was covered with a round barrel vault, and the apse with a half-dome.

[1] M. Lefèvre-Pontalis finds no indications that the Romanesque monuments of the Ile de France were affected by foreign influence. — *Architecture religieuse dans l'ancien diocèse de Soissons*, passim.

Of this church there remains to-day only the three towers, portions of the piers of the crossing, and the piers on the north side of the nave. The aisle vaults have been entirely reconstructed, but doubtless on the original plan, for the section of the piers shows that transverse arches existed in the north aisle, and certain débris found in 1853 proves that the intermediate spaces were groin-vaulted. Whether these vaults were contemporary with the original church is open to question, but probable. Since the vaults must have been erected on an oblong plan, the restorers have probably made no error in doming the crowns. While there is no documentary evidence for the date of the XI century building, archaeologists are agreed in assigning it to the last half of the XI century, and I should place it c. 1080. At all events, early in the XII century important works of reconstruction were begun, the old apse being replaced by the now world-famous ambulatory. Since the old towers of the XI century edifice prevented access to this ambulatory from the side aisles, and since the ambulatory itself was extremely narrow — the distance between the piers is only 0.65 meters, or about two feet — this structure must have been added solely to provide room for additional altars. The ambulatory, which comprises in all four bays, is semicircular in plan and separated from the choir by round columns; its interest centers in the rib vaults erected on a curved plan — the earliest known example of such a construction. These vaults are characterized by imperfectly pointed transverse arches, by pointed arcade arches, and by much depressed wall ribs. The curved form given in plan to the diagonal ribs seems to show an effort to avoid the extreme one-sided position of the longitudinal ridge which would have resulted had they been straight. The date of this ambulatory has been endlessly discussed.[1] No one believes any longer in the old attribution to c. 1080. M. Anthyme St. Paul has recently brought forward a text which relates that new relics were acquired by the church in 1122; he plausibly suggests that the ambulatory was built to accommodate these. M. Enlart seems inclined to agree with this hypothesis, but M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns c. 1110 as the latest date possible.[2] I am inclined to accept the theory of M. St. Paul. The high vaults of the choir were reconstructed about the same time (1122), the straight bay being covered with a rib vault (which still survives) and the chevet with a ribbed half-dome. This ribbed half-dome was subsequently (about the middle of the XIV century) replaced by the present polygonal chevet with radiating rib vault. Thus this part of the choir was in all three times remodeled. The remainder of the church has also been much altered: the great chapel of the transept was added in 1240; in 1652

[1] See Bibliography.

[2] Since these words were written there has appeared a new contribution to the "Morienval question." In the course of restorations executed in 1901 the bases of the columns of the chevet were excavated. These proved that the apse of the XII century church was furnished with ribs. It is impossible to suppose that the ribbed half-dome was not erected at the same time as the rib vault of the straight bay of the choir. The demolition of the XI century barrel vault which preceded the original apse was a consequence of the reconstruction of the chevet with ambulatory in the XII century, for this vault could not be adjusted to a pointed half-dome of higher level. Therefore M. Lefèvre-Pontalis concludes that his former hypotheses are disproved, and that the chevet and its vaults, both of the ambulatory and the choir, were rebuilt at a single time between the years 1120 and 1130.

the abbess Anne III Foucault vaulted the nave and the crossing; and in the XVII century the southern side of the nave and the south side aisle were also reconstructed.

Monuments of the Third Class

RHUIS, Oise. *Église* (Ill. 157, 158) consists of a nave, two side aisles terminating to the eastward in rectangular walls, a choir, and a semicircular apse. A plaster vault now occupies the place of the timber roof which formerly surmounted the nave; the apse retains its half-dome; the eastern bay of the north aisle is covered with a groin vault, undomed, evidently contemporary with the nave; the eastern bay of the south aisle is surmounted by a rib vault, also undomed, clearly an addition to the original structure since the ribs are carried on corbels; and the remainder of the side aisles are roofed in timber, as they always have been. The plain rectangular piers carry unmoulded arches of a single order, and the walls above are broken only by small clearstory windows. The exterior is notable chiefly for the tower — perhaps the oldest in the Ile de France or Picardy — and for the apse adorned with shafted windows and flat corbel-tables. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns the main body of the church, together with the groin vault of the north aisle to the middle of the XI century; but the rib vault of the south aisle he believes dates from the first years of the XII century.[1] (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 211; Moore, 50.)

BINSON, Marne. *Prieuré.* "In the year of the incarnation of the Word, 1069, while Odabric, prévôt of the church of Reims was renovating this altar, he found beneath it the sarcophagus of the blessed virgin Posenne, parts of whose body were within, where they had been placed in former times; and as he had found it, so he replaced it in the same spot."[2] The restorations referred to in this inscription must have included the construction of the present choir whose style indicates the last half of the XI century. The existing nave, roofed in timber, is clearly later than the choir, and may be assigned to the first years of the XII century. The edifice consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a choir flanked by lateral chambers, and three eastern apses. Pilasters are engaged on the lateral faces of the piers to support the extra orders of the archivolts, but there is no system. The transepts, choir, and crossing are barrel-vaulted; the apses are surmounted by half-domes. To support the weight of the central tower, the north nave wall is carried across the transept, unbroken save for two little archways. The southern transept, whose vault is perpendicular to that of the crossing, opens on this part of the building by a round arch in two orders. The choir deviates to the north. Externally the church is notable for the tower of the XII century, the apse decorated with engaged arcades, and the bases supplied with griffes. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 179.)

Other Monuments

BERNY-RIVIÈRE, Aisne. *St. Martin* consists of a nave preceded by a nar-

[1] Vide infra, p. 58.

[2] "Anno incarnati verbi mil sexag VIIII renovante Odabrico Remsis. ecce. pposito. hoc altare invenit subt. sarcofagu. beate Posinne virginis cu. particula corporis eius [quod interiu]s fuerat priscis tepor[ibus. depositum] atamen ut inpvenit ita [in eodem loco] recondidit." — Cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 180.

thex tower, two side aisles ending in absidioles, and a semicircular apse. In the XI century the nave was entirely roofed in timber; but in 1552 rib vaults — which, however, have been replaced by modern imitations — were erected underneath the tower and in the western bay. Colonnettes are engaged on all four faces of the piers: those facing the nave are continued to form an unmeaning system; those at the ends of the piers carry the second order of the archivolts; those facing the side aisles are continued to form a buttress to the exterior clearstory wall — a singular disposition paralleled in the Norman church of Notre Dame-sur-l'Eau of Domfront. The choir is barrel-vaulted; its windows are shafted. With the exception of the tower of the XVII century, the construction is assigned to the last years of the XI century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 177.)

ST.-LÉGER-AUX-BOIS, Oise. *Prieuré.* A royal charter of 1083 ceded to the abbey of Gérault the revenues, the right of justice, and the usage of the forest of Laigue. Five monks established themselves in this solitude, and built the present priory, which consequently cannot have been erected before 1083, although the style of the architecture shows that the construction must have been finished before the end of the XI century. The nave, five bays long, is flanked by two side aisles; the transepts project; the church terminates to the eastward in three semicircular apses, each preceded by a short rectangular bay. The apses are covered with half-domes, and the compartments which precede them are barrel-vaulted; the other portions of the church, — nave, side aisles, transepts, and crossing, — are entirely roofed in timber. A pilaster, which supports nothing, is engaged on the aisle sides of the rectangular piers. The crossing is characterized by four great arches opening on the nave, the choir, and either transept. A window of the façade is shafted, and adorned with a very elementary moulding; the windows of the apse are also similarly moulded. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 226.)

NOËL-ST.-MARTIN, (near Villeneuve-sur-Verberie), Oise. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave and an apse. This construction dated from the last half of the XI century. About the middle of the XII century each of the nave walls was pierced with two round arches, and side aisles were added. These side aisles, however, were later destroyed and the arches again walled up. The present crossing, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, was constructed on the site of the primitive apse c. 1135; it is covered with an abnormally stilted rib vault with wall ribs — an early example of the latter feature. The north transept, also rib-vaulted, was erected c. 1150, but the existing southern transept is a work of the XVI century. A single quadripartite rib vault erected on a square plan covers the rectangular choir, a construction contemporary with the crossing. The wall rib of this vault is segmental, a form which, as the other arches are all round, results in unduly doming the vault. The façade is a work of the last half of the XI century, and the tower, which rises over the southern transept, is assigned to c. 1080.[1] (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 71.)

[1] Mr. Moore, *Gothic Arch.*, p. 63, gives a description of this monument differing widely from that of Lefèvre-Pontalis. After referring to it as a very late *Romanesque* church (i.e., earlier than 1130 ?), he goes on to speak of the choir vault: "The arches of this vault are all *round* except the one on the western side of the compartment, which appears to be an alteration of a later

LE TROUQUOY, Somme. *Église* is an excellent and well preserved example of the type of rural church erected in Picardy at the end of the XI century. The monument consists of a single-aisled nave two bays long, and a rectangular choir also of two bays. The choir is covered with a groin vault, constructed as the penetration of two unequal barrel vaults. Broad and salient buttresses reinforce the angles of the choir. The nave is covered with a timber roof of the late Gothic period. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 166.)

BERNEUIL-SUR-AISNE, Oise. *Église.* Though assigned to the X century by Woillez, this monument, as M. Lefèvre-Pontalis has pointed out, is evidently a work of the last half of the XI century. The edifice consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, transepts, and a choir of the XVI century. The second order of the unmoulded archivolts is supported on engaged columns. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 174.)

MAREUIL, Somme. *Église.* Of the existing structure, the nave, the façade, and a fragment of the choir are Romanesque; but the greater part of the choir was rebuilt in the XV century, and the present crossing, which was originally the fifth bay of the nave, has been much altered. To the westward the nave is prolonged beyond the side asles, so that its unbroken walls buttress the westernmost of the great arches. The nave has a wooden roof; the main arcades are in two orders and shafted. The western portal is adorned with chevrons, arched corbel-tables, arched billet mouldings, and a tympanum sculptured in high relief — features which indicate the style of the last years of the XII century; the rest of the façade, however, appears to be somewhat earlier, and is assigned by M. Enlart to the second quarter of the same century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 140.)

OULCHY-LE-CHÂTEAU, Aisne. *Notre Dame.* According to Carlier this monument was erected on the ruins of a more ancient church by Thibauld I († 1089) who founded the chapter of Oulchy about 1076. However, of the existing edifice only the nave and the tower can be attributed to this period, for the transept and choir show all the characteristics of the style of the last half of the XII century. It is probable that the generous donations (1169) of Henry, Count of Champagne, made it possible for the chapter to partially reconstruct the church at this time. The edifice to-day consists of three aisles, very salient transepts, a rectangular choir, and a tower rising at the end of the south side aisle. The nave is roofed in wood; it is characterized by colonnettes engaged on the ends of the piers to support the extra order of the archivolts, by cubic capitals, by bases supplied with griffes, and by a clear-story rebuilt in the XII century. In the southern side aisle, the ancient barrel vault still exists beneath the tower in the bay preceding the absidiole. The tower consists of three stories of coupled windows in two orders, surmounted by billet mouldings; it is supplied with angle shafts and buttresses of a single ressaut. The exterior of the east end, broken by three round-arched windows surmounted by a quatrefoil, is pleasing and unusual. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 211.)

epoch and belongs to the developed Gothic vault which covers the area over the crossing of the nave and transept." I have not examined this building on the spot, and am somewhat at a loss to know which of two such eminent authorities to disbelieve.

PRESLES, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, slightly projecting transepts, a tower rising over the south transept, and an apse originally flanked by two absidioles. Except for the façade porch — an addition of the XIII century — the monument is a homogeneous structure of the end of the XI century. The timber-roofed nave is divided into four bays by cruciform piers which carry plain archivolts in two orders. About the end of the XII century the existing rib vault was erected over the crossing; the choir, however, retains the XI century barrel vault terminating in a half-dome over the apse. This apse is externally ornamented with triangular arched corbel-tables, ribbon mouldings, etc. (Broche.)

RETHEUIL, Aisne. *St. Aubin.* The Romanesque church, which terminated in three apses, was much altered in the XVI century, so that the existing edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir. The nave, which is three bays long, and roofed in timber, dates almost wholly from the XVI century, but the southern side aisle has preserved in the bay underneath the tower traces of a barrel vault and of a round-headed window. The tower itself is a monument of the last quarter of the XI century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 219.)

DEUIL, (or Deuil-sous-Montmorency), Seine-et-Oise. *St. Eugène* consists of two distinct parts: a Romanesque nave of the XI century, and a Gothic choir of the beginning of the XIII century. The nave comprises six bays; the choir, three; the chevet (which is surrounded by an ambulatory with a column on axis), six. A second side aisle was added in the flamboyant period. Colonnettes engaged at the ends of the piers carry the second orders of the archivolts; shafts engaged on the face of the piers rise towards the roof. The monument has badly suffered from modern restorations. (Lambin, 106.)

MONTMILLE, Oise. *St. Maxien.* This monument, which certainly dates from the XI century (c. 1050), consists of a nave, transepts, and a square east end. The side aisles which originally existed have been destroyed; the piers are square, the archivolts of a single order unadorned. The groin vaults that at present cover the two bays of the choir seem to be later (modern ?[1]) additions to the original construction. The rest of the church is timber-roofed. Much of the sculpture and ornament of the façade recalls the Basse Oeuvre of Beauvais. (Woillez, M. 1.)

MONTLEVON, Aisne. *St. Martin* consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles ending in absidioles, a lateral tower, transepts, and a semicircular apse. The nave and the side aisles were originally roofed in timber, but about the end of the XVI century the existing rib vaults were erected. The archivolts in two orders fall on colonnettes engaged on the rectangular piers. Although the transepts have suffered heavily from restoration, the crossing retains its original barrel vault. The Romanesque portions of the monument may be assigned to the end of the XI century.

ST. BAUDRY, Aisne. *Église.* In its original form this church consisted of a single-aisled nave and a semicircular apse; but c. 1150 a northern side aisle was added, and the apse replaced by a square choir, while in the XVI century the plan was given an irregular appearance by the addition of a northern chapel. The nave is separated

[1] I know this monument only from Woillez's drawings, from which it is impossible to determine this point.

from the side aisle by three rectangular piers with engaged pilasters supporting the second order of the great pointed archivolts. Both nave and side aisle are roofed in timber. The polygonal choir is covered with a radiating rib vault of six branches; the ancient glass still fills the flamboyant tracery of the windows. Externally the nave is lavishly ornamented with billets and triangular corbel-tables, and is, perhaps, the most richly ornamented of all the Romanesque monuments of the Ile de France. It must consequently date from the last years of the XI century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 223.)

JOUAIGNES, Aisne. *St. Pierre.* The nave, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the end of the XI century, was originally three bays long, was flanked by two side aisles, and was roofed in timber. The archivolts were in two orders, of which the inner was carried on a colonnette engaged in the piers. These dispositions are preserved intact only in last bay of the north side; on the south side the original side aisle was destroyed and the arches walled up, although the aisle has been again rebuilt in modern times. The crossing was vaulted c. 1130; the south transept is of the last half of the XII century; the north transept, like the polygonal choir (which replaces the Romanesque apse), dates only from the XIII century. The lower story of the tower is assigned to c. 1130, but the upper story is Gothic in style. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 185.)

LA CROIX, Aisne. *Église* consists at present of a nave, a single side aisle, and a square choir; but in the XI century there were two side aisles ending in absidioles and a semicircular apse preceded by a transept. In the XII century a tower was added flanking the apse, and the existing choir was erected in the early Gothic period. The wooden-roofed nave is three bays long; its round arcades of two orders are supported on piers. These piers are flat on the side of the nave, except that in the pier between the second and third bay there is engaged a pilaster, which suggests a buttress rather than a system. On the other three sides are engaged colonnettes, supporting the beams of the aisle roof, or the second order of the archivolts. This nave is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the last quarter of the XI century. The crossing, though bounded by arches, is not vaulted; the elegant choir of the XIII century, however, is vaulted throughout. The façade is modern; the central tower dates from the second quarter of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 182.)

BITRY, Oise. *Église* of the XI century was altered at the end of the XII century and rebuilt almost entirely in the late flamboyant period. The edifice consists of a nave, a single side aisle — which is continued to flank the square bay of the choir, — and a polygonal apse. The nave, three bays long, is a work of the XVI century; the multiple ribs of the vaults and the archivolts are received on monocylindrical piers without capitals. Also of the XVI century is the vault of the rectangular portion of the choir, but beneath the central tower a barrel vault of the XI century, buttressed by two engaged columns, is still extant. The tower and spire must date from the XII century. Angle turrets were projected but never executed. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 125.)

BREUIL-LE-VERT, Oise. *Église* is known to have been founded c. 1100 by Hugh, Count of Champagne, for the charter (1145) of his son confirming this gift

is yet extant. Since this confirmation was made expressly in honor of the consecration of the church, that event must have taken place about 1145. No part of the existing edifice, however, can be assigned to this date, and it is necessary to suppose that all the portions erected c. 1145 were later rebuilt. The north arcade seems to be the oldest part of the present structure; the archivolts in two orders, the cruciform piers, the crude capitals, indicate the style of the third quarter of the XI century. The remainder of the edifice must be at least a hundred years later, for the windows are all pointed, and, while there is no true tracery, several of the lancets are grouped together under a single relieving arch. A fine central tower lends distinction to the exterior of this interesting church. (Woillez; Johnson.)

BRESLES, Oise. *Église.* This single-aisled country church dating perhaps from the middle of the XI century, is roofed in timber. The archivolts have square profiles, and there is very little ornament of any kind, except for the Greek cross in the gable, which recalls the Basse Oeuvre of Beauvais. The most interesting part of the monument is the central tower of c. 1110, which consists of two stories of blind arcades and grouped windows — the tympanums of the latter pierced with bull's eyes. (Woillez.)

ST.-THIBAUD-DE-BAZOCHES, Aisne. *Prieuré.* A charter, which must be earlier than 1080, mentions that this priory had been built a few years previously; it is evident from the style, however, that the existing edifice can not be earlier than c. 1075. This most important monument was unfortunately in large part destroyed in 1842: there survive only three piers of the nave and a part of the transept, but the foundations have been excavated, so that the original dispositions can be made out. The church consisted of a nave, six bays long, ending to the westward in an exterior narthex-tower; of two side aisles; of transepts deeply projecting; and of three semicircular eastern apses. The apses were covered with half-domes; the transepts and nave were roofed in timber; and the narthex and side aisles were, in all probability, groin-vaulted with transverse ribs, although the remains are not sufficient to make this absolutely certain. Four colonnettes were engaged on each pier: the two on the ends doubtless served to support the second orders of the archivolts, the one towards the aisle probably supported the transverse arch of the groin vault, and that facing the nave was continued to the roof as a system, although the nave was not vaulted. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* 1, 228.)

FILAIN, Aisne. *Ste. Berthe.* This chapel, on the strength of its crude capitals and triangular decoration, has often been assigned to the Carolingian era. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, however, has shown that it must belong to the XI century, though not improbably to the first half. The edifice consists of a rectangular nave and a rectangular choir, the latter divided into two transverse sections by an arcade of three arches.

ST.-REMI-L'ABBAYE, Oise. *Abbaye.* The primitive structure consisted of a wooden-roofed nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a semicircular apse; but only the nave, the façade, and the side aisles remain, and the latter have been completely rebuilt. The piers are square, the archivolts of single order; the whole interior, indeed, in its dearth of ornament recalls the Basse Oeuvre of Beauvais. The

exterior is characterized by arched string-courses and reticulated pattern work in the tympanums. This monument may be assigned to the first half of the XI century. (Woillez, S. 27.)

SOISSONS, Aisne. *St. Médard.* The crypt, which is well preserved, is assigned to the XI century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 169.)

St. Léger. The choir is said to resemble closely the middle chapel of Braisne.[1] The crypt, though assigned by Fleury to the VIII century, in reality dates from 1090–1100, as M. Lefèvre-Pontalis has pointed out. The church itself was entirely reconstructed in the XIII century.

BALAGNY-SUR-THERAIN, Oise. *Église.* The ornament consisting of chevrons and billet mouldings, and the construction in herring-bone masonry indicate that this single-aisled church must date from the end of the XI century. (Woillez.)

TILLÉ, Oise. *Église*, which may be ascribed with confidence to the first half of the XI century, consists of three aisles separated by square piers. The walls are constructed of rubble; the roof is in timber. A Greek cross in the gable recalls the Basse Oeuvre of Beauvais. (Woillez, Appendix.)

CHIVRY-LÈS-ÉTOUVELLES, Aisne. *Église.* Of the structure of the XI century, only two semicircular absidioles remain, the rest of the edifice having been entirely rebuilt. The present square choir is of the XVI century; the tower is Gothic; and the portal, Renaissance.

PLESSIS-LE-CHARMANT, Oise. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir. The tower and choir are Romanesque, but the spire with its turrets and dormers is a work of the XII century.

ANGIVILLERS, Oise. *Église.* The inadequate publication by Woillez indicates that the church was supplied with a single-aisled nave and transepts, ornamented externally with arched string-courses. (Woillez, Appendix.)

SARRON, Oise. *Église*, which may be assigned to the first half of the XI century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and an apse masked externally. The piers are square, the roof is in wood. The exterior is adorned with arched string-courses. (Woillez, Appendix.)

CRAMOISY, Oise. *St. Martin.* The tower is a charming design of the end of the XI century with two stories of coupled arches and a cornice composed of a flat corbel-table.

ACHY, Oise. *Église* of small dimensions has been only inadequately published. One of the windows is surmounted by an arcuated lintel. (Woillez, Appendix.)

ORVILLE, Somme. *Église*, notwithstanding many reconstructions, contains some fragments of XI century architecture. (Bourlon.)

ULLY-ST.-GEORGES, Oise. *Église* is said to date from the XI, XIII, and XVI centuries. (Woillez.)

RUE-ST-PIERRE, Oise. *Église* may be assigned to the first half of the XI century. The façade is surmounted by a little belfry; the central doorway is plain, except that the voussoirs are carved with a Carolingian triangular motive. (Woillez, Appendix.)

[1] Von Bezold.

ROCHY-CONDÉ, Oise. *Chapelle St. Arnoult* is said to date from the XI century.

ESTRÉES-ST-DENIS, Oise. *Église.* The single-aisled nave is preceded by a façade surmounted by a belfry. (Woillez, Appendix.)

LUCHY, Oise. *Église* has been only inadequately published. (Woillez.)

MONUMENTS OF THE XI AND XII CENTURIES OF DISTRICTS BORDERING ON THE ILE DE FRANCE

Monuments of the First Class

VÉZELAY, Yonne. *Abbaye la Madeleine.* This Benedictine abbey, one of the largest in France, fell under the influence of the Cluniac reform in the XI century. The church erected at the time of the foundation in 846[1] was destroyed by fire in 1120, when 1,127 men and women are said to have perished in the flames.[2] The existing edifice was probably commenced soon after this catastrophe, for the western portions are in the style of the last half of the XII century, and the Gothic choir of 1198–1201 doubtless replaces an older Romanesque structure. This venerable abbey, which is thoroughly Cluniac and Burgundian in style, consists of a choir of five aisles; a pentagonal chevet; an ambulatory; transepts; a nave, entirely groin-vaulted except the last four bays which are rib-vaulted; and a narthex three bays long groin-vaulted except for the last bay, the lower of whose stories is barrel-vaulted, the upper, rib-vaulted. The masonry laid in bands alternately light and dark recalls the school of Auvergne as do several details of ornamentation. There were originally four towers. The main arcades of the narthex have pointed arches — a fact which misled Viollet-le-Duc into the error of considering this an important monument of the transitional movement. The interest of Vézelay centers in the portals, whose sculptures are among the finest productions of the Burgundian school. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 11; Von Bezold.)

Monuments of the Second Class

ST.-BENOÎT-SUR-LOIRE, Loiret. *Abbaye.* The narthex of this important monument is usually assigned to the year 1022 on the strength of a text which I have not been able to find; there is need, however, of but a superficial examination of the architecture to realize that the construction can not possibly be as early as this. M. Marignan, however, goes too far in assigning this portion of the building to a date as late as 1160–80; it may well have been erected in the first quarter of the XII century. Fortunately the chronology of the remainder of the church is less obscure, and the approximate date of the choir — obviously, the oldest part of the existing church — is established by documentary evidence: "Since the church of the blessed

[1] Hugo Pictavinus notarius, *Historia Vizeliacensis*, mon. I, cit. Schlosser, 283; Karl II, *Urk. für Vézelay*, 868, jan. 7, B. R. 1746.

[2] Besly, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, p. 451 [lege 551], cit. Inkersley.

Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in which rests the body of the holy father Benedict, had fallen into ruin, partly by age, partly by fire, it seemed good to Abbot William (with the consent of Odilo, an upright man and prior of the same church) to demolish the old building and erect instead a new"[1] — "[Abbot William] commenced to build, and laid anew the foundations of that church over which he ruled and which had been devastated by many fires and ruined by old age, but he died before being able to finish it."[2] Now, since William was abbot from 1070–80, it must have been during this period that the reconstruction of the choir was begun. According to Rocher,[3] the construction was finished only in 1103. In the meanwhile (1095), the monastery had been ravaged by a new fire.[4] This fire very probably rendered necessary the reconstruction of the nave, whose architecture shows all the characteristics of the style of the early years of the XII century. The design of the nave differs widely from that of the choir in that cruciform piers with system are substituted for columns — a lack of unity which, however, could be paralleled in many homogeneous churches of Berry or Burgundy. Probably soon after 1103, or at least sometime in the first half of the XII century, the narthex, which had stood isolated before the church, was rebuilt. Finally, in 1218, the western bays of the nave were again made over, and the whole edifice restored in the Gothic style. As the monument stands to-day, the choir with its ambulatory and four radiating chapels may be taken as an authentically dated structure of c. 1070–1103.[5] The central aisle is barrel-vaulted, but the side aisles are covered with groin vaults with transverse ribs; there is a continuous triforium, no system, and a clearstory with shafted windows. The main archivolts are in two orders, unmoulded, and certain bases are supplied with griffes. Two absidioles project to the eastward on each arm of the salient transepts which are covered with pointed barrel vaults added *après coup* about the end of the XII century. The nave, although remade in the Gothic period, retains Romanesque groin vaults in the side aisles; the north lateral porch of the XIII century is notable for its fine sculpture. The narthex in two stories, entirely vaulted with groin vaults resting on round transverse arches, is divided into nine equal squares by three aisles, of equal height, each three bays long. The piers have engaged on each face a half column with richly carved Corinthianesque and figured capitals. (Rocher; Marignan.)

AVALLON, Yonne. *St. Ladre.* The present edifice of three aisles appears to have been commenced only in the last half of the XII century, for the façade — evidently the oldest part of the structure — is a fine example of rich Burgundian ornamentation. The remarkable portals in five orders with twisted and chained

[1] Basilica semper virginis Mariae Dei genetricis in qua beatus pater Benedictus corpore quiescit partim vetustate, partim incendio demolita, visum est abbati Guillelmo, adnitente Odilone, viro probo, ejusdem basilicae aedituo, vetus demolire et novum opus pro vetere instaurare. — *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, lib. VIII, Chap. 25, éd. Cestau, p. 317.

[2] [Guillelmus] ipsam quam regebat ecclesiam multis incendiis devastatam et senio pregravatam novo jecto edificare cepit fundamento, sed mortus praereptus consummare non potuit. — *Liber Modernorum Regum*, *Migne*, *Pat. Lat.* LVIII, col. 1903.

[3] p. 493.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] M. Marignan assigns it to c. 1150.

colonnettes show no trace of the influence of the Ile de France. Except for the northwest tower of the XVI century, the remainder of the church is a homogeneous construction of c. 1200 with pointed arches throughout except in the windows. The vaults have no diagonal ribs, but the system is logical and continuous. The apse is covered with a half-dome. (Nodier and Taylor.)

St. Martin, an ancient priory, has been long abandoned. The plan is in the form of a Greek cross. Some portions are said to be Romanesque in style, but the vaults and several of the windows are clearly Gothic. (Nodier and Taylor.)

LA CELLE, Cher. *Église* is the finest example of the architecture of the XI century in the département of Cher. The edifice consists of a nave without clearstory, two side-aisles, transepts with eastern absidioles, a rectangular choir, and three apses of which the central one is polygonal externally. Except for the half-domes of the apses and the cloistered dome on squinches, which covers the crossing, the church is entirely covered with round barrel vaults. The vaults of the nave have had to be reinforced by the addition of later buttresses. Externally, the monument is remarkable chiefly for the central apse, on each angle of which is engaged a column supporting a blind arch. (De Kersers VI, 112.)

Monuments of the Third Class

CHÂTEAU-MEILLANT, Cher. *St. Genès.* The present edifice which, with the exception of certain portions made over in the Gothic period, dates from the end of the XI or early XII century, consists of a nave now roofed in timber but originally covered with a pointed barrel vault reinforced by transverse arches resting on a continuous system; of two side aisles formerly nearly as high as the nave and covered with half barrel vaults, which buttressed the nave vaults and thus necessitated the omission of the clearstory; of transepts; of a choir; of a central tower; and of no less than seven apses and absidioles. The construction seems to have progressed from east to west, the nave showing architectural forms evidently slightly later in date than those of the choir. There are no external buttresses. (De Kersers III, 213; Deshoulières.)

Le Chapitre or *Notre Dame.* This edifice of the XI century consists of a large nave, transepts, a central tower, five apses, and two chapels added in the XVI century, which gravely disfigure the original plan. The great apse is decorated externally with a cornice composed of blind arches separated alternately by colonnettes and square pilasters covered with an interlacing pattern.

DUN-LE-ROI, Cher. *St. Étienne*, which differs widely from most of the Romanesque monuments of Berry, consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, a semicircular apse, an ambulatory, and three apsidal chapels. The eastern part of the building must date from the XII century, but the western bays are Gothic, while the vaults, save those of the choir, are constructions of the XIV century, and the chapels and western tower-porch were added in the flamboyant period. The system is continuous; there is no clearstory. Externally the apse, with its grouped shaft buttresses, flat corbel-tables, and shafted windows in two orders, is thoroughly Romanesque in character. (De Kersers IV, 95.)

BRUÈRES, Cher. *Abbaye de Noirlac* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a rectangular choir, and two square chapels projecting to the eastward of the transepts, — a disposition which at once betrays the Cistercian origin of the abbey. The choir, which is the oldest part of the structure and dates from about the middle of the XII century, is covered with a pointed barrel vault; the transepts are supplied with rib vaults of c. 1200; the side aisles are groin-vaulted; and the nave has a Gothic rib vault, although there are no flying buttresses. The piers are square, the archivolts unrelieved; the system rests on corbels placed just below the impost level. (De Kersers VI, 102.)

PLEINPIED, Cher. *Abbaye.* This church, one of the most elegant medieval structures of the neighborhood of Bourges, was commenced probably soon after 1080, the year of the foundation of the abbey. At all events the choir must have been finished in 1092, since Archbishop Richard II was here buried at that date. The church is cruciform with a central tower, and its three aisles terminate in three apses. There are no transeptal absidioles. The choir is notable for its slightly pointed barrel vaults raised over a clearstory; the choir aisles are covered with combination barrel and groin vaults; the transepts are also barrel-vaulted, except for the cupola under the central tower; but the nave vaults have been destroyed. Externally, the decoration consists of arcades, flat corbel-tables, arched string-courses, salient buttresses, and shafted windows. (De Kersers V, 75.)

Église de Givaudins. The single-aisled nave, which is assigned to the XI century, is notable for the portal in two unornamented orders. The choir dates from the XVI century.

AIX-D'ANGILLON, Cher. *St. Ythier*, a monument of the early XII century which is said to show Cluniac influence, consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts with absidioles, a choir flanked by two side aisles covered with semicircular barrel vaults, a central tower, and three apses. The arches of the arcades are pointed; the piers are cylindrical; there is no system. The archivolts of the continuous triforium are moulded. Externally, the apse is ornamented with shafts and engaged arcades. (De Kersers I, 6.)

BAR-SUR-AUBE, Aube. *St. Pierre* consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, transepts, a chevet, an ambulatory, and radiating chapels. The church, which is rib-vaulted throughout, is almost entirely Gothic in structure, although the round arch persists in the triforium. Each bay of the clearstory is pierced by a single lancet very narrow for the available space; above, the longitudinal vault rib is slightly stilted. Although the vaults are quadripartite, the system is alternate. In the intermediate piers three colonnettes carry the archivolts of the main arcade and a single shaft supporting the system of three members on which rest in turn the five vaulting ribs. The capitals show all the characteristics of the style of the last years of the XII century. (Arnaud, 200.)

St. Maclou. The nave, the side aisles, the transepts, the first bay of the choir, and the first bays of the chapels which flank it, belong to the last half of the XII century; the remainder of the choir, with its polygonal apse, is a work of the XIV century, while the portal is modern. The nave is only three bays long, but is entirely

vaulted; its capitals show all the characteristics of the style of the third quarter of the XII century. (Arnaud, 201.)

CHEZAL-BENOÎT, Cher. *Abbaye.* The nave of this church survives in a ruined condition together with certain portions of the foundations of the choir. This nave was seven bays long, and vaulted with a pointed barrel vault whose transverse arches rest on columns engaged in the piers. Since the side aisles were covered with vaults intended to buttress those of the nave, there could have been no clearstory. The façade is characterized by a mixture of round and pointed arches and a rich portal in many orders. It is known that this church was consecrated in 1104, but only the two eastern and two western bays of the nave can date from this epoch, the remainder of the edifice having evidently been rebuilt at a later period. (De Kersers V, 148.)

Other Monuments

STE. GEMME, Cher. *Église.* Of the ancient edifice only the nave and side aisles survive, the choir having been recently rebuilt. The nave is rib-vaulted; the side aisles are covered with pointed barrel vaults whose axis is perpendicular to that of the church. The piers are cruciform in plan with engaged half columns, which rise to support the vault ribs. There is no clearstory, for the great longitudinal arch opening into the aisle vault occupies all the space beneath the longitudinal rib, — that is, the crowns of the barrel vaults of the aisles and of the rib vaults of the nave are at about the same level. As the monument is evidently in the main a construction of the end of the XII century — notwithstanding several inscriptions which refer to repairs executed at later epochs — these peculiar dispositions are of great interest. (De Kersers V, 30.)

MEHUN, Cher. *Notre Dame*, in spite of mutilations, is still of great interest. The choir, of horseshoe plan, is vaulted with a half-dome raised over a clearstory, and is surrounded by an ambulatory with which it communicates by seven arcades composed of high semicircular arches resting on rectangular piers. The ambulatory itself is covered with a barrel vault broken by very irregular penetrations. Three radiating chapels open to the eastward. The single-aisled nave is as broad as all three aisles of the choir, and is covered with a pointed barrel vault. This nave must date from late in the XII century; the choir is perhaps somewhat earlier. (De Kersers V, 295.)

BOURGES, Cher. *St. Jean-le-Vieux.* Certain portions of this cruciform church date probably from 1164, although the edifice was practically rebuilt in the XVII century. The choir and the chapels which flank it are covered with barrel vaults, pointed like all the great arches; the rib vaults of the transepts have been destroyed, but sufficient traces for a restoration remain. (De Kersers II, 215.)

Prieuré St. Paul. Some fragments of the church, which was ruined by the Huguenots in 1562 and repaired by Philippe Labbe in 1615, still survive in the court of the barracks below Sérancourt. The monument, which doubtless was erected in the XII century, consisted of a rectangular nave and a semicircular apse. (De Kersers II, 263.)

St. Martin-des-Champs is a rectangular building of the XI century roofed in wood. (De Kersers II, 262.)

St. Privé appears to date from the XII century. Only the timber-roofed nave survives. (De Kersers II, 222.)

FRESNAY-SUR-SARTHE, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* The primitive edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave three bays long and rib-vaulted, of a central tower, and of a semicircular apse; but in 1865 transepts were added. The bases are characterized by the use of griffes; the fine Romanesque portal in three orders is decorated with drip-mouldings, stars, chipped chevrons, etc. This monument, a most interesting example of the transition in Maine, shows unmistakable influence from the Plantagenet school of Anjou, and is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the third quarter of the XII century.

ST.-CHRISTOPHE-DU-JAMBET, Sarthe. *Notre Dame* consists of a single-aisled nave, three bays long; a single transept, evidently later than the rest of the church; a central tower; and a semicircular apse. The main portal is in three orders. The vaults, which are pointed and supported by a continuous system, are the only portion of this structure which would lead us to suspect that the church was erected at so late a date as that indicated by the inscription — apparently authentic — painted upon the western vault: "In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1231, in the time of Jean François, curé of this parish."[1] (Le Guicheux; Hucher.)

CUFFY, Cher. *Église* of the XII century is cruciform in plan. The apse presents a most unusual design, being ornamented with high and narrow arcades, some semicircular and others trilobed. Other remarkable features of the exterior design are the central tower and the finely sculptured western portal consisting of three orders of round arches resting on shafts. Internally, the church is covered with pointed barrel vaults. (De Kersers IV, 236.)

MENETOU-COUTURE, Cher. *Abbaye de Fontmorigny.* The most ancient portions of this much mutilated abbey date from the last half of the XII century, and furnish a typical example of Cistercian architecture. The choir, the crossing, the two arms of the transept, each of the two surviving bays of the nave, are so many squares, while four chapels, also square, open off the transept to the eastward. Choir and the transept are both rib-vaulted, but the nave is covered with a groin vault. (De Kersers VI, 35.)

Église contains fragments of architecture of many different epochs: the walls of the nave (which never had a vault) must date from the XI century; the lower part of the five-sided apse is Gothic; the upper portions are flamboyant; and the vault of most degraded style is a work of the Renaissance.

BAZOUGES-SUR-LOIRE, Sarthe. *St. Aubin.* The primitive edifice was replaced in the XII century by a larger one, of which the tower, the transepts with their absidioles, the apse, and the portal still survive, although the nave was rebuilt in the XV century. The rich west portal is of great interest, as is the central tower, notwithstanding the fact that its spire has perished. A most interesting timber roof

[1] Anno ab incarnatione domini M II C tricesimo I tempore Jacobi Franci Persone huius ecclesie.

of the XV century, which still retains the original painted decoration, covers the nave. (De la Bouilleric.)

BENGY, Cher. *Église* of the early XII century is a fine example of the Cluniac church of small dimensions, and consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower, an eastern apse, and absidioles. All the great arches and the barrel vaults are pointed, but the nave vaults and the system on which they rest are modern. The apse is adorned externally with a flat corbel-table and with buttress shafts. (De Kersers I, 207.)

BLET, (Canton of Néroude), Cher. *Église*, notwithstanding disastrous restorations, still retains its original dispositions, and is of great interest for its sculptures. The monument consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower, a choir with side aisles and three apses. The transepts, which formerly existed, have disappeared. All the eastern portions, covered with round barrel vaults, date from the XI century (1060–80); the nave, whose barrel vault is pointed, seems to be of about half a century later. The interior is characterized by transverse arches, a system usually continuous, a triforium, and the absence of a clearstory. The archivolts are of a single order, the windows shafted. Externally the apse is decorated with buttress shafts, flat corbel-tables, arcades, arched string-courses, and windows in two orders. (De Kersers VI, 4.)

ST.-AOUSTRILLE-LES-GRAÇAY, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave, the transverse arches of whose barrel vaults are carried on engaged columns; of two side aisles, also barrel-vaulted; of transepts without absidioles; of a choir flanked by two side aisles, and of three apses. Internally, the archivolts are of a single order, the windows shafted. The exterior is adorned with an engaged arcade, triangular masonry, and salient buttresses. A straight wall masks the half-dome of the apse. The nave and façade are largely of the XIV century; as for the rest of the edifice, while much of the decoration certainly shows the survival of Carolingian tradition, no portion can well be earlier than the second half of the XI century, although M. de Kersers does not hesitate to assign the construction to a date "very near 1014."

CHARLY, Cher. *Église*. In 1854 the nave and a part of the tower were entirely reconstructed; but what remains of the original edifice seems to date from the XI century. The semicircular apse is adorned internally with highly interesting mural paintings and with three arcades borne on colonnettes; externally it is divided into bays by columns engaged before pilasters. The tower, which rises over the crossing, is of unusually gracious design; it is two stories high and crowned by a conical spire — the only central spire in the département of Cher — and four angle turrets. (De Kersers VI, 11.)

GERMIGNY, Cher. *Église* is one of the most remarkable monuments of Berry. The choir, the three eastern apses, and the transepts, according to M. de Kersers, are in the main constructions of the XI or XII century, although the upper portions, destroyed by fire in 1772, have been restored. The single-aisled nave, the narthex, and the western tower, may be assigned to the third quarter of the XII century. A most remarkable pendentive dome is placed over the central bay of the narthex, beneath the tower. (De Kersers IV, 251.)

INEUIL, Cher. *Église* consists of an apse of the XI century polygonal externally, transepts of the XII century with absidioles, and a Gothic nave. The nave is covered with sexpartite rib vaults; the crossing has a cupola; the choir is surmounted by round, the transepts by pointed, barrel vaults. The system of the nave is continuous. Externally the central tower is adorned with arched string-courses and arched corbel-tables. (De Kersers V, 160.)

PRIMELLES, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave roofed in timber, a fine north lateral tower, a barrel-vaulted choir of one bay, and a semicircular apse. The tower, which is the most interesting part of the monument, is divided into four stories: the lowest forms the base; the second is a blind story adorned with triangular arches borne on colonnettes which recall the Carolingian work at Lorsch, etc.; the third — the belfry — is characterized by two grouped arches, pierced in each face, by a shaft engaged near each corner, and by a cornice formed of a flat corbel-table; and the fourth consists of a conical spire and four little turrets. The lower part of the tower and the church are assigned by M. de Kersers to the middle of the XI century, and it is not improbable they may be nearly as early as this. (De Kersers III, 161.)

AVOR, Cher. *Église.* Except for the façade of the XII century, this monument must date from the XI century, though hardly from the first half, as has been claimed. The edifice consists of a choir, covered with a round barrel vault and flanked by two side aisles of nearly equal height, also barrel-vaulted and opening on the choir by two low arcades; of a semicircular apse; and of a single-aisled timber-roofed nave, as wide as the three aisles of the choir. The façade is adorned with arched corbel-tables and arcades, and with a Greek cross placed in the gable. (De Kersers I, 186.)

ALICAMPS, Cher. *Église*, of cruciform plan, is of interest only for the semicircular apse buttressed externally by engaged columns. The windows of this apse are round, but the interior archivolts are pointed, and rest on columns engaged on the faces of pilasters. (De Kersers VI, 94.)

LE MANS, Sarthe. *Notre Dame-du-Pré* ("Ancienne Abbaye St. Julien"). Although this establishment was founded in the first half of the XI century, the oldest parts of the existing edifice can not be older than the last half of that century. The structure consists of a nave, two side aisles, very deeply projecting transepts with absidioles, a chevet, an ambulatory, and three radiating chapels. The third and fourth bays and the vaults of the north aisle belong to the XI century; the rest of the church is substantially a work of the XII century, with the exception of certain alterations executed in the Gothic period. Flat pilasters are engaged in the heavier piers of the alternate system — a peculiarity of design strongly reminiscent of the cathedral of Le Mans as it was in the XI century. Viollet-le-Duc and Ruprich-Robert believe that these pilasters originally supported transverse arches; at all events, the present nave vaults were added in Gothic times. The archivolts are in two orders; the windows simply shafted and moulded. The portal, however, is elaborately moulded. Externally, with the exception of the Gothic windows, the monument is thoroughly Romanesque in appearance. (Ledru; Wismes.)

MONTIÉRAMEY, Aube. *Église.* The Romanesque nave, five bays long, like the side aisles, is covered with rib vaults in which round and pointed arches are used side by side; the clearstory windows are round; there are no flying buttresses; rectangular piers, with a shaft engaged on each of their four faces, rest on octagonal pedestals. The pentagonal choir and the transepts are lofty constructions of the early XVI century with flying buttresses and enormous windows. (Arnaud, 119.)

ANGY-SUR-L'AUBOIS, Cher. *Église* consists of a timber-roofed nave, transepts with eastern absidioles, a tower rising over the southern transept, a square choir, and a semicircular apse. The barrel vaults of the choir are pointed; that of the crossing is semicircular; while the lower story of the tower, which seems to date from about the middle of the XII century, is rib-vaulted, — an important and early instance of this construction in Berry. The capitals of the nave show all the characteristics of the style of the end of the XI century. (De Kersers VII, 106.)

CIVRAY, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular choir, a rectangular nave, and an enormous square tower to the westward. This tower, the most ancient part of the church, dates probably from the early part of the XII century, and is remarkable for the groin vault of the lower story. The nave is roofed in timber; the choir is rib-vaulted, but the ribs rest on corbels. This choir, with its angle buttresses, is evidently a construction of the XV century. (De Kersers II, 126.)

CHAROST, Cher. *St. Michel.* The choir, the central cupola, and the side aisles were rebuilt in the XV century, so that only the large and bare nave, the side aisles of the choir, the three apses, and the transepts of the primitive structure of the XII century survive. The tower has been moved to the south. Externally the church is remarkable for the engaged arcades and columns which decorate the apse. (De Kersers III, 119.)

NEUILLY-EN-DUN, Cher. *Église.* This excellently preserved monument, notwithstanding its modest dimensions, possesses a remarkable wealth of detail. The structure consists of a semicircular apse, a choir, a central tower, and a single-aisled nave roofed in wood. The arches throughout are round. Externally the edifice is remarkable for the beautiful design of the central tower, which is richly ornamented with chevrons. (De Kersers VII, 119.)

MOUSSEY, Aube. *St. Martin* consists of an exterior narthex, a nave, two side aisles, transepts with absidioles, a central tower, a choir flanked by two lateral chambers not communicating with the transepts, and a semicircular apse. Although the existing clearstory windows are pointed, the edifice may be assigned to the last half of the XII century. The piers are rectangular; the archivolts are of a single order; and there is no system. Salient external buttresses exist on only one side, — a disposition so much the more peculiar in that the choir is the only portion of the edifice vaulted. There is almost no decoration; were it not for the profiles of the mouldings and the stereotomy, the monument might pass for a Carolingian structure. (De Kersers I, 429.)

CHALIVOY-MILON, Cher. *Église.* This small monument consists of a semicircular apse; a choir formed of two distinct parts of which the westernmost, higher than the other, is barrel-vaulted; a south lateral tower; and a nave. Except

the arcades with pointed arches, the arched and flat corbel-tables, the mouldings, and the very salient buttresses — all additions of the XII century, — the monument may be assigned to the XI century. This edifice is remarkable for the many mural paintings of various epochs that it contains.

COUST, Cher. *Église.* The rectangular nave of this edifice, which may be assigned to the first half of the XII century, is covered with a modern plaster vault; the narrower choir, however, retains its ancient pointed barrel vaults, and its walls are ornamented with round arcades resting on pilasters. The semicircular apse pierced by three windows is covered with a half-dome. To the south of the choir stands the tower, which is surmounted by a spire. (De Kersers III, 82.)

CHARENTON, Cher. *St. Martin* consists of a large rectangular nave, vaulted in plaster; a choir with round barrel vault; a south lateral tower, furnished with a little absidiole (all these portions notwithstanding various restorations date in the main from the second half of the XI century); and an apse, evidently later, since the transverse arch is slightly pointed. The western portal of horseshoe form is in several orders. (De Kersers III, 74.)

Abbaye. Some unimportant fragments remain. (De Kersers III, 76.)

CORQUOY, Cher. *Église.* To judge from the quality of the herring-bone masonry, the primitive nave, to-day turned into a dwelling-house, must date from the commencement of the XI century. In the XII century a reconstruction of the edifice was projected, but only the choir, covered with a pointed barrel vault and ornamented with double arcades, was completed. The existing central tower rises over a rib vault remade in the XVI century. (De Kersers III, 294.)

Abbaye de Grandmont. The chapel of this abbey is still intact, and consists of a long nave, covered with a pointed barrel vault, and a semicircular apse, wider than the nave itself — the whole remarkably destitute of all decoration. (De Kersers III, 295.)

CHÂTEAUDUN, Eure-et-Loire. *La Madeleine*, founded about 1140, is remarkable for its rib-vaulted double side aisles.[1] This monument, which I have not visited, seems never to have been adequately published.

St. Valérien consists of a nave of four bays, two side aisles, transepts, two absidioles, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The arcades of the choir, though modernized, date from the XII century; the absidioles, also disfigured are of the XI century; the apse is of the XII century; the *clocher* of the XVI. (Juteau.)

St. Jean is said to be of the XII and XV centuries.

SOLESMES, Sarthe. *Abbaye.* The original church of the XI century seems to have had three aisles, but in 1470 Philibert de la Croix suppressed the side aisles and erected a multiple rib vault over the nave. In the exterior wall, however, may still be seen traces of the ancient arcades. The choir, which formerly ended in a semicircular apse, deviates to the southward. The lower part of the central tower is Romanesque, but the upper story is flamboyant, and the dome dates from 1731. This church is best known for the remarkable sculptures it contains — the earliest (1496–1553) and among the most famous productions of the French Renaissance. (Guéranger; De la Tremblaye; Wismes.)

[1] Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 88.

ANNOYE, Cher. *Église*, which may be assigned to the XII century, consists of a semicircular apse covered with a half-dome and lighted by three round-headed windows, a choir surmounted by a pointed barrel vault with transverse arches, and a rectangular nave lighted by small round-headed windows. The vaults which it was intended to erect over this nave have never been executed. (De Kersers V, 54.)

TORCÉ, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* Of the Romanesque church there survives almost nothing but the great portal; the present western tower is of the XIV century, while the remainder of the church, which consists of a nave without clearstory, two side asles somewhat later than the nave, transepts, a choir, and a polygonal apse, is a construction of the XVI century. The choir and transepts are vaulted with lierne vaults, but the vault of the nave is a modern substitute for the original timber roof. The church retains some fine glass of the XVI century. (Froger.)

VENESME, Cher. *Église* dates principally from the XII century, although the choir and the apse were vaulted in the Gothic period and the entire monument has suffered severely from modern restorations. Most interesting is the highly domed groin vault of the crossing, formerly surmounted by a central tower which exists no longer. The archivolts are in two orders and pointed. The original absidiole of the south transept survives; that of the north transept appears to have been rebuilt. (De Kersers III, 322.)

MONTIGNY, Cher. *Église.* The exterior has been entirely rebuilt, but the interior preserves its original character, and is an interesting example of the so-called transition. The edifice consists of a semicircular apse covered by a ribbed half-dome, a barrel-vaulted choir, a nave whose timber roof has been recently rebuilt, and a western tower. The arches are pointed, and the arcade ornament occurs. (De Kersers IV, 310.)

LE CHATELET, Cher. *Ancienne Église Abbatiale.* The plan of this edifice of the XII century is remarkable in that the piers of the central tower fall inside the nave walls. Another most unusual disposition is the dome on pendentives which surmounts the crossing. Two half barrel vaults to the north and south resisting the thrust of this dome are carried on arches; their existence is expressed externally by two inclined roofs. The church has been frequently altered at various epochs: there survives only one bay of the ancient choir — now terminated by a rectangular east wall, — and only the northern of the transeptal absidioles. (De Kersers IV, 13.)

Chapelle St. Martial contains some fragments of the XII century architecture. (De Kersers IV, 10.)

COUDRECIEUX, Sarthe. *Église des Loges* in the XI century consisted of a single-aisled nave and a narrower choir with square east end. Later (early in the XII century) a high tower, — remarkable for its pebble cone recalling singularly those of Verona, — and a chapel with a small semicircular apse was added to the south. Subsequently (1561), still another chapel was added to the north, but this has been destroyed. The church contains practically no ornament. (Fleury.)

LIMEUX, Cher. *Église* is said to be a fine example of the style of the XI century. The structure consists of an apse, a short choir, transepts with absidioles, a central tower whose piers fall within the nave walls, and a timber-roofed nave

of a single aisle. Some of the arches are of horseshoe form. (De Kersers V, 220.)

ST. AMAND, (Mont-Rond), Cher. *Église.* Chapels have been added along the sides of the nave. The choir decorated on each side by two arcades is covered with a semicircular barrel vault; the crossing is surmounted by four dome-like vaults supported by ribs, — a disposition which indicates the style of the end of the XII century, and perhaps shows the influence of the Plantagenet style; the transeptal absidioles are vaulted with half-domes; the transepts, nave, and side aisles have pointed barrel vaults with transverse ribs. The western doorway is of the XIII century. (De Kersers VI, 175.)

ST.-GEORGES-DE-POYSIEUX, Cher. *Église.* The most interesting part of this much dilapidated structure is the Romanesque portal in three orders. The rectangular nave, roofed in timber, terminates to the eastward in a wall in which is pierced a narrow and low pointed arch. This arch is not on the axis of the nave, but near the south wall. Another wall, parallel to the one in which is placed the opening, with it supports the tower. The choir extends beyond this to the eastward, and is covered by two crude rib vaults. (De Kersers VII, 207.)

OUROUER, Cher. *Église*, said to be of the XI century, is cruciform in plan, though the transepts (supplied with eastern absidioles) are short. The nave is roofed in timber. A fine central tower with semicircular arches dominates the exterior. The decoration consists of arcades, flat corbel-tables, shafts, and arched string-courses, and the apse is adorned with five blind arches carried on half-columns. (De Kersers VI, 67.)

LA CELLE-CONDÉ, Cher. *Église de la Celle* consists of a rectangular nave of the XII century with timber roof and a wooden-vaulted choir of the XV century, deviating to the southward. The portal is round-arched, and its colonnettes have capitals whose foliage recalls the style of the Ile de France. (De Kersers V, 141.)

Église de Condé. The large crypt, like the rest of the church, may be attributed to the end of the XI century. The edifice is of a single aisle, and terminates in a rectangular choir with a semicircular barrel vault. (De Kersers V, 142.)

LINIÈRES, Cher. *Église*, built in the second half of the XII century, was altered at the end of the XVI century, and the lantern was added in 1635. The structure consists of an apse, a choir, transepts with absidioles, and a single-aisled nave. The piers of the central tower fall within the walls of the nave, leaving thus a direct passage to the transept. This nave may have been originally vaulted, but is now covered with wood. The façade, with its mixture of round and pointed arches, is an interesting composition. (De Kersers V, 167.)

MOULINS-SUR-YÈVRES, Cher. *Église*, except the western portal of the XIII century and the nave probably of the same era, may be assigned to the XII century. The large arches are all pointed, the small openings round-headed. The structure consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower whose piers fall within the nave walls, transepts, a choir, and three apses. A dome covers the crossing, but the choir is barrel-vaulted. The apse is shafted. (De Kersers I, 250.)

ROSNAY, Aube. *Église.* This edifice, erected in the third quarter of the XII

century but much altered in the early flamboyant period, contains a remarkable extended crypt with ambulatory and three radiating chapels. The upper church, which was entirely reconstructed in the XV century except for the second bay and the wall of the side aisle, was intended to be vaulted throughout, but the vaults of the choir were never excuted. The ambulatory vaults are furnished with double pendants. (Arnaud, 206.)

CHASSY, Cher. *Église* consists of a polygonal apse, a choir, a central tower, and a nave of a single aisle. The apse and choir only, are vaulted; these portions, though the windows are round-headed, date probably from the XIV century. The remainder of the edifice is of the XII century. Mural paintings have been discovered beneath the plaster which coats the interior walls. (De Kersers I, 215.)

PONCÉ, Sarthe. *Église* consists of a nave four bays long roofed in timber, a choir flanked by two side aisles which formerly ended in absidioles, and a semicircular apse. The pointed arch is everywhere used; the piers are rectangular with colonnettes engaged in each angle; the archivolts are of a single order. The clear-story which formerly existed has been walled up. This monument which may be assigned to the last years of the XII century contains some remarkable mural paintings. (Toublet.)

SAVIGNY-EN-SEPTAINE, Cher. *Église* is assigned to the second half of the XII century. The three-sided apse, pierced by three little round-headed windows, is surmounted by a domical rib vault; the choir, which formerly carried a tower, is covered with a very crude rib vault; the nave is roofed in wood. (De Kersers I, 266.)

CHAMBON, Cher. *Église.* The bells are placed, not in a tower, but in the timbers of the wooden roof of the rectangular nave. This nave opens by a pointed arch on the barrel-vaulted choir, whose walls are decorated with arcades. The plan of the apse is in the form of a segment of a circle. A portal flanked by two blind arches characterizes the façade. (De Kersers III, 267.)

CONCRESSAULT, Cher. *Église.* The oldest portions are said to date from the XI century, but the structure has been many times restored, and the polygonal apse with its angle buttresses was entirely rebuilt in the flamboyant period. The nave is roofed in wood; the choir is surmounted by barrel vaults with transverse arches. Over the nave, near the choir, rises the tower. (De Kersers VII, 251.)

LESSAY-LOCHY, Cher. *St. Hilaire*, restored in 1725 and again in the XIX century, consists of a semicircular apse with three round-headed windows, a choir covered with a pointed barrel vault, and a timber-roofed nave of a single aisle divided into three bays by columns engaged before pilasters. A tower formerly surmounted the choir. The walls of the latter are decorated internally with arcades of a "transitional" character. (De Kersers V, 69.)

FLAVIGNY, Cher. *Église*, assigned to the XI century, consists of a semicircular apse; a choir whose walls, decorated with arcades, are surmounted by a semicircular barrel vault, although the crossing has a dome on squinches; transepts without vaults or absidioles, and a nave also roofed in wood.

FRESNAY-LE-VICOMTE, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* This church of the late

XII century consists of a single-aisled nave entirely vaulted, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. The rich western portal is in three orders. The apse probably is a relic of an earlier edifice, which it was intended to replace by a more pretentious choir. (Wismes.)

GARIGNY, Cher. *Église.* The nave and the choir are at present roofed in timber, but the walls of the choir lean outward, a fact which probably indicates that the edifice was originally covered with vaults, which have doubtless fallen. The choir is at present square; it was formerly surmounted by a tower and supplied with a semicircular apse, some traces of which remain. Although the archivolts are pointed, the whole construction doubtless dates from the XII century. (De Kersers VI, 287.)

ARCOMPS, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave, of which the vault has recently been rebuilt in plaster; a little tower, whose upper parts are modern, rising in front of the façade; and a choir also plaster-vaulted. The details of ornamentation, "transitional" in character, are not without interest. (De Kersers VII, 183.)

LA CHAPELLE-HUGON, Cher. *Église* of the XII century consists of a semicircular apse, a choir of two bays decorated with arcades, and a nave whose vaults have recently been replaced by a plaster imitation. All the great arches are pointed. The structure was originally barrel-vaulted throughout except the bay under the central tower, which retains its original dome on squinches. (De Kersers IV, 226.)

OSMERY, Cher. *Église.* Since it is known that about 1150 Ebbe, viscount of Champallemant, left a legacy to the *new* church of Osmery, the date of the present structure may be considered as approximately established. The choir is now vaulted in plaster, but the original vault was of stone; the crossing is surmounted by an octagonal cloistered dome on squinches; the nave is roofed in wood. All the four great arches which support the central tower are pointed. The façade is preceded by a sort of porch adorned with arched corbel-tables and blind arches. (De Kersers IV, 125.)

ARDENNAIS, Cher. *Église.* The ribs of the choir vault rest on short prismatic shafts carried on corbels. The nave, to judge from the round-headed portal, must be Romanesque, although its original character is completely masked by a heavy coating of modern plaster. (De Kersers IV, 1.)

BUSSY, Cher. *Église.* The nave, a construction of the early Gothic period, is of less interest than the choir, with its two transept-like chapels of the XV century. The eastern portions of the edifice are vaulted; but the nave is roofed in timber. Two very richly moulded Romanesque portals are doubtless relics of an earlier edifice. (De Kersers IV, 54.)

CHÂTEAU-LANDON, Seine-et-Marne. *St. André.* This beautiful church, which contains some fragments of XII century architecture, is notable for its fine narthex-tower.

Notre Dame. This fine structure of the XI, XII, and XIV centuries is notable for three fine Romanesque portals, and for a tower of the XIII century.

St. Ugalde, a ruined edifice of the XII and XIII centuries, is of interest for the Romanesque tower.

St. Séverin is said to be of the XII, XV, and XVI centuries.

THAUMIERS, Cher. *Église.* The oldest portions of this church are said to date from the end of the XI century. The edifice consists of a semicircular apse, a choir two bays long (the western bay surmounted by the central tower), and a nave. The barrel vaults and the arches of the choir are round, but those of the nave are pointed. The lateral portal, to-day walled up, was in several orders, and flanked by two blind arches, the one to the left pointed. Engaged columns decorate the apse. All the chapels were added subsequently to the original construction. (De Kersers III, 94.)

MERGEY, Aube. *St. Sulpice.* The principal portal was reconstructed in 1771; the nave and the first bay of the side aisles (these portions are lower than the rest of the edifice) may be assigned to the XII century; the five-sided apse and the choir flanked by side aisles each of which terminates in a rectangular east wall are known from the carved escutcheons to date from between 1505 and 1515. The choir is rib-vaulted; the nave is roofed in timber. Certain windows of the choir contain fine glass of the XVI century. (Fichot I, 22.)

JUSSY, Cher. *Église*, for the most part a structure of the XI century, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir, and a rectangular nave, and two lateral chapels added in the XV century. Short, heavy columns decorate the angles of the apse windows, which are in two orders. The façade, a work of the late XII century, is decorated with oculi, blind arches, a Greek cross, and archivolts in several orders. (De Kersers I, 233.)

CONGÉ-SUR-ORNE, Sarthe. *Église.* The Romanesque edifice of the XII century, which consisted of a single-aisled nave and an apse, was much altered in 1540, when the present windows were opened, the apse rebuilt, and the lateral chapel added. To the southwest stands a bell-tower of unknown date. (Froger.)

CHAUTAY, Cher. *Église*, of small dimensions, consists of a semicircular apse covered with a half-dome, a choir surmounted by a pointed barrel vault, and a single-aisled nave roofed in timber. The western portal is characterized by a lintel placed beneath a pointed discharging arch; the exterior decoration is composed of pilaster strips, flat corbel-tables, and arched string-courses. The monument doubtless dates from the XII century. (De Kersers IV, 228.)

LAVARÉ, Sarthe. *Église.* The edifice of the end of the XI century consisted of a single-aisled nave and a semicircular apse; but in 1518 the triumphal arch was rebuilt, in 1551 a transept or chapel was added, and in 1533 the choir was made over. The wooden roof of the nave is the original one of the XVI century, — a fact which lends additional importance to this interesting little monument. (Toublet.)

BANGY, Cher. *St. Martin.* The Romanesque portions include the rectangular nave and the somewhat narrower choir, whose apse was replaced in the XV century by the present polygonal structure. (De Kersers I, 193.)

LA FLÈCHE, Sarthe. *St. Thomas.* The ancient edifice of the XI century was restored and in part rebuilt at the end of the XII century. The façade and portal of the existing structure are thoroughly Romanesque, as are the groin vaults of the side aisles; the nave and choir, however, show the influence of the Ile de France, while the present tower is modern. (De Lorière.)

PITHIVIERS, Loiret. *St. Salomon.* Certain portions, — notably the tower — which date from the end of the XII century, show the influence of the school of the Ile de France, or rather of the Plantagenet school. The summit of the tower is modern. (De Caumont.)

St. Georges. Of this church there survives a Gothic side aisle and a Romanesque crypt, in addition to the ancient bell-tower of the XIII century, which now surmounts the Hôtel de Ville.

COURTENOT, Aube. *Église* consists of a narthex, a Romanesque nave, a southern side aisle evidently an addition of the Gothic period, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. With the exception of the rib vault beneath the tower and the half-dome surmounting the apse, the structure is roofed in timber throughout. (Arnaud, 93.)

ASNIÈRES, Sarthe. *Église* of the XII century consists of a simple rectangle adjoined to the northwest by a plain bell-tower. (De Lorière.)

MEUNG, Loiret. *Église*, classed as a "monument historique" is a curious little church which may be assigned to c. 1175, though certain fragments are doubtless still older. The Romanesque tower is surmounted by a stone spire.

VÉRAUX, Cher. *Église* consists of an apse of horseshoe form, transepts whose absidioles have been walled off, a central tower whose upper story is decorated with four blind arches, and a timber-roofed nave. The central western portal, a veritable *chef d'œuvre* of Romanesque art, is characterized by decoration as original as it is refined. Like the rest of the church, this portal must date from the XII century. (De Kersers VII, 163.)

LE PAVILLON, Aube. *Église* consists of a five-sided apse of the early XVI century, a choir with multiple rib vaulting, transepts, and a timber-roofed nave of the XII century. The windows of the choir contain fine glass of the XVI century. (Fichot I, 145.)

FARGES, Cher. *Église*, a fine example of the small rural church of the XII century, consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. The nave is roofed in wood, but the choir has a pointed barrel vault. (De Kersers I, 223.)

AUVERS-LE-HAMON, Sarthe. *Église.* The nave, of about the middle of the XII century, contains remarkable paintings of the XV century recently discovered on the walls beneath the modern plaster.

NOHANT-EN-GRAÇAY, Cher. *Église* in spite of disastrous restorations is still of interest. Originally the edifice consisted of a nave, transepts, and a semicircular apse; but the nave has been rebuilt in modern times, the transept arms have disappeared, and a square rib-vaulted choir of the XIV century has replaced the apse. The rich decoration of the crossing — almost the only relic of the XII century edifice — is composed of chevrons, grotesques, etc. (De Kersers IV, 186.)

ORVAL, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave of a single aisle roofed in wood, a choir covered with a pointed barrel vault, and a semicircular apse. The façade is characterized by a round portal in several orders. (De Kersers VI, 159.)

VIERZON, Cher. *Notre Dame.* The Romanesque structure has been much modified: the ancient semicircular apse and transepts have been replaced by the

existing polygonal apse and by the present choir which is three bays long and flanked by two lateral chapels; side aisles have been added to the nave; and in the Gothic period a central western tower forming a narthex was placed before the edifice. (De Kersers VII, 345.)

ST. JANVRIN, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts with absidioles, a central tower, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The tower piers fall within the nave walls leaving a direct passage from nave to transepts. The church is vaulted throughout with barrel vaults; those of the choir are round, those of the nave, pointed. In the exuberant decoration as well as in the plan, the edifice shows the influence of Burgundian models. The monument was much altered in the XV century. (De Kersers III, 238.)

CORNUSSE, Cher. *Église*, of modest dimensions, consisted originally of a semicircular apse, a barrel-vaulted choir, and a timber-roofed nave — the arches of these portions are all semicircular and the decoration primitive, — but in the XII century a central tower was added, the choir was slightly altered, and the present western portal with its fine rich mouldings and arched corbel-tables was erected. (De Kersers VI, 17.)

ST. HILAIRE, Cher. *Église* of the XII century is cruciform in plan and supplied with a semicircular apse. Beneath the choir, whose walls are decorated on either side with blind arcades, extends a crypt. The angles of the transeptal absidioles are decorated with columns. The vaults of the central tower have been rebuilt, but probably on the original plan. Curiously enough, the round barrel vaults of choir and transepts are surmounted by pointed arches. The single-aisled nave has been modernized; the tower piers fall within its walls. (De Kersers V, 180.)

MACEY, Aube. *St. Martin*, a cruciform edifice reconstructed about the end of the XVI century, is remarkable chiefly for the Romanesque portal preserved in the west façade, and for the stained glass. The nave, whose walls were partly rebuilt in 1615, is roofed in timber, but the choir and the chapels are vaulted, as is also the polygonal apse partially reconstructed in 1864. (Fichot I, 118.)

LAZENAY, Cher. *Église*. The nave (demolished in 1875) and the central tower, which still stands, were erected in the XI century, but the choir is probably of the XII century, although it was much modified in the late Gothic period, when the present rib vaults were erected. This choir, whose axis deviates to the north, is two bays long, and terminates in a semicircular apse. (De Kersers V, 215.)

CROSSES, Cher. *Église* consisted originally of a semicircular apse, a barrel-vaulted choir, and a rectangular nave roofed in timber. In the XII century a central tower was added in such a manner as to form two little lateral chapels. (De Kersers I, 221.)

ST.-GERMAIN-DES-BOIS, Cher. *Église*. The nave, with wooden ceiling, opens by a round arch on the choir which is covered with a pointed barrel vault and terminates in a semicircular apse. This choir was formerly surmounted by a tower, is flanked by two chapels, and deviates to the south. The nave has been extended westward, but the façade still preserves an ancient portal of the XII century. (De Kersers IV, 142.)

Chapelle de Brou, an edifice of the XII century, consists of a rectangular nave roofed in timber and a rectangular choir with a semicircular barrel vault. (De Kersers IV, 143.)

RIANS, Cher. *Église.* The most ancient parts of the rectangular plaster-vaulted nave may well date from the XII century; the square choir, however, is later. The present rib vaults, added in the XIV century, rest on corbels; the tower is modern. (De Kersers.)

ST. LYÉ, Aube. *Église.* The plan forms a rectangle to the east of which projects a five-sided apse. The most ancient portions — the nave and side aisles — date probably from the XI century, for the crude masonry and triangular decoration of these parts, only partly obscured by the alterations of the XIII century, recalls Carolingian tradition. The nave is roofed in timber; the choir, for the most part a structure of the late XIII century, is vaulted. (Fichot I, 149.)

VILLACERF, Aube. *St. Jean-Baptiste.* The original structure of the end of the XII century was disfigured in the XVI century by the addition of transepts and lateral chapels. However, the central tower, the apse, the timber-roofed nave, and the portal of the Romanesque edifice still remain. The choir is covered with groin vaults with pointed transverse ribs. (Fichot I, 88.)

BLANCAFORT, Cher. *Église.* The primitive edifice of the middle of the XI century consisted of a narrow rectangular nave, a central tower supported on the lateral walls, and probably a semicircular apse. In the XIV or XV century, however, two lateral chapels, forming as it were transepts, were added; in the XVI century the present central western tower was built; and in modern times the existing side aisles were constructed. The choir is the only portion of the edifice vaulted. (De Kersers I, 95.)

CRÉ-SUR-LOIRE, Sarthe. *Église.* The choir and the tower belong to the original construction of the commencement of the XIII century, although the style is Romanesque. The nave and the lateral chapels, built at a later epoch, have little character. Notable are the XVI century paintings which still decorate the timbered roof. (De la Bouillerie.)

IGNOL, Cher. *Église.* The orientation of this church, which originally consisted of a nave, a central tower, and an apse, has recently been reversed; the apse has been demolished, the tower converted into a sort of narthex. The arcades, however, still retain their mural paintings of the XIII century. (De Kersers VI, 25.)

ÎLE-AUMONT, Aube. *St. Pierre et St. Paul.* This edifice consists of two parallel rectangular aisles, the northernmost of which — a Romanesque structure of the XII century — ends in a semicircular apse. There was originally a third aisle, but this has been demolished. The northern aisle is roofed in timber, except the choir which is barrel-vaulted. There is a central tower; the piers are rectangular; the archivolts and windows are of a single order; there is no system. The southern nave is of the XVI century; its two eastern bays are covered with multiple rib vaults. (Fichot I, 392.)

LAPAN, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave covered with a round barrel vault

and of a semicircular apse. Transverse arches, resting on pilasters and buttressed externally, divide this nave into four bays. (De Kersers V, 59.)

VANNES, Aube. *Église de l'Assomption* consists of a single-aisled nave of the XII century that has suffered much from restorations, a modern façade, Gothic transepts, and a choir of the same epoch. The church is roofed in timber throughout, and the well-preserved open-timber roof of the transepts and choir is the original one of the XIII century. (Fichot I, 71.)

LÉRÉ, Cher. *St. Martin.* This ruined edifice has been many times rebuilt, and contains fragments of the architecture of many different epochs. The structure consists of a semicircular apse, a choir, a great nave, and a narthex-tower to the westward. Beneath the apse is a crypt, and beyond this a chapel — these are doubtless the oldest portions of the monument. The choir is covered with a barrel vault; the crossing and nave, with multiple rib vaults. (De Kersers V, 21.)

Notre Dame. Of this desecrated church only the nave, dating from the XI, XIII, and XIV centuries, survives. (De Kersers V, 24.)

LOYE, Cher. *Église.* Of the primitive edifice of the XI century there remain only the lateral walls of the choir, decorated internally with arcades. At the end of the XII century a central tower was constructed on piers placed within the walls of the nave, and the crossing was covered with a rib vault. The nave was probably vaulted about this same time, but the vaults have since fallen. The existing portal dates from early in the XIII century; the choir was rebuilt with a square chevet in the flamboyant period. (De Kersers VII, 201.)

CROSMIÈRES, Sarthe. *St. Hippolyte et St. Laurent.* The present rectangular choir in the style of the XIII century is covered with a vault constructed of small stones mixed with much mortar, resting upon a system of ribs strongly Plantagenet in character. The tower seems to be about contemporary, but the single-aisled nave, more lofty than the choir, is of the XV century. (De la Bouillerie.)

FOUCHÈRES, Aube. *Église.* The nave which contains a curious mixture of round and pointed arches is of the XII century, but the choir was reconstructed in the early Gothic period. The western portal is remarkable for its grotesque capitals. A wooden ceiling covers the single side aisle, which flanks the north side of the nave. The choir is rib-vaulted and supplied with a continuous system. (Arnaud, 23.)

LANTAN, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave and a semicircular apse. The eastern portions are covered with rib vaults added in the XV century, but the nave has a wooden ceiling, except that the westernmost bay, which carries the tower, is, like the choir, supplied with a flamboyant rib vault. The walls of the nave are decorated with arcades. (De Kersers IV, 120.)

ST.-ÉLOI-DE-GY, Cher. *Église* is formed of two separate edifices parallel to each other. The northernmost, which is the more ancient, was the church of the priory; it consists of a polygonal apse, a choir covered with a pointed barrel-vault, and a nave roofed in wood. The apse is peculiar in that an angle of the plan corresponds with the axis. This construction is assigned by M. de Kersers to about the middle of the XII century. The southern church is a structure of the XVI century with a square east end. (De Kersers VI, 220.)

NÉRONDES, Cher. *Église*, said to be of the XI century, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir whose axis deviates to the south, transepts, a southern transeptal absidiole, a central tower, and a nave coated with plaster. The west portal, evidently later than the rest of the construction, must date from the very end of the XII century. Externally, the edifice is remarkable for the pointed windows and the apse decorated with shafts and flat corbel-tables. (De Kersers VI, 52.)

MÉRY-ÈS-BOIS, Cher. *Église* contains some fragments of Romanesque architecture, notably in the north wall. The southern chapel seems to be of the XIV century. The vaulted apse of the XV century is three-sided. (De Kersers III, 31.)

BARBERY-ST.-SULPICE, Aube. *St. Sulpice.* The wooden-roofed nave of the XII century, almost entirely rebuilt in the XVI century, terminates to the westward in a temporary wooden wall. The most interesting parts of the church are the choir with its lateral chapels and the five-sided apse. These portions, which date from the early XVI century, are covered with simple rib vaults. (Fichot I, 99.)

ST.-CHRISTOPHE-LE-CHAUDRY, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave with a wooden roof of 1633 and of a barrel-vaulted choir terminating in a square east end — the latter an exceptional disposition. The western doorway in three orders is round-headed. Externally the church is remarkable for the choir walls adorned with blind arcades. The tower which formerly surmounted this part of the church has disappeared. (De Kersers III, 235.)

STE. LUNAISE, Cher. *Église.* This desecrated edifice originally consisted of a semicircular apse, of a vaulted choir, and of a rectangular nave roofed in wood. These portions, in which the pointed arch is consistently used, must date from the commencement of the XII century. Later in the same century a square tower was added above the western bay of the nave. (De Kersers V, 102.)

MEREAU, Cher. *Église* consists of a semicircular apse, a choir formerly barrel-vaulted, and a nave roofed in wood. The portal is of the XI or XIII century. (De Kersers V, 236.)

NEUVY-LE-BARROIS, Cher. *Église.* A semicircular apse is preceded by a choir of two bays covered with a pointed barrel vault. Over the first bay of this choir rises the tower. The edifice was erected in the last half of the XII century, but has been altered in the flamboyant period. (De Kersers VII, 129.)

SABLÉ, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* This church was erected in the XI century, much altered about the middle of the XII century, and largely rebuilt in the flamboyant period. The façade was again remodeled in 1709, and the tower in 1753. (Wismes.)

SAGONNE, Cher. *Église* is assigned by M. de Kersers to the XI century. The shallow polygonal apse decorated with arcades is covered with a half-dome; the choir is supplied with a rib vault of the XV century. The nave is of a single aisle. (De Kersers VII, 133.)

ST. CAPRAIS, Cher. *Église* appears to have originally consisted of a semicircular apse, a barrel-vaulted choir, and a nave of a single aisle, but has been much modernized. To the south rises a tower with an absidiole. (De Kersers V, 91.)

PREUILLY, Cher. *Église*, many times rebuilt, consists of a semicircular apse,

a barrel-vaulted choir, two chapels, and a nave of a single aisle roofed in wood. The portal is assigned on its style to the XI century. (De Kersers V, 245.)

VILLEQUIERS, Cher. *Église* assigned to the last half of the XII century, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir covered with a pointed barrel vault, and a wooden-roofed nave. The windows and arcades are round-arched. (De Kersers I, 276.)

ALLOUIS, Cher. *Église.* The oldest portions of this much modernized edifice are assigned to the XI century. The apse is semicircular, the nave has a wooden ceiling. (De Kersers V, 262.)

GENOUILLY, Cher. *Prieuré de Gramont-Fortblanche.* (Ill. 154.) The church, though transformed into stables and storehouses, is preserved nearly intact. The semicircular apse is vaulted with a half-dome; the nave is covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault. The windows are also pointed. (De Kersers IV, 165.)

GRAÇAY, Cher. *St. Martin.* Only fragments of this church survive, the entire nave and all the western portions having been destroyed. The transepts have been converted into a café, but the choir and the three-sided apse are still intact. Externally this apse is characterized by columns engaged in each angle, supporting blind arches beneath which open the windows, shafted, and in several orders. The cornice consists of a flat corbel-table. The construction evidently dates from late in the XII century. (De Kersers IV, 178.)

MONTLOUIS, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave of the XI century, a choir of the XII century, and a tower of the XIII century, — the latter flanking the church. The monument has been many times made over: the façade at present is furnished with penetrating buttresses; the windows are some round, some pointed; and the nave is covered with a plaster vault. (De Kersers V, 174.)

MENETREOL-SUR-SAULDRE, Cher. *Église* is an edifice of a single aisle with a square east end and a wooden roof. The building dates mainly from the XV century, but the north chapel, which is the most interesting part, is probably of the XII century, and is doubtless a remnant of the ancient tower. (De Kersers I, 161.)

MONTCEAUX, Aube. *St. Syre.* The single-aisled nave vaulted in plaster contains some fragments of architecture dating from the XII century, but has been many times restored. The choir, constructed in 1528, is supplied with a multiple rib vault. (Fichot I, 417.)

RIGNY-LE-FERRON, Aube. *St. Martin.* Although the church was entirely remodeled in the first half of the XVI century, some fragments of the XII century edifice survive in the nave and in the piers of the transepts. The existing choir is flanked by side aisles, is supplied with a multiple rib vault, and ends in a five-sided apse. It contains some fine glass. The western tower was rebuilt in the last years of the XVII century. (Fichot I, 310.)

ST. BOUIZE, Cher. *Église* of the XII century consists of two rectangles: one, which is covered with a pointed barrel vault in two bays and which probably terminated originally in a semicircular apse, forms the choir; the other, supplied with a wooden ceiling, is the nave. To the west rises a heavy tower, earlier than the XV century. (De Kersers VII, 36.)

ST.-PIERRE-DES-ÉTIEUX, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled, wooden-roofed nave; a choir covered with a round barrel vault, much mutilated; and two chapels, one of which seems to be older than the church. The XII century tower is the most interesting part of the monument; it is characterized by three stories of shafted windows in several orders, flat corbel-tables, and a spire with turrets. (De Kersers III, 89.)

SAVIGNY-EN-SANCERRE, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave, a choir surmounted by a tower, transepts evidently later than the rest of the edifice, and an apse semicircular internally, polygonal externally. The nave is roofed in wood; the choir has a rib vault, which apparently replaces the original cupola. (De Kersers V, 39.)

VORNAY, Cher. *Église* consists of a semicircular apse, a choir which originally supported a tower, and a nave of a single aisle. The gable of the interesting façade is ornamented with a Greek cross. The church shows three different eras of construction, all, however, falling within the XII century. (De Kersers I, 281.)

ACHÈRES, Cher. *Église* is assigned to "shortly after 1075" by M. de Kersers. The semicircular apse is preceded by a barrel-vaulted choir, and flanked by chapels of the flamboyant period. The rectangular nave is not vaulted. (De Kersers IV, 293.)

ST. DOULCHARD, Cher. *Église*, of the XI century, consists of an apse, transepts, transeptal absidioles, and a nave of a single aisle. The church is much mutilated, and has lost its central tower. (De Kersers V, 305.)

NEUILLY, Cher. *Église*. The nave has recently been rebuilt; the rectangular choir of the XII century is covered with a pointed barrel vault. (De Kersers IV, 315.)

SANCERGUES, Cher. *Église*. The choir and transepts are of the XII century; the Gothic nave was in part demolished in 1493. The apse is semicircular; the choir has a pointed barrel vault, and is decorated with superposed arcades. There are transeptal absidioles. The nave is flanked by two side aisles; its vaults have been removed. The piers are cruciform in plan, half columns being engaged on the four faces and colonnettes in the angles. (De Kersers, VI, 334.)

ÉPINEUIL, Cher. *Église*. The lower portions of the great western tower which surmounts the narthex are assigned to the end of the XII century; but the belfry is a wretched affair of the Renaissance. The nave, also of the XII century, is decorated with arcades; the choir slightly narrower terminates in a square east end. This monument offers little of interest. (De Kersers VII, 193.)

PARASSY, Cher. *Église* consists of two long rectangles, one forming the nave, the other, somewhat narrower, the choir, — both of the XVII century. But in the west façade is a rich Romanesque portal adorned with chevrons — doubtless a remnant of the XII century church.

VIREZ-SOUS-BAR, Aube. *Église* consists of an exterior narthex with a rich Romanesque doorway; a nave, like the single side aisle, a timber-roofed Romanesque construction, except the easternmost bay which is rib-vaulted; two lateral chapels; and a square choir — the eastern portions all of the end of the XV or early XVI century. (Arnaud, 94.)

MORNAY-BERRY, Cher. *Église*, assigned to the XII century, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir vaulted with a half-dome on squinches and surmounted by a central tower, and a nave of a single aisle roofed in wood. The exterior is ornamented with double arcades. (De Kersers VI, 46.)

VILLEMOYENNE, Aube. *Église*, remarkable for its western narthex and transepts, possesses a nave two bays long, covered with vaults of the XVI century. The Romanesque apse, although semicircular in plan, is roofed in wood. (Arnaud, 82.)

PRÉLY-LE-CHÉTIF, Cher. *Église*. The apse, which may be assigned to the XII century, is decorated with paintings, unfortunately much damaged. A wall separates this apse from the choir. The nave is furnished with a wooden ceiling; the western portal is pointed. (De Kersers III, 37.)

SANTRANGES, Cher. *Église* consists of a narthex, a nave flanked by a southern chapel, a choir covered with a pointed barrel vault, and an apse semicircular externally, polygonal internally. The nave is roofed in timber, and is supplied with a rich round-arched portal that must date from the last quarter of the XII century. Externally the apse is adorned with flat corbel-tables, arched string-courses, and salient buttresses. (De Kersers V, 35.)

LA GUERCHE, Cher. *Église du Gravier*, assigned by M. de Kersers to the second half of the XI century, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir covered with a cupola on squinches, transepts, and a nave. Originally all the arches were semicircular, but many were rebuilt in the pointed form when the church was made over in the XV century. (De Kersers IV, 261.)

NOZIÈRES, Cher. *Église*. The modest nave is roofed in wood and supplied with a round-arched portal; the choir of the XIII century, however, is rib-vaulted, and consists of two bays and a polygonal apse. The vaulting ribs are supported by columns resting on corbels. (De Kersers VI, 152.)

SUBDRAY, Cher. *Église*. The rib vaults of the single-aisled nave are evidently an addition of the XV century, for the vaulting ribs rest on corbels. The tower of the XII century rises over the narthex, and is characterized by a belfry with round-headed windows, four angle turrets, and a stone spire — the latter was conical in shape until recent restorations. Two chapels have been added to the church. (De Kersers III, 178.)

ORCENAIS, Cher. *Église*. It was intended to erect vaults over the nave, but these have never been executed. The arch of the main portal is pointed. The choir of the XIII century is notable for its exquisite details. (De Kersers VI, 155.)

REIGNY, Cher. *Église*. The single-aisled nave supplied with a round-arched portal is roofed in timber; the choir adorned with two blind arcades, one on either wall, is surmounted by a semicircular barrel vault; and the apse is covered with a half-dome. (De Kersers III, 233.)

ST.-GERVAIS-DE-VIC, Sarthe. *Église*, although rebuilt in 1450–98 and again restored in the Renaissance style in 1533, still retains some fragments of Romanesque architecture. The transepts have tribunes; the chevet is polygonal. Only one bay of the nave is vaulted. (Froger.)

STE. MONTAINE, Cher. *Église*, which consists of two rectangles both without vault, has so little architectural character that it is difficult to judge of its date; M. de Kersers, however, assigns it to the XII or XIII century. The tower was erected in 1489, when the church was severely damaged by a fire, traces of which are still visible. (De Kersers I, 174.)

ST.-PIERRE-DES-BOIS, Cher. *Église* consists of an apse covered with a pointed half-dome, a choir (which is vaulted in wood), and a nave roofed in timber. A central tower formerly rose over the choir. The exterior is characterized by salient buttresses, round windows, and flat corbel-tables. (De Kersers IV, 38.)

ST.-VITTE-LE-FLEURIEL, Cher. *Église*. Of this much mutilated edifice there remain only the choir, the semicircular apse, the south transept with its absidiole preceded by a square bay covered with a pointed barrel vault, and the single-aisled nave, many times rebuilt. The north transept has entirely disappeared. (De Kersers VII, 215.)

OIZON, Cher. *Église*. The single-aisled nave, roofed in timber, seems to be the earliest portion of the edifice, for the portal is evidently a work of the XII century. The rectangular choir of the XIII century and the lateral chapels of the flamboyant period are at present vaulted in plaster, but were doubtless originally roofed in timber. (De Kersers I, 165.)

SILLÉ, Sarthe. *Église*. On the south side of this church a curious XII century gable surmounts the portal which gives access to the extended crypt. The main portal of the XIII century is superbly sculptured. Most of the structure is of very late date, and the two chapels are modern. (Hucher.)

SALIGNY-LE-VIF, Cher. *Église*, of slight importance, consists of two wooden-roofed rectangles, one of which serves as nave, the other as choir; the two are separated by a wall in which are opened three arches. The round-arched portal is in three orders. (De Kersers I, 263.)

SOUTERRAIN Cher. *Église*. The nave has been recently reconstructed, but the ancient choir, which is assigned to the XI century by M. de Kersers, still survives. This choir is covered with a round barrel vault, and is internally decorated with high arcades, blind on one side, but pierced by windows on the other. The apse is vaulted with a half-dome. To the south, the church is adjoined by a chapel with absidiole. (De Kersers VII, 188.)

BRINAY, Cher. *Église*, of little interest, consists of two rectangles, both roofed in timber and communicating with each other by a low round archway. The building has been much rebuilt, but is assigned to the XI century by M. de Kersers. It contains mural paintings of the XV century. (De Kersers V, 202.)

ASSIGNY, Cher. *Église*, rebuilt in the XVIII century, consists of two rectangles: the nave with plaster vault contains a Romanesque portal in three orders; the modern choir evidently replaces the original apse. (De Kersers VII, 238.)

VALLENAY, Cher. *Église*, of little interest, consists of two rectangles: the choir, barrel-vaulted, is divided into two bays by engaged columns, whose capitals are extremely coarse; the nave is roofed in wood. (De Kersers III, 315.)

VESDUN, Cher. *Église*, assigned to the XI century, consists of a rectangular

nave covered in wood and a barrel-vaulted choir whose walls are adorned with high arcades. The triumphal arch is of horseshoe form. (De Kersers VII, 225.)

BOUZAIS, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave of the XI century roofed in wood and of a rib-vaulted choir of the XV century, two bays long. The vaulting ribs of the choir are prismatic. The pointed triumphal arch is assigned to the XII century. (De Kersers VI, 89.)

GIVARDON, Cher. *Église*. This cruciform church was struck by lightning and burned in 1553. All the upper parts, the western façade, the transepts, and the apse were then destroyed, and soon after rebuilt in the Renaissance style; but the existing central tower is the original one of the XII century. (De Kersers VII, 109.)

MORNAY-SUR-ALLIER, Cher. *Église*, assigned by M. de Kersers to the XI century, consists of a semicircular apse, a barrel-vaulted choir, and a nave roofed in wood. The old central tower has been replaced by a new tower rising to the south of the edifice. (De Kersers VII, 116.)

PAISY-COSDON, Aube. *Église* was rebuilt in the XVI century, although certain portions of the edifice of the end of the XII century still survive. The monument, which is entirely roofed in timber, consists of a rectangle terminating in a three-sided apse. (Fichot I, 307.)

SOULANGY, Cher. *Église*, with the exception of two modern chapels, consists of a simple rectangle much elongated and (although the great light of the east end has been walled up) generously supplied with windows, some of which are round-headed, some pointed. A wooden vault covers the whole. The round-arched portal is shafted and adorned with finely moulded archivolts; the bases of the piers are furnished with griffes.

ST.-HYLAIRE-DE-GONDILLY, Cher. *Église*, of very small dimensions, consists of a semicircular apse, a choir — originally vaulted and crowned by a central tower, but now roofed in timber, — and a nave also covered with a wooden ceiling. (De Kersers VI, 72.)

CHAPPES, Aube. *Église*. This Romanesque structure, which was almost entirely rebuilt in the XVI century, consists of a narthex, a nave of a single aisle, a choir, a central tower, and a five-sided apse. (Arnaud, 85.)

NEURY-DEUX-CLOCHERS, Cher. *Église* contains a western gable and a portal of the XII century. The choir was reconstructed in the flamboyant period, and the large southern chapel is a work of the XIV century. (De Kersers IV, 321.)

TROUY, Cher. *Église* consists of a semicircular apse (whose triumphal arch rests on corbels), a chapel, and a nave of a single aisle. The chapel contains some fine glass windows, one of which contains an inscription of 1479. (De Kersers V, 116.)

UZAY-LE-VENON, Cher. *Église* consists of a choir and a nave, both rectangular. The choir is two bays long and rib-vaulted, the ribs resting on corbels; the nave is roofed in timber but the pilasters engaged on the piers were evidently intended to carry transverse arches. (De Kersers III, 313.)

LA-CHAPELLE-ST.-URSIN, Cher. *Église*, despite numerous mutilations conserves the original dispositions: — a semicircular apse, a choir, a nave, and a west-

ern tower. The choir is barrel-vaulted and decorated with arcades; the tower is entirely modern. (De Kersers V, 274.)

MONTRÉAL, Yonne. *Église* is said to have been constructed in 1145 by Anserie III, and to be a transitional edifice of the greatest interest.

BALLON, Sarthe. *St. Mars-sous-Ballon.* The Romanesque church of this priory is said to be of interest. (Wismes.)

SOYE, Cher. *Église.* The existing edifice consists of a large rectangular nave and a square choir, but one bay of the choir and the semicircular apse have been destroyed. Pointed arches are employed, and the walls are decorated with arcades. The ornament, which shows the influence of the Ile de France, must date from very late in the XII century. (De Kersers V, 110.)

VILLENEUVE, Cher. *Église.* The orientation of this edifice has recently been reversed, but the ancient side walls and the pointed barrel vaults with transverse ribs have been preserved. (De Kersers III, 185.)

ST.-GEORGES-SUR-LA-PRÉ, Cher. *Église*, of little interest, consists of an apse, a choir, a nave, and a tower of the XV century placed at the west end of the edifice. The façade is preceded by a unique porch of the XII century. (De Kersers IV, 197.)

THÉNIOU, Cher. *Église.* The original construction dates from the XII century, but in the XV century a chapel was added and the church itself gravely altered. Recently the edifice has been almost entirely rebuilt. (De Kersers VII, 331.)

ETIVAL-EN-CHARNIE, Sarthe. *Abbaye.* Except for the transept arms, the XII century church was entirely destroyed in the Revolution. (Triger.)

DAMPIERRE-EN-CROT, Cher. *Église* consists of a western tower, a rectangular nave, a choir, and a three-sided apse. The nave and the choir have wooden vaults; the portal is round-arched. (De Kersers VII, 258.)

LOMBRON, Sarthe. *St. Martin.* This church of the XII century consists of a nave whose wooden roof was erected in 1609, transepts also roofed in timber, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. (Froger.)

PIRMIL, Sarthe. *Église*, which dates probably from the XII century, is supplied with transepts and a semicircular apse. The roof was repaired in 1429. (Froger.)

ST. JUST, Cher. *Église* has just been restored. However, the choir, covered with a pointed barrel vault, and the apse are ancient. The transverse arches are in two orders. (De Kersers V, 95.)

CHAMPAISSANT, Sarthe. *St. Gilles* is of interest only for the Romanesque portal in three orders, richly ornamented. (Vavasseur.)

ST.-BENOÎT-SUR-SEINE, Aube. *Église.* The wooden-roofed nave of this cruciform edifice dates from the XII century, but has been many times altered. The choir consists of a single bay covered with a multiple rib vault. (Fichot I, 46.)

VORLY, Cher. *Église*, many times rebuilt, consists of a nave of a single aisle with plaster vault, a square choir, and a semicircular apse noticeably inclined to the south. (De Kersers V, 119.)

GROIZES, Cher. *Église.* To the ancient rectangular nave, vaulted in wood, has recently been added a brand-new choir. (De Kersers VI, 291.)

ST.-PARRES-LES-VAUDES. *Église.* To the Romanesque nave roofed in wood was added in the flamboyant period a transept, whose vaults are supplied with double pendants. (Arnaud, 82.)

DREVANT, Cher. *Église*, of little interest, consists of a nave with plaster vault and a choir with rib vault. The western portal is assigned to the XII century. (De Kersers VI, 125.)

Prieuré has been transformed into dwellings. A few fragments of XII century architecture survive.

HERRY, Cher. *Abbaye de Chalivoy.* The walls of the church of the XII century are preserved in certain modern houses. (De Kersers VI, 296.)

COURMONONCLE, Aube. *Chapelle St. Geugoul.* This little wooden-roofed monument of the XII century consists of a choir and nave. (Fichot I, 336.)

FUSSY, Cher. *Église*, recently rebuilt, contains an apse and tower of the late XII century. (De Kersers VI, 198.)

NOHANT-EN-GOÛT, Cher. *Église.* This desecrated edifice consists of a single unvaulted rectangle. It dates probably from the XII century, but the eastern parts were rebuilt in the XIV century. (De Kersers I, 260.)

BRUÈRES, Cher. *Chapelle St. Pierre.* The nave is ruined; the walls of the choir have been built into a modern house. The portal seems to date from the end of the XI century. (De Kersers VI, 101.)

ARÇAY, Cher. *Église*, almost entirely rebuilt in 1828, preserves of the ancient structure only the semicircular apse. (De Kersers V, 56.)

CHAVANNES, Cher. *Église* is of no interest except for the Romanesque portal assigned to the XI century. (De Kersers III, 290.)

VEZOT, Sarthe. *Église*, in part of the XI century, contains mural paintings of the XIII and XVI centuries.

SIDIAILLES, Cher. *Abbaye* is entirely ruined. However, traces exist of the square apse which was flanked by two chapels, as well as of the springing of the barrel vault which covered it. (De Kersers III, 254.)

VAILLY, Cher. *Église* has been many times rebuilt. The portal of the XII century is round-arched; the nave is vaulted in wood, the choir in plaster; the apse is semicircular. (De Kersers VII, 280.)

VOUZERON, Cher. *Église* is entirely modern with the exception of the rectangular nave vaulted in wood. (De Kersers VII, 361.)

BOUY, (near Berry), Cher. *Église.* Unfortunately nothing but a few fragments built into a modern house survives of this edifice which, it is known, was erected between 1090 and 1100. (De Kersers V, 270.)

CHAMPAGNE, Sarthe. *Abbaye* was founded in 1188. Of the church almost nothing remains.

BANNEGOU, Cher. *St. Martin.* The lower parts of the ancient walls, the buttresses, and the portal are Romanesque. (De Kersers III, 52.)

MENETOU-RATEL, Cher. *Église*, much mutilated, consists to-day of a rectangle vaulted in plaster. A fragment of the archivolt of the portal seems to date from the XI century. (De Kersers VII, 25.)

LUNERY, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave vaulted in wood, and of a semicircular apse. To the south adjoins a massive tower, whose lower parts date from the XI century, the upper from the XIII. (De Kersers III, 136.)

CRÉSANCY, Cher. *Église.* The lower parts of the walls are of the XII century. The apse is polygonal. (De Kersers VII, 10.)

CRÉZANÇAY, Cher. *Église* consists of two wooden-roofed rectangles, the one forming the nave, the other the choir. (De Kersers III, 301.)

ST.-MICHEL-DE-VOLANGES, Cher. *Église* contains some fragments of Romanesque architecture.

ST.-VINCENT-DES-PRÉS, Sarthe. *Église.* The tower is Romanesque.

CULANT, Cher. *Notre Dame.* Of the primitive edifice there remains only the round-arched west portal; the rest of this building, destroyed probably by the Protestants, has been rebuilt in the form of a rectangle flanked by two chapels. (De Kersers III, 225.)

SANCERRE, Cher. *St. Romble.* Of the structure of the XII century there remains only the wall of one transept. (De Kersers VII, 67.)

JALOGNES, Cher. *Église*, almost entirely reconstructed, conserves of the original structure only the lower portions of the walls together with a portal of the XI or XII century. (De Kersers VII, 19.)

DUN-SUR-AURON, Cher. *Église.*

PANON, Sarthe. *Église.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRANSITION

BY the term "transitional" it is common to designate those monuments of the Ile de France which were erected during the period in which Romanesque architecture was gradually being transformed into Gothic. Consequently, in order to understand the limits and nature of the transitional period, it is necessary to anticipate a little, and inquire exactly what is meant by the term *Gothic* in architecture. This question has been the subject of much controversy. The word, first applied as an epithet of opprobrium to all medieval buildings by the architects of the Renaissance, was given a technical meaning by De Caumont and the archaeologists of the early XIX century, who employed it to distinguish buildings with pointed arches from those with round arches, which were called Romanesque. Attention has already been called to the lack of precision and the vagueness of the latter term. In the case of the word *Gothic*, the same elusiveness exists, and has been far more generally felt, for the monuments to which it is applied are at once more beautiful and better known. Consequently, as deeper knowledge has revealed the fact that the fundamental element of the so-called Gothic buildings lay, not in the pointed arch, but in certain deep-seated, underlying principles of construction, numerous definitions and counter-terms have been proposed by various archaeologists. None of these has gained wide acceptance; the vague and unscientific meaning attached to the word *Gothic* has become so deeply rooted in our language, so much part of the daily thought and speech of the race, that there is little prospect of ever establishing a more precise term, or of giving the word itself a stricter definition.

Of all the attempts to define the term *Gothic*, one only, that of Mr. Moore, deserves serious consideration. This author has

devoted an entire chapter[1] to the subject, but his views are fairly summarized in the following passage: "He [Viollet-le-Duc] has given a profound and exhaustive illustration of Gothic. He has shown that this architecture consists primarily in a peculiar structural system, — a system which was a gradual evolution out of the arched Roman through the Romanesque, — and that its distinctive characteristic is that the whole scheme of the building is determined by, and its whole strength is made to reside in, a finely organized and frankly confessed framework rather than walls. This framework, made up of piers, arches, and buttresses, is freed from every unnecessary encumbrance of wall, and is rendered as light in all its parts as is compatible with strength — the strength of the fabric depending not upon inert massiveness (except in the outermost abutments) but upon a logical adjustment of active parts, whose opposing forces neutralize each other and produce a perfect equilibrium. It is a system of balanced thrusts in contradistinction to the ancient system of inert stability. Gothic architecture is such a system carried out in a finely artistic spirit. It is, indeed, much more than this, but it is this primarily and always. So fundamental and far reaching is this peculiar mode of construction as the distinctive principle of Gothic, that it may be taken as a rule, that, wherever we find it developed, there we have a Gothic building, even though the ornamental elements connected with it may retain many Romanesque characteristics; while on the other hand, wherever a framework maintained on the principle of thrust and counter thrust is wanting, there we have not Gothic, however freely the ornamental elements may differ from the Romanesque."

For clearness and precision, it would be impossible to improve on this definition of Mr. Moore's; but, unfortunately, such a classification excludes certain buildings that have, time out of mind, enjoyed the appellation of Gothic, — indeed all the pointed edifices of England, Germany, Spain, and Italy, to say nothing of those timber-roofed churches of the Ile de France itself which are in age and ornament of the self-same style as the buildings acknowledged Gothic. Consequently, Mr. Moore's

[1] Chapter I of his *Gothic Architecture*. The passage quoted is taken from pp. 7–8.

definition, excellent as it is, has won but little acceptance, and has had as its chief result the stirring up of a vast amount of indignation among the admirers of English cathedrals, who consider it nothing less than an insult to the old minsters to refuse them the time-honored epithet Gothic.

I have, therefore, reluctantly concluded to abandon Mr. Moore's definition of the word which I shall employ in the loose meaning in which it is generally understood, to designate that architecture which grew up in the Ile de France at the end of the XII century and all other styles directly thence derived. It should be once for all emphatically stated that the old definition which makes the pointed arch the essential characteristic of Gothic, is not only erroneous but positively misleading. What the true nature and characteristics of Gothic architecture were, are clearly summarized in the passage above quoted from Mr. Moore; and I hope they will be made familiar to the reader of this and of the succeeding chapter.

Just where the line is to be drawn between the transitional and Gothic periods must, in consequence, like the term *Gothic* itself, remain vague. Generally speaking, however, we may consider the Gothic period to begin when the new principles had gained the mastery, and the old Romanesque elements had entirely disappeared. This era dawned with the construction of the choir of Paris, c. 1163, although in other regions a parallel development was not reached until almost the end of the XII century.

The beginning of the transitional period is much easier to place, for it was signalized by the introduction of the rib vault into the Ile de France. That event, in all probability, occurred during the first ten years of the XII century, and we shall not be far out of the way in assigning it in round numbers to the year 1100.

This transitional period, extending thus approximately from 1100 to 1180, is divided into two nearly equal and distinct halves by the construction of the choir of the abbey church of St. Denis in 1140–44.[1] The history of the first of these

[1] St. Denis is, then, exactly at the middle point of the transition, and far from being, as has often been said by writers of the old school, the first of the transitional monuments.

halves — the first phase of the transition, as we may call it — is still somewhat obscure, although recent researches have thrown a great and new light upon the subject. But unfortunately, not a single surely dated monument of the Ile de France, falling between the years 1100 and 1140, is known. The western portions of Chartres cathedral, it is true, are dated approximately, though the chronology of this puzzling structure has been the subject of much controversy; but these vaults were erected at the very end of the period and in a locality somewhat removed from the center of the transitional movement. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that he has found a central date of support in the chapel at Bellefontaine; but as M. St. Paul has pointed out, the charter in question merely granted permission in 1125 to build the chapel, and the actual construction might have been carried out at any time subsequent to this date. The same objection applies to the church of Airaines, whose undated charter was signed by Thibaut, abbot from 1108–19. Relics were brought to Morienval in 1122, and M. St. Paul has supposed that it was in consequence of this circumstance that the famous ambulatory was built; but this argument has been warmly attacked by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. For certain and unquestionable, therefore, we have only the state of architecture as it was at the end of the XI century — this state, as has been seen in the preceding chapter, being well established by authentically dated structures — and the state at which it arrived in 1140–44.

Now between these two types stand a crowd of undated monuments showing every intermediate stage of the transformation, and, if it once be granted that the transition progressed by uniform and gradual steps, it is possible, by careful study and comparison, to assign each of these monuments to the position it should occupy in the logical development of the style. Many archaeologists have attempted this delicate task with varying success; — notably, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis has assigned dates to the monuments of the XII century in the diocese of Soissons in so plausible a manner, that it is beyond all reasonable doubt that we have beneath our eyes the entire process of evolution. However, it must be candidly recognized that these

assigned dates offer several difficulties. Architectural progress always describes, not a smooth curve, but a wavy line. Certain buildings are inevitably in advance, as others are behind, their time; strange archaic features will often appear ten, twenty, fifty years after improvements have been discovered and generally adopted. Also it is not at all unlikely that progress may have been much more rapid at certain times — for example, the last part of the period — than at others, that advance may have been made, so to speak, in an arithmetical progression. Thus all these assigned dates must be understood to be relative and somewhat arbitrary, and the exact time and manner of the evolution of certain details must remain in doubt. None the less, the broad outlines of the transitional movement must he held to be clearly and indubitably established.

Of all the facts which these modern studies have demonstrated, the fundamental importance of the rib vault is the most vital. Here is the key which gives transitional architecture its meaning, Gothic architecture its existence; here the principle on which was more or less completely founded all the architectural history of the later Middle Ages. During the transitional period, in especial, the rib vault was all important; it was the cause from which all else followed. Other changes were purely incidental or followed as direct consequences of the development of this all essential feature. It is clear, therefore, that any study of the transitional period must commence with the study of the rib vault.

The history of this construction falls naturally into two distinct phases, corresponding to the two halves into which the history of the style is divided. During the first phase of the transition, 1100–40, the builders struggled to master the rib vault in its simpler problems; they learned to construct it on square and on oblong plans, and even over the awkward curves of ambulatories, but their experiments were always on a small scale. During the second phase (1140–80) the problem of vaulting great naves was attacked; the evolution centers in the peculiar development which the genius of the French builders gave to the concealed flying buttress and to the sexpartite vault, both borrowed from Normandy. In the following pages I

shall try to trace the development of the rib vault in these two periods successively.

To say that Gothic architecture originated on the soil of the Ile de France, has become almost a commonplace. The country which we call roughly the royal domain, however, was in the XII century divided architecturally into several sub-schools, differing slightly from one another, but all showing, in somewhat divergent ways, the same progress towards the same goal. Which of these sub-schools was the creative influence has recently been the subject of much controversy. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, who on the whole carries off the honors, claims this distinction for the school which flourished in the ancient diocese of Soissons, along the valleys of the Aisne and Oise. M. Enlart sees the formative influence even outside the borders of the Ile de France, in Picardy and the diocese of Amiens, and especially in those lands included in the present département of Somme. Another widely accepted view is that long ago advanced by M. Woillez, the first of the long line of scholars to specialize in this period — a view which sees the cradle of Gothic in the district forming the ancient diocese of Beauvais, and roughly corresponding to the present département of Oise. Less convincing is the thesis of M. St. Paul who looks farther to the west, to the region comprised between Paris and the Norman border.

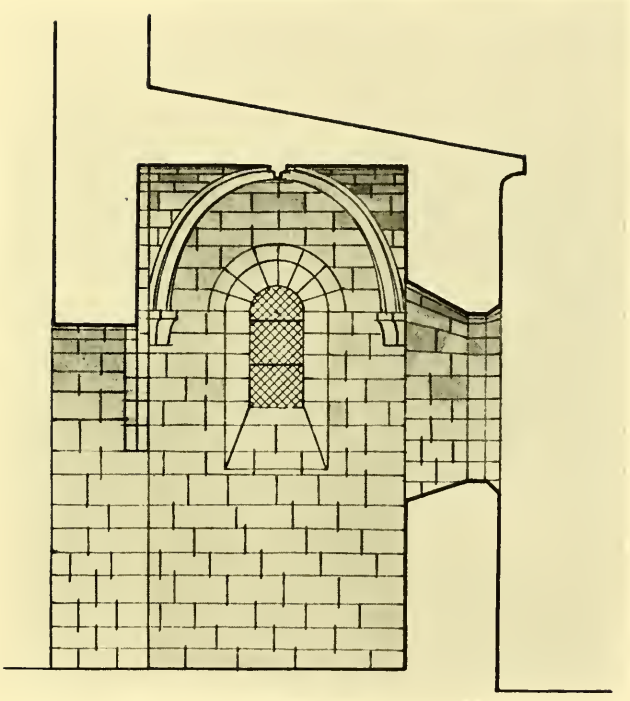
In which of these four sub-schools the rib vault first made its appearance can probably never be proved, nor is it a matter of essential importance. The vital fact is that it did appear somewhere. Once discovered, it seems to have been adopted and developed with almost common enthusiasm by the three sub-schools of Soissons, Amiens, and Beauvais. It is probable that no one of these three centers was exclusively the formative influence during the transitional period; all, indeed, formed parts of an essential whole, all contributed to the common progress. One adjustment developed and was advanced more rapidly in one, another in another. Yet the three were never far separated. Any material progress scored in the valley of the Aisne was sure to make its way without long delay to the banks of the Somme and to the Beauvoisis. Thus, while the

three sub-schools are undoubtedly distinguished by local characteristics, and it will not seldom be necessary to distinguish between them, yet all combine to form a single unit, which may be considered as the generative center of Gothic architecture. After c. 1135 I should also include in this unit the school of the West.

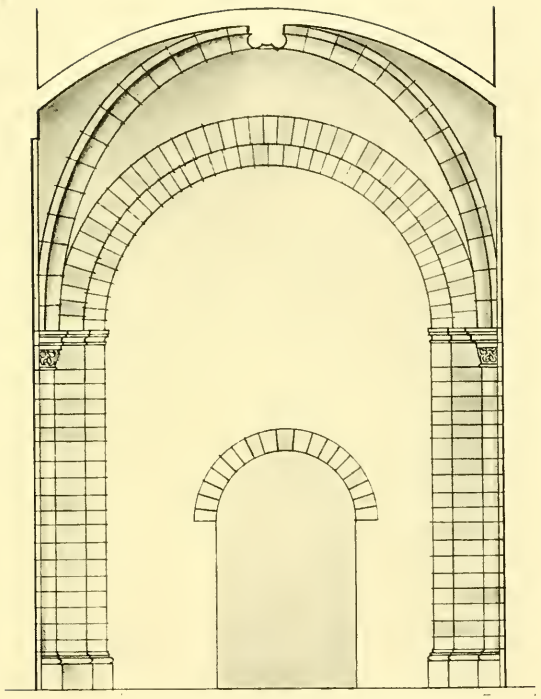
Although the first rib vault erected in the Ile de France may very probably be forever lost to us, there is nevertheless no doubt that this feature was introduced in the royal domain in a spirit far different from that in which the alternate system made its way into Normandy. Here was no Jumièges, no surpassing work of genius where the new idea was applied at once in all its splendor and immediately copied throughout the land. It rather filtered in gradually, and took its place unassumingly, almost imperceptibly in the humble and modest buildings the royal school erected at this period. In fact, all the early examples of the rib vault that have come down to us were erected on a very small scale and in unpretending rural churches.

Probably the very earliest rib vault in the Ile de France yet described occurs beneath the tower of the little church at Acy-en-Multien. This vault is constructed on a plan nearly square. The heavy ribs $0^{m}.46$ in width and of rectangular section have no sculptured keystone, but are constructed absolutely in the Lombard manner, except that the pointed arch is already used. Another vault precisely analogous has been recently discovered at Crouy-sur-Ourcq (Seine-et-Marne) and has been published by M. Join-Lambert. Still another rib vault, probably almost contemporary with that of Acy-en-Multien, is found in the easternmost bay of the south aisle at Rhuis (Ill. 158). This example, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the very first years of the XII century, is also constructed on a plan nearly square and evidently replaces an older groin vault, since the diagonals rest on corbels. The surface is not domed, but the ridges are perfectly horizontal, and there are no wall [1] ribs. At Viffort there is an early rib vault (Ill. 159) also erected

[1] Wall ribs are ribs at right angles to the transverse ribs, following the curve of the intersection of wall and vault surface.



Ill. 158. — Rib Vault at Rhuis. (Redrawn from Lefèvre-Pontalis)



Ill. 159. — Rib Vault at Viffort. (Redrawn from Lefèvre-Pontalis)

on a plan approximately square. Since the arches of this vault are all round, the crown is much domed. Wall ribs exist and the diagonals are profiled with a single great torus. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns this vault to c. 1115, or to a period fifteen years later than the vault at Rhuis. At Airaines the nave is covered with rib vaults on a square plan possibly of about this date (1115); and the vaults of Coudun and Catenoy are also doubtfully assigned to the same period.

On the basis of the scanty evidence supplied by these earliest examples there are several important questions to be answered. First of all, was the rib vault evolved independently in the Ile de France, or was it imported from Lombardy? M. Lefèvre-Pontalis pronounces without qualification in favor of the former alternative, and sees in the vault of Rhuis the proof of his assertion. This vault, it is true, differs from the Lombard type in not being domed (Ill. 158). This fact has led M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to see here the independent evolution of the rib vault.

The theory, I confess, seems to me to offer several serious difficulties. In the first place, from the profile of the ribs, the vault of Rhuis is evidently later than the vaults of Acy-en-Multien or of Crouy-sur-Ourcq, which are of the developed Lombard form. The evolution would hence have had to work backwards, and, although in architectural history we are often obliged to resort to the hypothesis of the survival of rudimentary forms in later buildings, in this case such a theory seems unnecessary and far-fetched.

Furthermore, I find it impossible to admit that the earliest rib vaults were not domed.[1] The whole evolution of the XII century centered in the struggle to avoid this very doming. If the builders of the first rib vault had been able to construct level ridges, why was there need of fifty years of experiment to enable their successors to learn how to do this very thing?

[1] Lest this statement should seem to be made unguardedly, I hasten to add that the vaults of Bury are not domed, and that at Morienval the side arches are but slightly lower than the groins. In both these instances, however, the doming was avoided only at the expense of creating other difficulties even more awkward. These exceptions, therefore, in reality tend to confirm the position taken in the text, a position which seems to me clearly justified by the evidence, although it has been abandoned by Mr. Moore in the second edition of his *Gothic Architecture*, p. 65.

Although I have not examined the vault of Rhuis on the spot, I strongly suspect that the extraordinary form of this vault may be explained by supposing that a groin vault was built first, and that subsequently, whether as a decoration, or as a reinforcement against cracks or settlement that had begun to appear in the masonry, ribs were fitted underneath. A confirmation of this view is found in the fact that the corresponding bay in the opposite aisle retains just such a groin vault. Furthermore, it is obvious that a groin vault was originally constructed in this compartment, for there are no shafts, and the present ribs are carried on corbels — an evident make-shift.

Nor are indications wanting that the rib vault was brought to the Ile de France from Lombardy, where we have seen that it came into existence the better part of a century earlier, for this self-same form, which is, after all, peculiar, appeared at exactly the same moment in half a dozen different schools of France. Thus rib vaults of the first twenty years of the XII century were erected in Brittany, at Ste. Croix de Quimperlé (now replaced by a modern copy); in Saintonges, at Saintes in the crypt of St. Eutrope, and at Moissac in the narthex of the abbey, an authentically dated monument of 1100–08 (in this instance the rib vaults were supplied with wall ribs and diagonals over a meter wide); in Provence, at St. Victor of Marseilles, at St.-Guilhem-du-Désert (Hérault), at Maguelonne (Hérault), and at St. Gilles (Gard), the latter authentically dated 1116. Thus all over France, from Brittany to Provence, the rib vault appeared in the first quarter of the XII century. It is supposing too strange a coincidence to believe that all these schools developed independently the same feature at the same moment. The simultaneous appearance of the rib vault in such divergent styles of architecture can only be explained by supposing that it was imported to all from a common outside source. And that source must have been Lombardy. The modest school of the Ile de France at this epoch was not in a position to influence Europe. The builders of the great abbey of St. Gilles would look for models much rather to the impressive nave of the famous church of S. Ambrogio of Milan than to the eastern bay of the south side aisle of the country church at Rhuis.

How extensively the architecture of western Europe was influenced during the XII century by Lombardy has already been remarked; and this Lombard influence affected the architecture of the Ile de France in other ways, as well as in the introduction of the rib vault. The griffe and the arched corbel-table (Ill. 205) had already in the XI century been borrowed from Lombardy, as we have seen; and at the beginning of the XII century the latter ornament came to assume in the Ile de France an even more typically Lombard form. Furthermore, I suppose there is no feature more generally recognized as essentially Italian than transverse arches. Now in the XII century these transverse arches came to be a common construction in the Ile de France. A list of examples, which I add in a note, will give some idea of the extent to which they were employed.[1] It is a remarkable fact that in the same church — Acy-en-Multien — occur very early examples of both the rib vault and the transverse arch.

It is further significant that the early rib vaults of the Ile de France — with the already noted exception of Rhuis — were constructed on precisely the Lombard lines, being square (or nearly so) in plan and highly domed. (Ill. 159.) Also, when the builders of the royal domain at Airaines and Bellefontaine first came to erect rib vaults over the naves, they adopted a system precisely similar to that of the Lombards. At Airaines the square compartments of the nave correspond to an equal number of groin-vaulted compartments in the aisles; and at Bellefontaine there is a regular Lombard system, with the square bay of the nave embracing two bays, also square, of the aisles.[2] This Lombard construction was soon abandoned,

[1] Béthisy-St.-Martin, Trucy, Vailly, Cerny-en-Laonnais (possibly of the XI century), Lavardin (Loir-et-Cher, on the borders of the Ile de France, and perhaps also of the XI century), Aizy, Coulonges (assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the second quarter of the XII century), Villers-St.-Paul, Acy-en-Multien, St. Alpin of Châlons-sur-Marne (?), Urcel, Élincourt, and Melun (c. 1100).

[2] Lest this should seem to contradict what has been said above, p. 263, Vol. I, in connection with the derivation of the sexpartite vault, it may be well to state that this nave of Bellefontaine is an almost unique instance of the Lombard alternate system in the royal domain. Moreover, since the nave is only one bay long, there is, strictly speaking, only one pier and hence no alteration of supports. It is only much later, and long after the introduction of the sexpartite vault, that two more solitary instances of the alternate system occur at Voulton (Seine-et-Marne) and Arcy-Ste-Restitute. In three other isolated cases — Berteaucourt-les-Dames, Melun (c. 1100),

but it formed the beginning from which developed the peculiarly French type of rib vault. In view of all these considerations it seems to me impossible to doubt that the rib vault was introduced into the Ile de France from Lombardy.

To return to the study of the earliest rib vaults of the Ile de France, one of their most striking peculiarities is the purely arbitrary fashion in which the wall ribs are either retained or omitted. Wall ribs had already been employed in Lombardy, as, for example, in the vaults of S. Ambrogio (Ill. 104, 119, Vol. I). But in Lombardy their purpose had been largely decorative, to give a firm line of moulding to mark the intersection of the vault and wall surfaces; they had never been used to mould the surface, and give the entire vault its character. This structural use, however, after c. 1120, came to be understood by the architects of the Ile de France, although until long afterwards a certain number of vaults, especially in country churches, continued to be built in the old manner without wall ribs, as, for example, the choir of Aizy,[1] a monument as late as c. 1180. The omission or inclusion of this member is never, then, *ipso facto*, an indication of date.

and Frouville (the latter later than 1150)—the piers are alternately round and clustered, but there are no engaged shafts, and the roof is in wood. It is, then, no exaggeration to say that the alternate system was unknown in the Ile de France prior to the introduction of the sexpartite vault. Similarly, shafts engaged on the walls of the nave not meant to be vaulted, although introduced frequently in the Romanesque of the Ile de France in the XI century, became really exceptional in the XII century. Examples exist only in the nave of St. Germain-des-Prés (a monument peculiarly Norman in its details), at Bonnes (later than 1150), at Vailly, and at Bazoches (where, however, it was probably the intention to erect vaults). At Bussiares, pilasters engaged in the piers on the side of the aisles are continued to form buttresses to the exterior of the clearstory. These exceptions, I think, are sufficiently rare to fully justify the assertion that neither the alternate system, nor the engaged shaft — the two requisites for the evolution of the sexpartite vault — belong to the architectural style of the Ile de France in the first half of the XII century.

[1] Vaults without wall ribs may be found at Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (1157–83), Bellefontaine (1125–30), at Airaines (c. 1115), at St. Martin of Laon (c. 1165), at St. Martin d'Étampes (c. 1165), at Cambronne (c. 1145), at Bury (c. 1125), at St. Quiriace of Provins (c. 1160), at Aizy (c. 1180), at Azy-Bonneil (c. 1175), at Glennes (c. 1150), at Bonnes (c. 1150), at Bruyères (c. 1130), at Pernant (c. 1130), at Montigny-Lengrain (c. 1160), at Foulangues (c. 1140), at Lucheux (c. 1130–50), at St.-Vaast-les-Mello (c. 1125), at Saconin (c. 1135), at Fitz-James (c. 1145), and at Rhuis (c. 1110). On the other hand, wall ribs exist after 1150 except in exceptional cases; and before that date at St. Denis (1140–44), at Sens (c. 114. et seq.), at St. Germer (c. 1140), at Pontoise (1140–65), at Creil (c. 1140), at Laffaux (c. 1140), at Ciry (c. 1130), at Bailleval (c. 1130), at Largny, (c. 1140), at Béthisy-St.-Pierre (c. 1125), at Dhuizel (c. 1125), at Berzy-le-Sec (c. 1140), at Viffort (c. 1115), at Marizy-Ste.-Geneviève (c. 1140). From this list of examples, incomplete as it is, it will be evident that the popularity of the wall rib steadily increased until (after c. 1150) its omission became exceptional.

While thus the early rib vaults of the Ile de France showed much variation in the use of the wall rib, they were all — with the exception of Rhuis — alike in being more or less domed. The Lombards had domed their rib vaults because they found it easier to construct the ribs in the form of semicircles, or of regular curves, and subsequently to adjust the vault surfaces to this framework, than to work out in advance the elliptical curve of two intersecting round vaults, and construct their ribs in this form. It is altogether probable that the early builders of the Ile de France domed their vaults for precisely the same reason. A vault surface with its planes of double curvature is very difficult to foresee accurately, even with the aid of projections and descriptive geometry; that the builders of the crude vaults of the first quarter of the XII century were able to figure just what curve of the diagonals would give a level crown, there is no reason to suppose. Later (c. 1140) they were certainly able to do so; at first, however, they built their diagonals as independent arches in a semicircular form, and left the vault surface to look after itself. Since, however, this doming, purely accidental at first, was found to possess certain structural advantages, in that it brought the greater part of the weight of the vault on the transverse and wall ribs, which were always more substantial and solid than the diagonals, it was retained even after the builders had learned how to construct vaults with level crowns, so that up to the very end of the Gothic period, French vaults always continued to be built in a slightly domical form.

It is interesting to notice the relative popularity of the new rib vaults and the older groin and barrel vaults. Rib vaults seem to have been introduced into the Ile de France largely at the expense of the groin vault, since the latter construction, which had been common in the XI century and which had held its own during the first quarter of the XII century,[1] after c. 1125, became increasingly rare. It finally passed out of use, although at different times in different regions. The triforium of St.

[1] Examples at Airaines (where the vaults are oblong in plan, c. 1125), at Juvigny (c. 1110), at Chavigny (c. 1110), at Orgeval (c. 1100), at Allonne (c. 1100–25), at Croissy (c. 1115), at Vregny (c. 1100–25), at St.-Vaast-de-Longmont (c. 1100–25) and at St. Cyr of Breteuil.

Germer (c. 1140) contains the latest example of the groin vault that I can cite in the valleys of the Oise or its tributaries; but in the neighborhood of Paris the feature persisted until as late as 1180 at Gallardon, Vaux-de-Cernay, and Champeaux; and there are examples as late as c. 1140 at Poisy and c. 1155 at Domont. Other instances of the survival of the groin vault at a late date occur in the Chapel of the Templars at Laon (c. 1135), at St.-Loup-de-Naud (c. 1150), and at St. Lazare (c. 1140).[1] However, after the first quarter of the XII century the groin vault became an exceptional construction.

The barrel vault did not yield so quickly to the rivalry of the rib vault. During the first quarter of the XII century it was far more popular in the Ile de France than either the groin or the rib vault, and has left us twice as many examples[2] as the other two combined. It appears to have been used interchangeably with the other two constructions and in the same positions: almost always under the tower, whether this was lateral, or rose over the crossing or choir; and, occasionally, apart from the tower in the easternmost bay of a side aisle, or in the choir.

During the second quarter of the XII century, however, the barrel vault, after a brief struggle,[3] yielded to the victorious rib vault, whose advantages had now come to be appreciated. After 1150 I can cite only one example of the barrel vault: — the narthex of Taillefontaine (c. 1160). Thus, while the barrel vault for a time offered a much more vigorous resistance than the groin vault, in the long run it showed less vitality, and entirely passed away at a much earlier date.

The barrel vault, however, produced one very important

[1] Groin vaults persisted in exceptional cases even in the Gothic period as at Vernouillet (c. 1200.)

[2] At Cerny (c. 1100), Catenoy (c. 1110?), Fontenoy (c. 1110), Béthisy-St.-Pierre (c. 1125), Brasle (c. 1100–30), Resons-le-Long (c. 1100), Marolles (c. 1125), Pont-St.-Mard (c. 1115), Condé-sur-Aisne (c. 1125), Oulchy-la-Ville (c. 1125), Courthiezy (c. 1100–1125), Vieils-Maisons (c. 1110), Orrouy (c. 1125). Also at Elincourt and Trucy.

[3] Examples of barrel vaults erected in the second quarter of the XII century may be found at Coulonges (c. 1130), Béthisy-St.-Martin (c. 1125–30), at Brécy (c. 1150), at Damery (c. 1150), at Chelles (c. 1140), at Vieil-Arcy (c. 1130), at Sergy (c. 1130), at St.-Vaast-de-Longmont (c. 1130), at St. Lazare (c. 1140), at Verdilly (c. 1130), at Saconin (c. 1135), and Blesmes (c. 1130). Merlemont and Ricquebourg are also barrel-vaulted.

effect on the development of transitional architecture, for it caused the pointed arch to be introduced. It is not necessary to reiterate in this connection the history of the pointed arch, if by the name of history may be designated the record of its sporadic appearances all over Europe, Asia, and Africa. Like the lintel, it seems to have been so obvious an expedient as to be, as it were, the common heritage of human intelligence, easily reinvented by any builder who had need of it. Suffice it to say, that during the first ten centuries, A.D., it had been practised by the Persians in Asia Minor, by the Copts in Egypt, by the Arabs in Africa and Spain, and by many other peoples in many other countries. As early as the middle of the XI century the builders of the south of France were regularly employing it to diminish the thrusts of their vaults; and when Jerusalem fell into the power of the crusaders, the pointed arch had already been long familiar in Burgundy and Périgord.[1]

It has been seen that the pointed arch was established in the barrel vaults of the school of Berry, closely related to the school of the Ile de France, by the last decade of the XI century. Shortly afterwards, pointed barrel vaults appeared in the Ile de France, evidently thence derived. It is altogether probable that the rib vaults were pointed in imitation of the barrel vaults, though the earliest extant examples of pointed rib vaults seem about contemporary with the earliest extant barrel vaults.[2] The structural advantage of the pointed arch is even more obvious for a barrel vault than for a rib vault; but with the pointed arch once under their eyes, the builders of the Ile de France were not slow to recognize that it also could be applied with advantage to rib vaults. A confirmation of this view is found

[1] In justice to the older school of archaeologists who maintained the Eastern derivation of the pointed arch, it should be stated that the fact that this construction was used in the West before the Crusades disproves nothing. Intercourse with the East by pilgrimages long antedated the Crusades; and the domed churches of the Charente, and S. Marco of Venice prove that Western builders were quite capable of absorbing Oriental influences through this contact. The theory of the Eastern origin of the pointed arch is, consequently, not intrinsically impossible. The whole controversy, however, is not worth half the good paper and ink that have been wasted upon it, to the exclusion of the discussion of more vital aspects of the transition. It is, moreover, a question quite incapable of proof, one way or the other, and opinions doubtless will always continue to differ.

[2] At Vieils-Maisons is a pointed barrel vault of c. 1110 — I believe, the earliest example of this feature in the Ile de France.

in the earliest example of the pointed arch in the Ile de France that is known to us, — the arch under the tower of the little church at Rieux, near Creil, a monument probably as early as the end of the XI century.[1] This arch could not have been used in connection with a rib vault, but if it was used in connection with a vault at all, it must have been with a barrel vault.

In order to make clear the extraordinary importance of the relationship of the pointed arch to the development of the structure of the rib vault, it will be necessary to anticipate here events which occurred only in the second or even the third quarter of the XII century. It seems, however, more logical to treat together all the attempts that were made to adjust the rib vault to an oblong plan, even at the sacrifice of strict chronological sequence.

Now in a vault like that at Viffort (Ill. 159) where the plan is approximately square, it is possible to make all the arches round without excessively doming the crown of the vault. This vault at Viffort may be taken as the type of the earliest rib vaults, since all the primitive examples are constructed on plans either square or nearly so. To erect vaults of this type was comparatively simple. When, however, the builders came to construct rib vaults on a distinctly oblong plan such as that shown in the figure (Ill. 160), difficulties ensued. For, if all the arches were made semicircular, it was found that the diagonals would rise to a great height; the wall ribs would be somewhat lower; the transverse arches very low. Thus the vault surface, forced to adjust itself to three different levels, became not only excessively domed, but actually distorted.

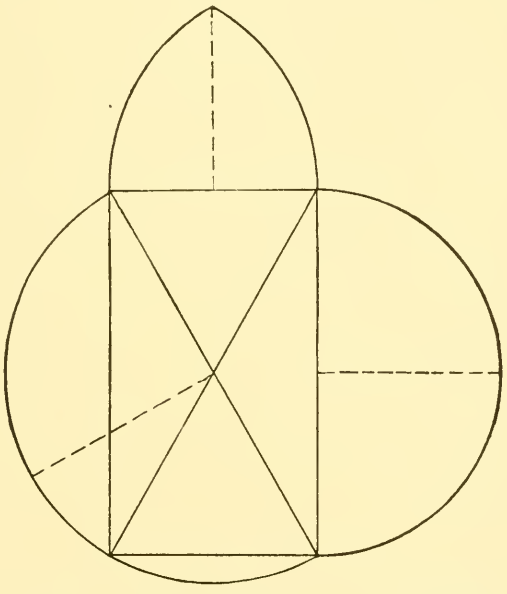
To solve this problem, the builders resorted to many devices of great ingenuity.[2] Of these, the pointed arch was the first and the most important. It is obvious that by means of the pointed form an arch of any width can be made to rise to any reasonable height without distortion. This is illustrated by the diagram (Ill. 160). Consequently, by pointing the trans-

[1] Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 46.

[2] This important phase of the transitional movement has been capitally worked up by Mr. Moore in his *Gothic Architecture.*

verse and wall arches, the crowns of all the ribs could be brought to the same level.

Although this principle seems so obvious to us to-day, it cost the builders of the Ile de France — even after they had begun to perceive dimly the possibilities of the construction — at least thirty years of groping experiment to bring the solution to its ultimate perfection. The builders of these early times worked from practical experience and not on paper; and thus, while at an early date the pointed arch was applied to rib

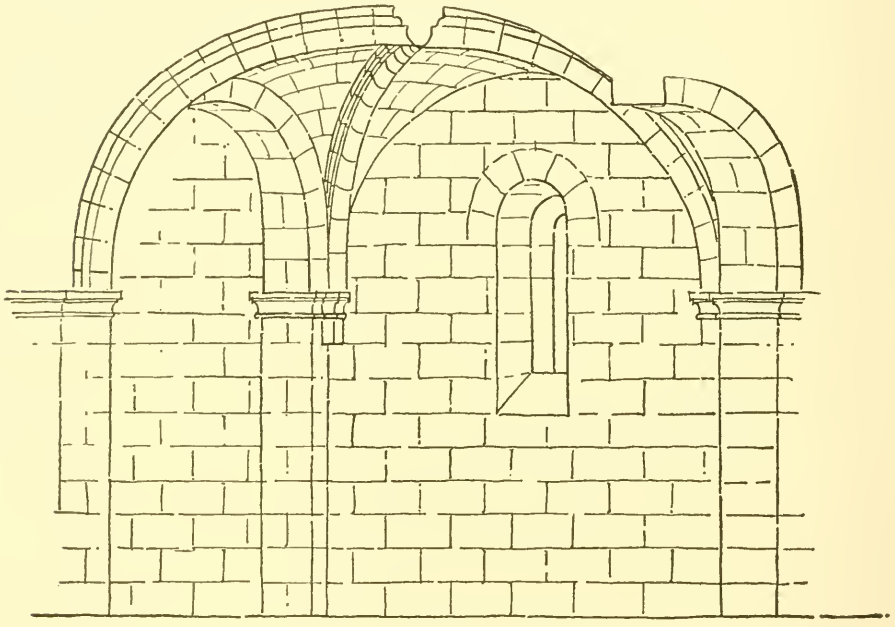


Ill. 160. — Diagram of Rib Vault on an Oblong Plan

vaults, especially in the transverse and longitudinal arches, this was always done in a hesitating and partial manner; the vault still remained domed, and the round arch was retained wherever possible. The masons at first had clearly no idea of what could be done by means of the pointed construction; they employed it only as a sort of make-shift, in places where no amount of cramping could make a round arch do service.

At the same time that they were experimenting thus with the pointed arch, the builders of the Ile de France were also trying other expedients to avoid excessive doming. In fact, the continual efforts to obviate this doming are a conclusive

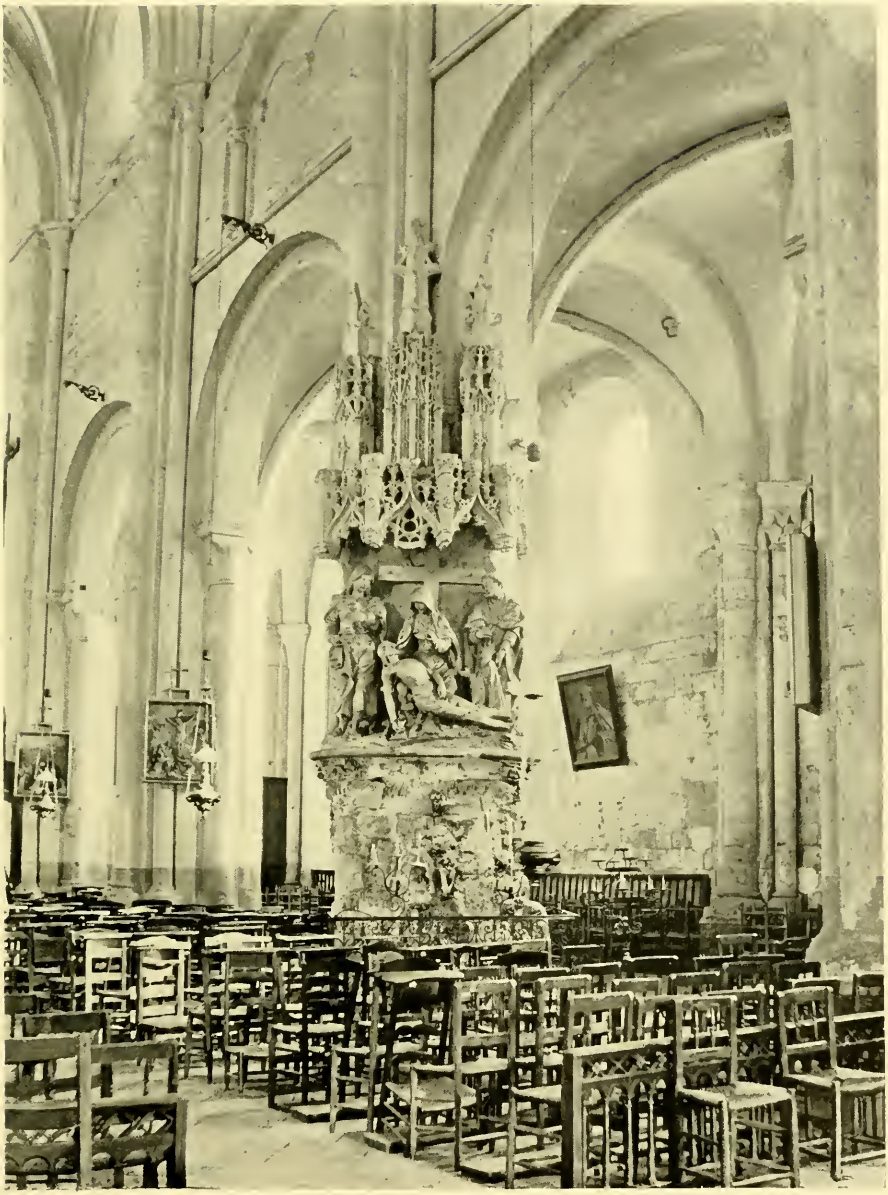
proof that the raising of the crowns of the diagonals in this early period resulted not from a desire to ease the weight intrusted to them, but from lack of skill on the part of the constructors. Thus at Béthisy-St.-Pierre (Ill. 161) a monument dating from c. 1125, the curve of the diagonals was lowered, being made an ellipse, or rather a segment of a circle, instead of a semicircle. But the tracing of this irregular curve seems



Ill. 161. — Rib Vault at Béthisy-St.-Pierre

to have given the entire vault a distorted appearance, for the builders of this time lacked the technique to construct segmental diagonals accurately. Better solutions were found, and this scheme was in consequence before long abandoned.

More promising was the idea of stilting the transverse ribs (Ill. 162) and by this means bringing their crowns to the desired level, — a scheme which was tried at Morienval (c. 1122) and at St. Étienne of Beauvais (c. 1130). The idea was perfectly practicable, and could be applied to a pointed arch as well as to a round one, and to the wall, as well as to the transverse rib. In fact, this construction was ever afterwards retained, and



Ill. 162. — St. Étienne of Beauvais. Interior

the stilted wall rib became in the end one of the essential characteristics of the developed Gothic vault.

A strange expedient was that adopted at Bury (c. 1125) and St. Leu d'Esserent (c. 1150), where the transverse rib was loaded with a wall of masonry in order to bring it up to the required level. This method will be clear by reference to the photograph (Ill. 163). Such a construction well illustrates both the resourcefulness of the XII century builders and their unswerving perserverance. It is almost unnecessary to state that this crude expedient was so evidently unsuccessful that it was at once abandoned.

After many such experiments and a considerable number of failures, the builders at last learned to adopt and combine several methods of construction, so as to erect rib vaults on an oblong plan with perfect success. In the end, the relative heights of the different ribs were adjusted by a combination of stilted and pointed arches. This ultimate solution was much advanced by the improvements in the technique of stereotomy that were scored during the second quarter of the XII century. In fact, a surface of double curvature, like the face of a rib vault, offers the greatest difficulties of stone-cutting; but so proficient did the French workmen become in this art, that never, except in ancient Greece, has finer masonry been constructed than in the buildings of the Ile de France of the second half of the XII century. With the mastery of stereotomy came the skill to construct the vaults of light and thin masonry; thus the excessive weight and thrust of the early vaults was diminished, and grace and lightness came to supersede the ponderous crudity of the constructions of the early transitional period.

Side by side with the general advance in the technical execution of the rib vault, and inseparably connected with it, came the more and more systematic use of the pointed arch in other parts of the edifice, as well as in the vaults. The progress of the pointed arch was not altogether constant; it is possible to find later buildings in which it is employed less profusely than in the earlier ones. Nor is it safe to lay down didactic rules as to just what date it appeared in particular positions. It is none the less clear, however, that throughout the transitional

period the pointed arch was constantly gaining ground and slowly but surely superseding the semicircular form in all parts of the edifice.

One of the direct consequences of the use of the pointed arch in connection with the rib vault in the aisles, was the pointing of the arches of the main arcade. Since these arches ordinarily formed a highly important member of the structural system of the vault, it became so habitual to point them, that, after c. 1135,[1] this was almost always done even when the nave and aisles were both roofed in wood, and hence, strictly speaking, when there was no structural necessity for the pointed arch.

This is the turning-point in the history of the application of the pointed form of arch: hitherto it had been used only as a structural necessity, the round arch had usually been employed wherever possible; but hereafter the pointed arch came to be used — rarely at first, but more and more frequently — in places where the round arch would have answered all practical purposes quite as well. The earliest instance of this non-structural use of the pointed arch that I can name is the portal of Cerseuil (c. 1125) — an example, however, which is exceptionally early. Generally speaking, pointed doorways and windows came into general use only in the last third of the XII century, and the round arch frequently persisted even into the Gothic period. So quick were the Gothic builders to accept a new idea where structurally necessary, and so reluctant to abandon tradition for esthetic motives until the new way had been clearly proved the better.

We must now return from a somewhat long digression to the study of the development of the rib vault in the first quarter of the XII century. It has been seen that as early as the year 1120, by means of the pointed arch, a certain crude mastery had already been obtained over the rib vault on a square, and probably also on an oblong, plan — a mastery very far short of perfection, it is true, but which still made possible the construction of these vaults in a rude manner, and on a small scale. But in the choir of the abbey church of Morienval — a monu-

[1] *e.g.* at Laffaux.

Ill. 163. — Narthex of St. Leu d'Esserent

ment of which the date has been endlessly controverted,[1] but which I believe may be assigned to about 1122 — was introduced a new feature hitherto quite without parallel in the architecture of the Ile de France.

Up to this moment the churches of the XII century in the royal domain had shown only minor variations in plan from those of the XI century — single-aisled edifices, it is true, had now become the exception, and lateral apses and transeptal absidioles were gradually passing out of use, although all these XI century features occasionally survived even into the Gothic period. But the choir of Morienval, as rebuilt in the XII century, was a true innovation. The plan (Ill. 164) will make the dispositions of this exceptional construction clear. It is usual to speak of this choir as a chevet; yet the circular exterior aisle was obviously never intended as a passage-way, for, since the open space beneath the transverse arches is only a foot or so wide and since this so-called ambulatory is blocked off at both ends by towers, it never could have served, let alone for stately processions, even for passage, but must have been built simply to furnish space for four additional altars. In fact, it is known that in 1122 the abbey obtained certain precious relics, and in all probability this so-called ambulatory was erected with a view to providing space in which these relics might be displayed. In a structure of such small size it was natural there should be no radiating chapels.

The interest of this ambulatory centers in the fact that its four bays are rib-vaulted. Now the problem of vaulting a semicircular aisle, especially with rib vaults, is never an easy one; and at Morienval the awkward shape of the vaulting compartments, which are extremely long in proportion to their width, and the inexperience of the builders, greatly increased the difficulty.

Precedents, as far as we can now tell, there were none. The Romans, or rather the Early Christians, it will be remembered,

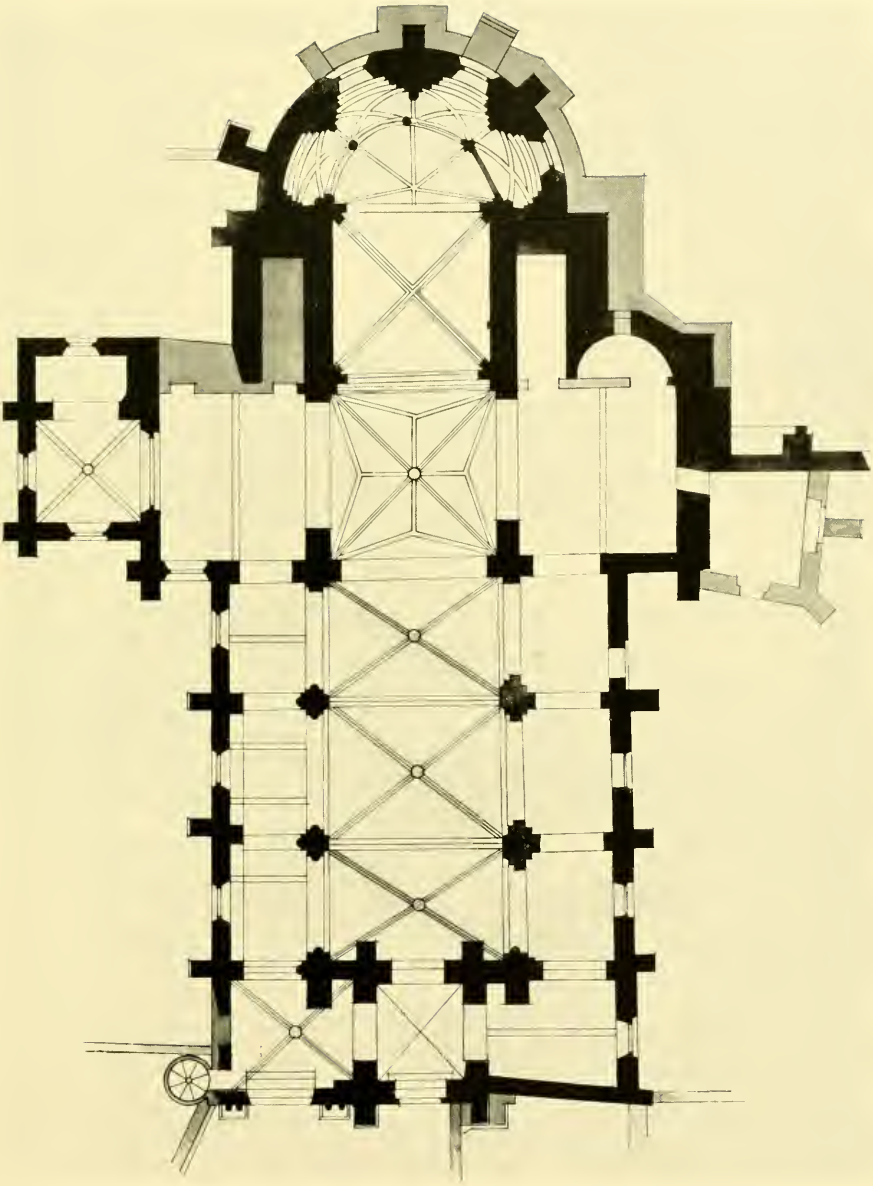
[1] See list of monuments, p. 13, for a brief discussion. It may appear illogical to accept so early a date as c. 1125 for Bellefontaine, while considering Morienval as late as c. 1122, for the decoration of the former certainly shows a great advance. See, however, what has been said above, p. 54.

had vaulted circular aisles by springing a barrel vault from above the crowns of the arches of the main arcades (Ill. 44, Vol. I); at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Carolingians had ingeniously doubled the number of supports in the outer wall, thus dividing the space to be vaulted by transverse arches into a series of compartments alternately square and triangular and easily covered with groin vaults (Ill. 85, 86, Vol. I), a device later adopted by the Gothic architects.[1] Broken annular groin vaults occur in Lombardy in the baptisteries of Almeno and Arsago, and in Auvergne; in the XI century, ambulatories had been vaulted with interpenetrating groin vaults. But none of these precedents, even had they been known, touched the fundamental difficulties that confronted the builders of Morienval.

To realize just what the problem was, imagine a vault on a plan similar to Morienval constructed in a manner that would be natural to builders having had experience with rib vaults only on a square plan. The size of the compartment may be taken as illustrated in the diagram (Ill. 165), by the lines *ab*, *bc*, *cd*, and *da*. First of all construct the diagonals *ac* and *bd*. It is evident that these will intersect at the point *e*. But the point *e* coincides with neither the points *g* and *h*, marking the crowns of the diagonals, nor with *j*, the center of the vault. That is, these ribs instead of having a common keystone at the center of the vault, will merely intersect each other at a point near their springing. Nor is this the end of the difficulty. The four vault compartments, *w*, *x*, *y*, *z*, offer surfaces of very different sizes and awkward shapes. It would be well-nigh impossible to construct with stability a vault resting on such erratic ribs, and covering such awkward fields. How disastrous the distortions that would necessarily result, would be from an esthetic point of view, may be readily imagined.

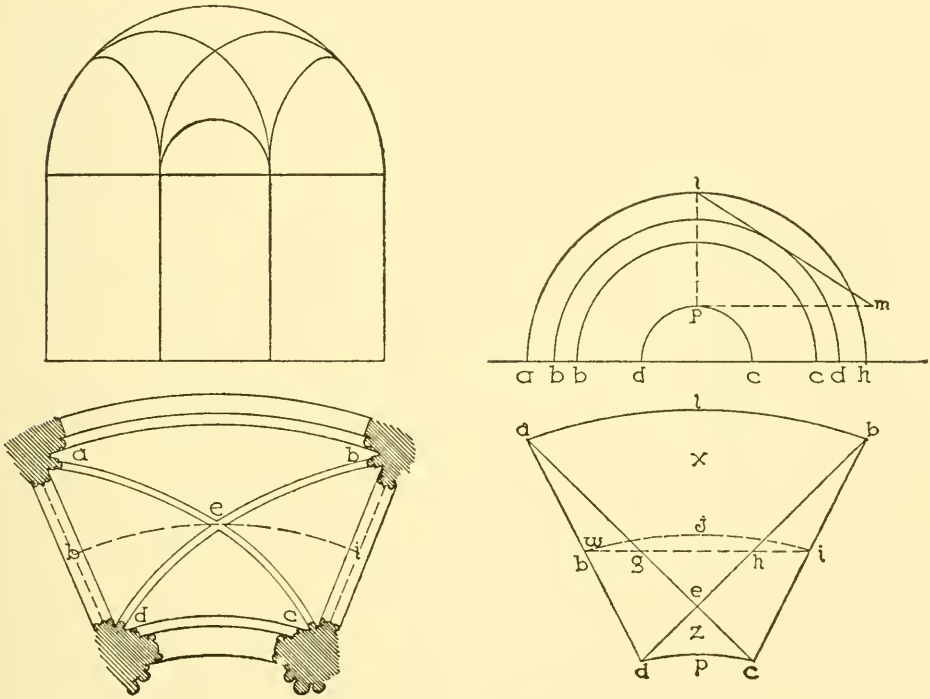
Even greater difficulties were caused by the construction of the wall ribs. Supposing the diagonals and transverse ribs in place, let us proceed to the construction of the wall arch, *ab*,

[1] The most notable instance is at St. Martin d'Étampes, c. 1160. But here the four-sided compartments are trapezoidal instead of being perfectly rectangular. Hence, the diagonals, which are straight in plan, do not intersect on the ridge. This is well illustrated in the Bulletin Monumental for 1905, p. 247.



Ill. 164. — Plan of Morienval

and the arch of the main arcade, *dc*. It is evident that the three arches *ad*, *ab*, *dc*, and *ac* all have bases of varying length. Consequently, if they were constructed with a semicircular radius, they would all rise to the varying heights shown in the diagram. The impossibility of adjusting a vault surface to all these different altitudes is perfectly evident; it is only necessary to imagine the pitch of the transverse ridge, *lp*, which is



Ill. 165. — Diagram of Rib Vault on a Curved Oblong Plan

mathematically worked out in the oblique line, *ml*, to realize how bizarre this construction would be.

Still another trouble is to be found in the longitudinal ridge of the vault. This should be concentric with the walls of the ambulatory, and lie in the center of the vault; in other words, in the line, *fji*. But the crowns (*g*, *h*) of the diagonal ribs do not lie in this line. Therefore the ridge of the vault would be forced to run in a straight or broken line, *fghi*, quite unsymmetrical with the plan of the ambulatory.

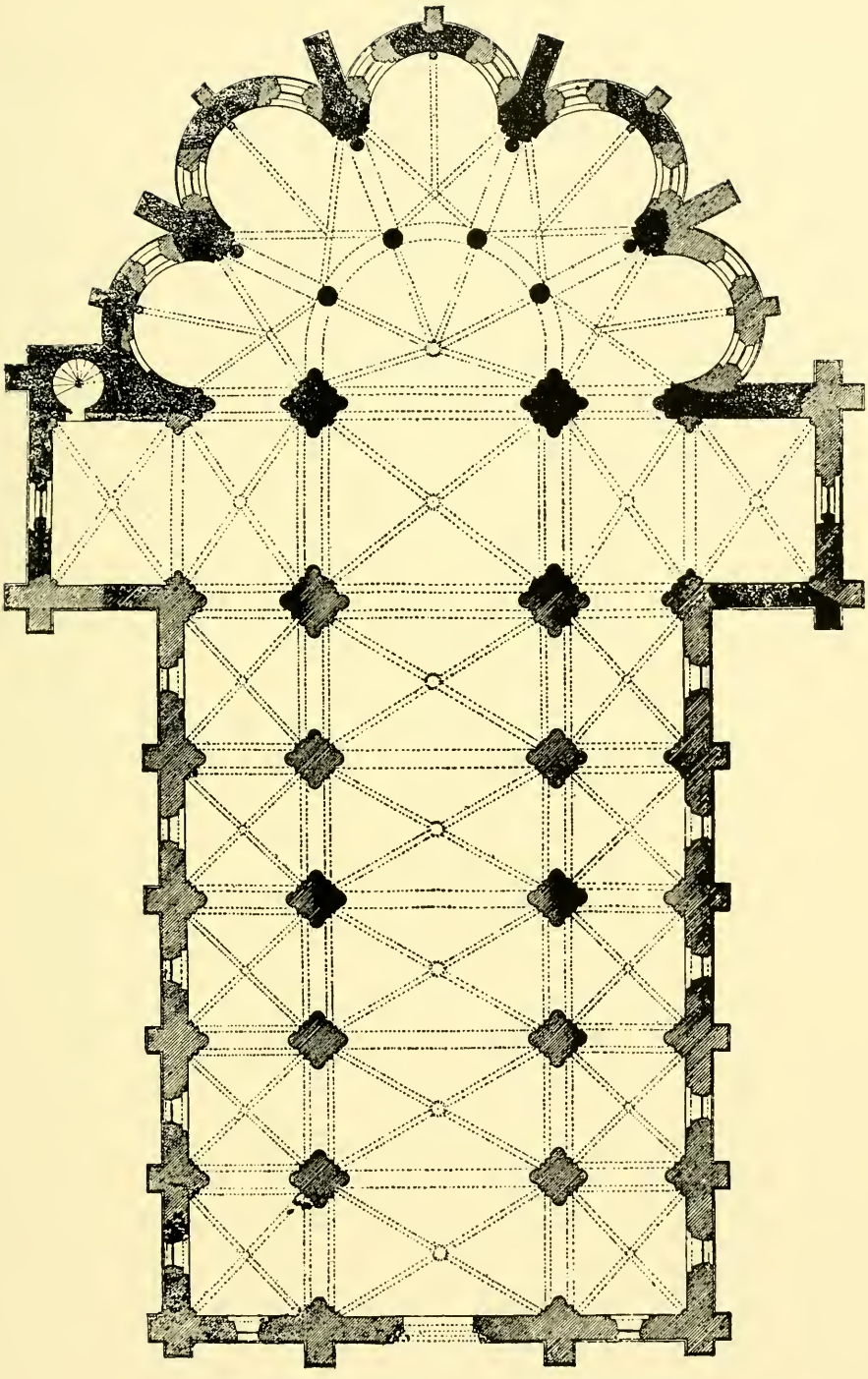
Enough has been said to show how complicated was the problem which confronted the builders of Morienval. However, they proved equal to the situation, and by the application of that inexorable spirit of logic which was to become the watchword of Gothic progress, they constructed a vault — far from perfect, it is true, — but one that has stood for nearly eight hundred years, and one which provided a solid foundation for the achievements of their successors.

First of all, by redoubled orders, they built out the responds at *a* and *b* (Ill. 165, Fig. 2), and contracted those at *d* and *c*, so that the central points, *f* and *i*, of the transverse arches fell considerably inside the center of the vault. Then the diagonals, *ac* and *bd*, were built on a plan slightly curved (probably as much so as the builders dared to construct them). By this means the ridge passing through *f*, *g*, *h*, and *i*, was made concentric with the ambulatory, though not placed in its center. The curving in plan of the diagonals brought the point *e* slightly nearer to the center of the vault. Finally the arches of the various ribs were made to rise to nearly the same height by depressing the wall rib *ab*, and stilting or pointing the transverse rib and the arch of the main arcade.

The vault of Morienval, as completed, is far from elegant, but it is of priceless value in demonstrating the logical and thoughtful, if somewhat groping, manner in which French architecture was feeling its way along untrodden paths. The problems attacked were not simple, and the builders lacked skill and technique. But by dint of systematic experiment and perserverance, not one, but a dozen methods were found for surmounting each obstacle. Morienval marks a distinct epoch in the evolution of French Gothic, and certainly represents the summit of achievement in the first quarter of the XII century.

It is now necessary to abandon again for a moment strict chronological sequence, and, before taking up the advance made in other directions by the monuments built directly after Morienval in the second quarter of the XII century, to trace the ultimate solutions found for the problem of the rib-vaulted ambulatory.

For at least ten years no other ambulatory seems to have been



Ill. 166. — Plan of Pontoise. From Lefèvre-Pontalis

built in the Ile de France, or at least none has come down to us, and when ambulatories do appear, they are found rather in the region to the westward, where they often continued to be groin-vaulted [1] until nearly the end of the XII century. It is probable that they finally made their way into the eastern districts of the Ile de France from this direction. At all events, probably the earliest extant rib-vaulted example after Morienval is found at Pontoise, c. 1140.[2] During the twenty years which had elapsed since the construction of Morienval, great advances had been made in the technique of stereotomy; and, thanks to this, it was found possible at Pontoise to construct the diagonals without curving them in plan. Furthermore, as this ambulatory happened to be supplied with semicircular radiating chapels, the builders hit upon the device of consolidating the vault of chapel and ambulatory by springing a fifth rib from the keystone to the middle of the outside wall of the chapel (Ill. 166). By this means the vault surface was divided into five nearly equal compartments.

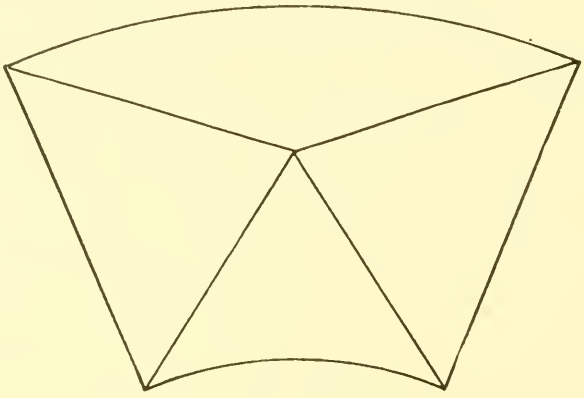
About this same time another, and final, solution was found for the problem of the ambulatory vault. An early example of this new construction occurs in the cathedral of Sens (Ill. 168). It was discovered that by placing the keystone in the center of the vaulting compartment and by springing thence half ribs to each of the four corners, a symmetrical and stable vault could be erected. Each rib thus became broken in the middle, as it were, and was no longer a straight continuous arch uniting the opposite corners of the vaulting compartment (Ill. 167). These broken rib vaults were adopted as the final type of perfected Gothic ambulatory vault. By their use all undue twisting and distortion of surfaces was avoided; in short, the solution was in every way satisfactory. When the double ambulatory of St. Denis (Ill. 169) was erected in 1140–44, the inner aisle was vaulted with a broken rib vault constructed much more skilfully than that at Sens, and the outer aisle was vaulted on the same system as the ambulatory of Pontoise. It is not unlikely that St. Denis may be more ancient than

[1] *e. g.* Poissy and St. Martin-des-Champs.

[2] There is much controversy as to whether or not this ambulatory is earlier than St. Denis.

either Pontoise or Sens; but if so, it is probable that these vault forms were discovered in some other edifice now lost to us, for at St. Denis the technique shows none of that timidity and hesitation which almost inevitably characterized a first attempt at new forms.

About the same time that the intersection of the diagonal ribs was being thus perfected, means were found to bring the crowns of the ribs all to about the same height, without producing distortions. After Morienval, owing mainly to the fact

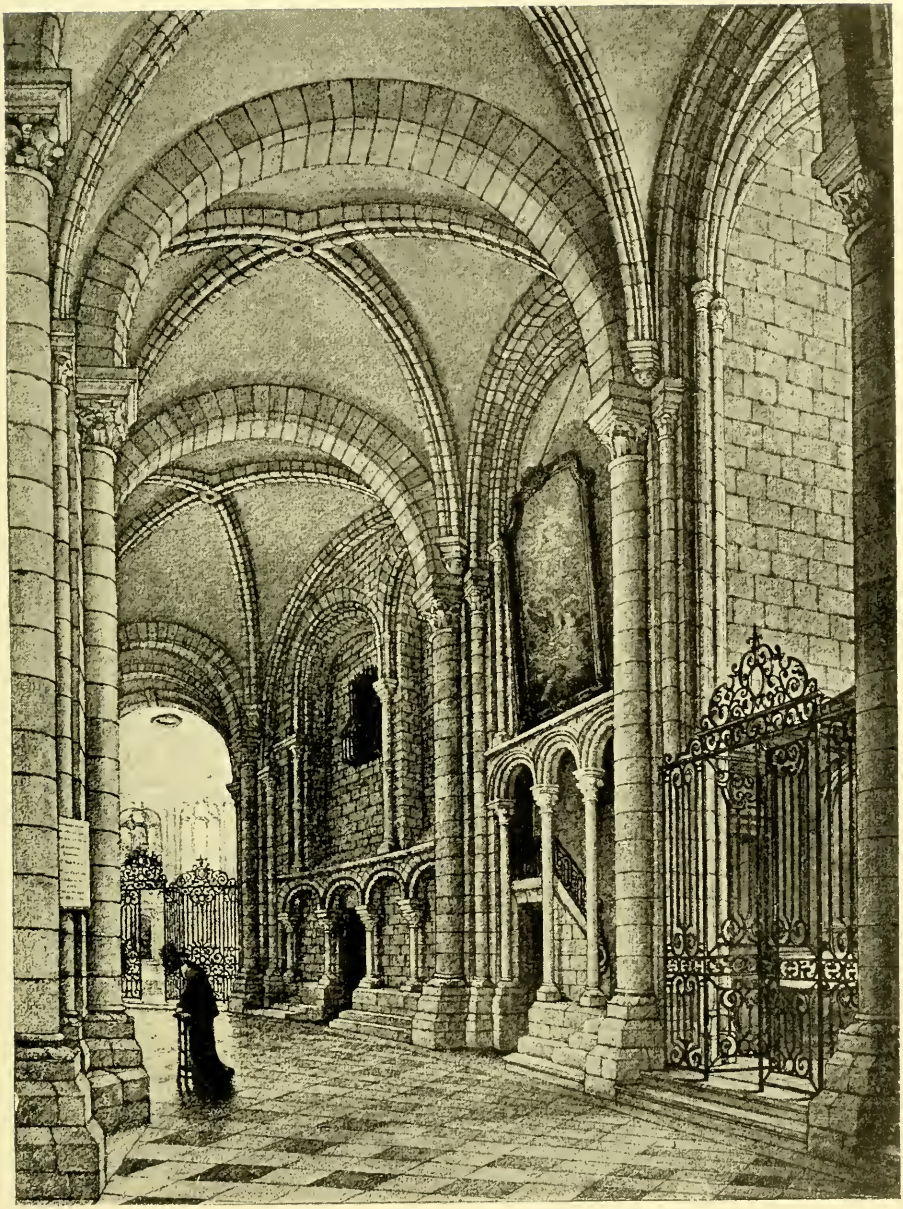


Ill. 167. — Diagram. Broken Rib Vaults

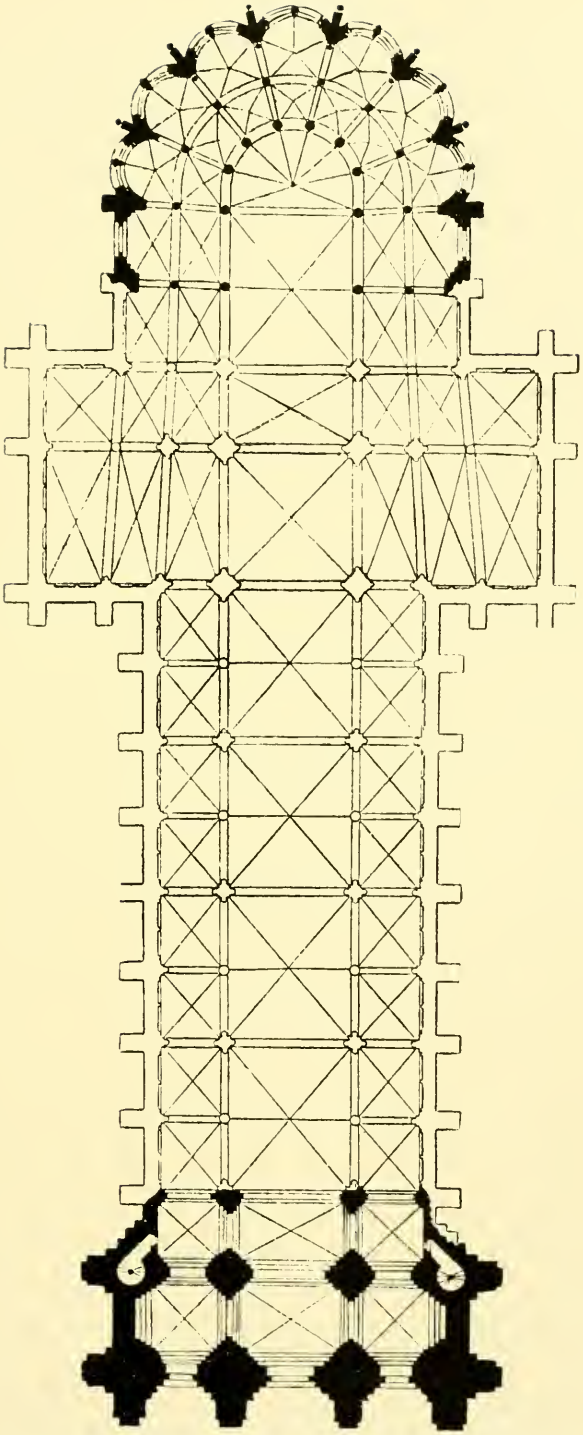
that subsequent ambulatories were all erected on a broader plan, difficulty had been experienced only with the outside wall rib. Already in Romanesque times, if the restorers of the nave of Morienval are to be trusted, the experiment had been tried of springing this arch from a lower level than that of the other ribs (Ill. 155). This same expedient was tried at Sens (Ill. 168), and also at Poissy [1] and St. Denis. Soon, however, the builders acquired sufficient skill to adjust all their arches to the required level by pointing, stilting, and depressing, and it became no longer necessary to resort to this device.

Thus after c. 1140 the principle of the broken rib vault was thoroughly established, and the problem of vaulting the ambulatory had been mastered. Occasionally, it is true, examples of the earlier devices appeared long after this time, although usually in outlying districts. Thus the ribs of the ambulatory

[1] The aisles of Morienval and Poissy were, of course, groin- not rib-vaulted.



Ill. 168. — Ambulatory of Sens. Perspective



Ill. 169. — Plan (restored) of St. Denis. (From Dehio)

of Vézelay were perfectly straight in plan; and the idea of curving the ribs, as first essayed at Morienval, was developed at St. Germer, and carried to the highest perfection in the fully Gothic cathedral of Bourges (Ill. 243). But even when applied with all the skill of the greatest builders of the XIII century, the curved rib offered a twisted and uncertain appearance and was in every way less satisfactory than the broken rib.

This comparatively early mastery of the complex problem of the ambulatory vault was of the greatest importance for the development of Gothic architecture, for the ambulatory was the peculiar glory of the French style and became one of the loveliest and most characteristic features of the French Gothic cathedrals. It was largely by wrestling with, and overcoming, the numerous difficulties presented by this construction that the Gothic builders acquired the skill and technique by which they were able to rise to the heights of the XIII century. Furthermore, many of the most beautiful features of the Gothic choir were evolved as a direct consequence of the mastery of the ambulatory vaults. As the broken rib vault came to be more thoroughly understood, it became possible to increase the size and importance of the ambulatory. This, in turn, caused the number of apsidal chapels to be made greater. At Morienval (c. 1122) there had been no radiating absidioles; Poissy (c. 1135) and Sens (c. 1135) each had one; but Pontoise and St. Denis had five. Later these chapels were also increased in size until they gradually came to occupy all the space between the buttresses; and instead of being semicircular in plan, they often (at least in the easternmost or lady chapel) consisted of two straight bays followed by a polygonal apse. Similarly the choir itself came to be much prolonged. Semicircular at Morienval (Ill. 164), and Pontoise (Ill. 166), it was lengthened at Poissy and St. Denis (Ill. 169); at Noyon (Ill. 176) it included three straight bays; and in 1163 at Paris (Ill. 241) the Gothic choir reached its full glorious development. Similarly at St. Martin-des-Champs (c. 1135) the aisles of the ambulatory were doubled as far as the beginning of the radiating chapels; but at St. Denis (Ill. 169), for the first time, a double ambulatory was carried completely around the choir.

All this has taken us far afield from the groping efforts of the second quarter of the XII century, and it is time to return to the study of the vaults erected immediately after Morienval. Not content with the problem of the ambulatory vault, the builders of the second quarter of the XII century immediately broached a new problem almost equally important. Up to this moment rib vaults had been attempted only over narrow areas, such as side aisles, or, when they had been erected over choirs or crossings, these had always been of restrained dimensions, and generally surmounted by a tower, which by its downward weight more than neutralized any thrust of the vault. But from c. 1125 vaults came to be thrown across the nave.[1]

It is difficult to say to which of several monuments should be given the honor of being the earliest rib-vaulted nave known. The nave of Airaines, M. Enlart believes, is even earlier than c. 1125, although the authenticity of this early date, I confess, seems to me more than questionable. Of about 1125, however, must be the vaulted naves of Bury, Bellefontaine, and St.-Vaast-les-Mello; St. Étienne of Beauvais followed c. 1130; Villetertre and Poissy may be assigned to c. 1135; and the vaulted naves of Acy-en-Multien, Cambronne, Foulangues, Fay-St.-Quentin, St. Évremond of Creil, St. Germer, and Chars were erected, most of them before 1140, and all before the innovations wrought at St. Denis had impressed themselves on the architecture of the surrounding country.

A study of these vaults shows that the earliest ones — Airaines, Bellefontaine, Bury — were built upon a plan nearly, if not quite, square. It was natural enough that builders who were struggling so laboriously with the problem of the rib vault on an oblong plan in the aisles, should not attempt this construction in the far more difficult nave vaults. The system employed at Bellefontaine is thoroughly Lombard; two square bays in the aisles equal one square compartment in the nave. At Airaines the rib vaults of the nave are still square, but since the aisle compartments are as long as those of the nave, they are necessarily very oblong. The builders seem to have hesitated

[1] It is remarkable that in the diocese of Soissons, in many respects the center of the transitional movement, naves came to be vaulted later than in the neighboring sub-schools.

Ill. 170. — Bury. Interior

to construct a rib vault over a space so excessively long in proportion to its width, and consequently employed groin vaults in these aisles. However, at Bury, where precisely this same problem existed, the rib-vaulted nave being divided into square compartments, and the aisle compartments being consequently oblong, the rib vault was courageously attempted even in the aisles. How sorely the builders of Bury were perplexed by this problem of construction is shown by the fact that they were forced to adopt the desperate expedient of loading the transverse arch — a strange make-shift we have already described. Nevertheless sufficient experience seems to have been gained by such experiments to make it possible by c. 1130, to entirely cover the large nave of St. Étienne of Beauvais with oblong rib vaults.

These vaults of St. Étienne of Beauvais unfortunately have not survived, although it is clear from the section of the piers that such vaults were intended. It is even possible that the vaults were not actually executed at this time. The fact, however, that the builders of c. 1130 felt themselves strong enough to undertake so difficult a feat is of the greatest significance, and we would give a great deal to know with what measure of success they carried out so ambitious a project.

At all events, there can be no doubt that by this time the rib vault on an oblong plan was thoroughly understood, and if it had not already been applied with absolute success to large naves, it was only a question of a short time and a few experiments before it would be. But just now a strange and unaccountable event occurred, an event without parallel in the history of the transition. With success within easy reach, almost under their hand, the builders turned from so promising a beginning to adopt an entirely foreign form — the sexpartite vault of Normandy. The oblong quadripartite form was practically abandoned in the naves for the space of half a century; but at the end of that time the Gothic builders, with equal suddenness, seem to have realized its superior advantages, and abandoning in turn the Norman form, carried their own quadripartite type to its logical and triumphant conclusion.

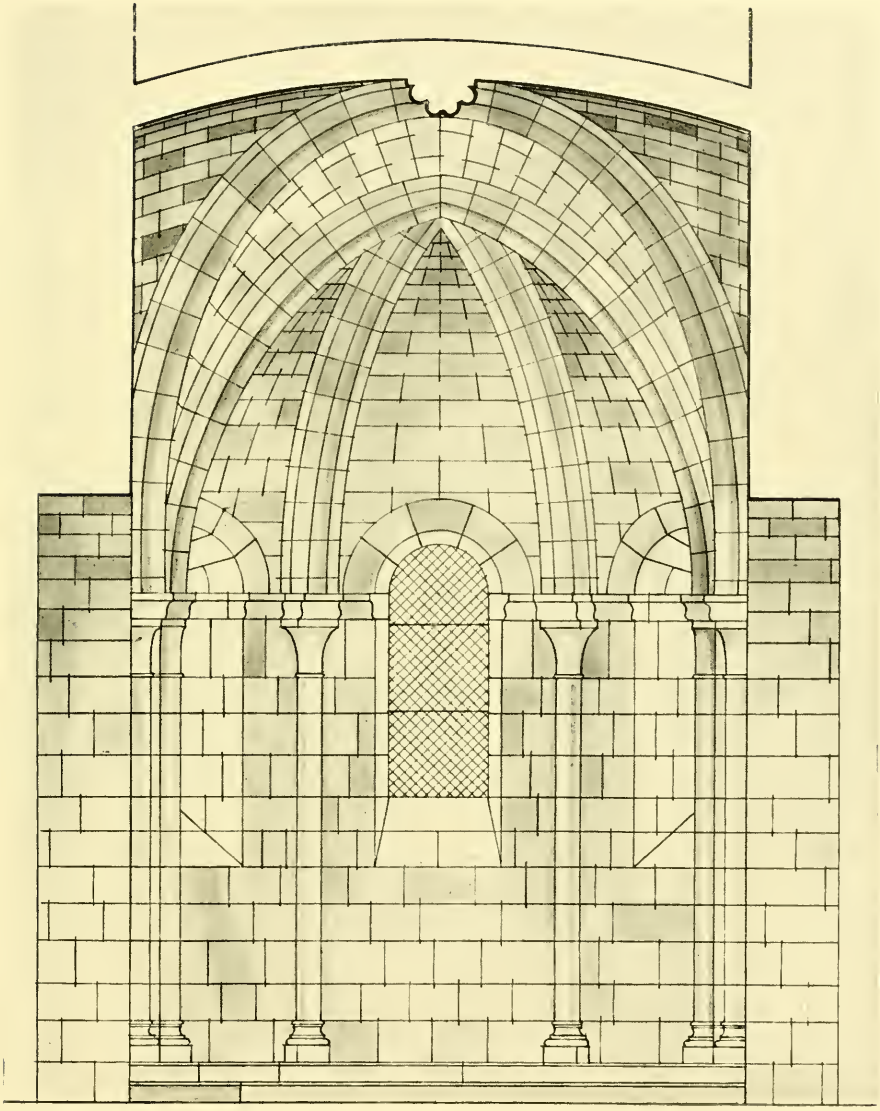
It should be noticed, before leaving for the present the sub-

ject of nave vaults, that these early quadripartite vaults of the Ile de France depended entirely on the inertia of the walls for their stability; and as the construction at this time was still heavy, the powerful thrust exercised by these vaults necessitated very thick and ponderous walls.

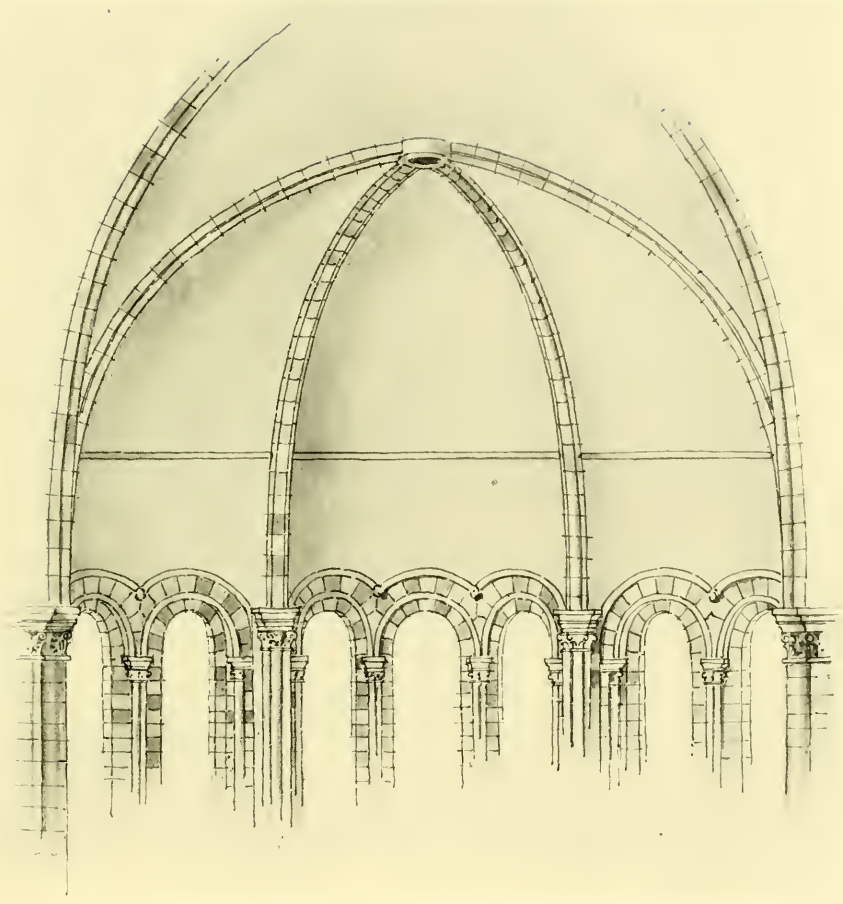
While the nave vault was being developed, improvements were simultaneously being made in the vaulting of choirs and apses. The apse, it will be remembered, had since the days of the Romans been invariably supplied with a half-dome. No part of the church construction was more sanctified by tradition. This half-dome had sometimes been pointed to harmonize with a pointed barrel vault, but until the XII century no other change had ever been wrought. A semicircular apse had always been covered with a half-dome. But, when the builders of the second quarter of the XII century came to place rib vaults over their choirs, they found that the half-dome of the apse harmonized badly with the new style of vault. They accordingly conceived the idea of placing two ribs underneath this half-dome, radiating from the keystone of the triumphal arch. These ribs in no way supported the dome, but must be considered merely as an ornamental addition (Ill. 171).

Such a ribbed half-dome originally existed in the choir of Morienval (c. 1122), a structure which, however, has subsequently been rebuilt, so that the apse of Bury (c. 1125) offers probably the most ancient surviving example of this construction. The earliest instance extant in the Soissonnais is the apse of Vauxrezis (Ill. 171), a monument of c. 1130. Other examples about contemporary exist at Bruyères-sur-Fère and Pernant; and in the years immediately following it became a very favorite construction, as is witnessed by numerous examples at Berzy-le-Sec (c. 1140), Chelles (c. 1140), Laffaux (c. 1140), Nouvron-Vingre (c. 1140), Frouville, Trucy (c. 1150), Bonnes (c. 1150), and elsewhere. It survived as late as c. 1160 at Courmelles or even c. 1170 at Vailly.

The lady chapel of St. Martin-des-Champs (c. 1135) at Paris shows a notable development of this idea. In fact, the chevet of this church with its important structural advances, shows that the western school has entered the arena of the



Ill. 171. — Ribbed Half-Dome of Vauxrezis. (Redrawn from Lefèvre-Pontalis)



Ill. 172. — Lobed Half-Dome of St. Martin des Champs, Paris

transition as an active and formative member. The apse of the lady chapel (Ill. 172) is trilobed, and the ribs are no longer purely decorative, but have really become structural members, since they are made to carry the three compartments of the vault which bulge upwards from them. The step to the fully developed chevet vault with ribs completely structural was an easy one, and was perhaps taken at Largny (c. 1140), or in the chevet of St. Germer (Ill. 173), which is of about the same date. A completely logical rib vault had now been evolved to replace the old half-dome, although many adjustments and perfections still remained to be made.

The chevet vault, as thus evolved in the apse, was immediately applied to the choirs of churches with ambulatory, which indeed offered precisely the same problem on a slightly larger scale. An immediate consequence of the introduction of the chevet vault in this position was the stilting of the wall rib. The width of the bays in the chevet was always less than in the straight portions of the church. Where the ambulatory existed, this was necessary in order to avoid making the outer wall arch of the ambulatory vault unduly wide, and in simple apses esthetic reasons seem to have led to the same result. Now from such narrow bays, to raise the crown of the narrow wall arch to the same level as the crown of the greatly wider transverse arch, there was need not only of pointing, but also of stilting. Thus the wall arch in the chevet came to be always highly stilted, and so generated those singularly graceful twisted surfaces that characterize the developed Gothic chevet vault (Ill. 173).

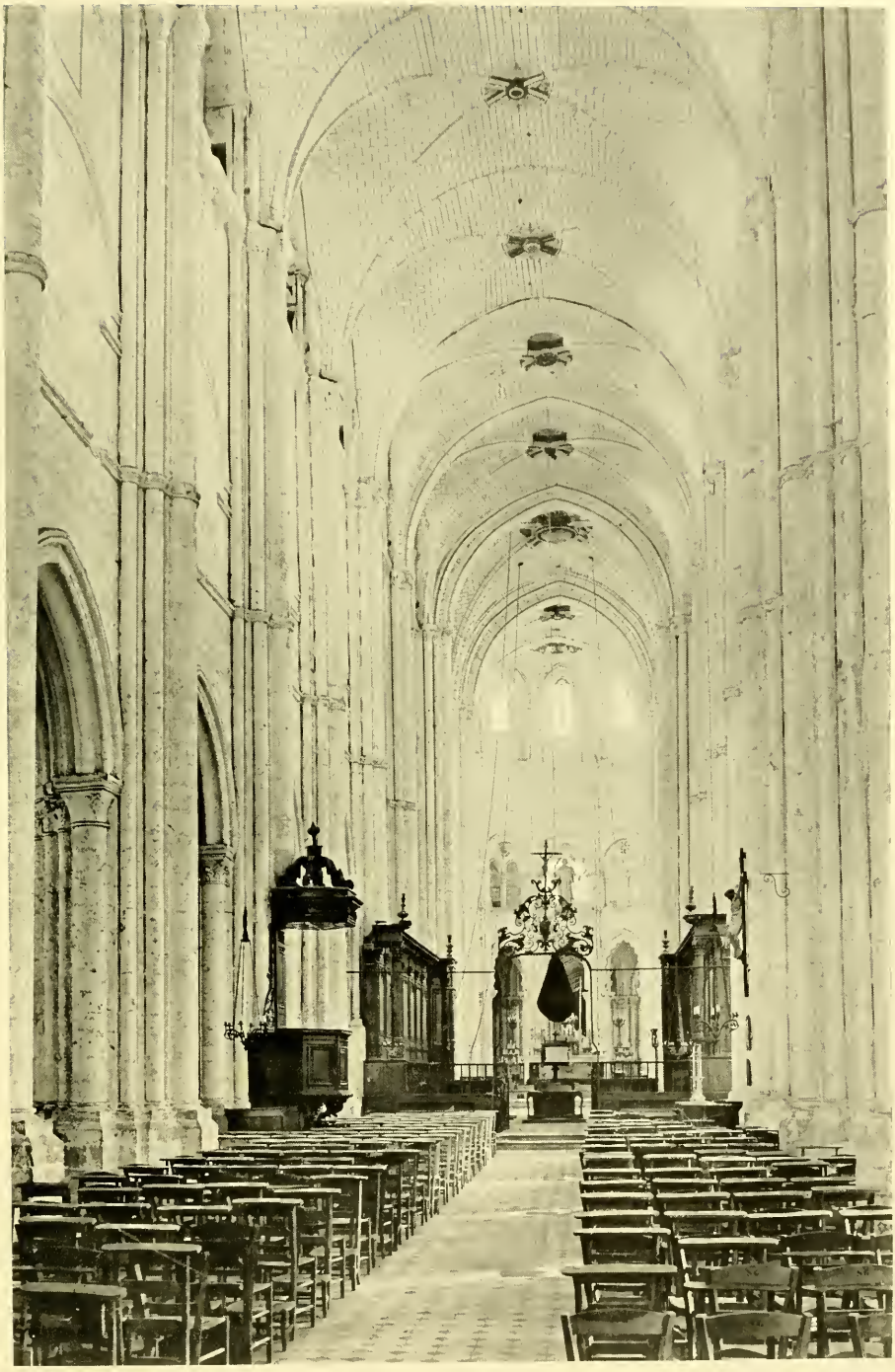
Stilting the wall rib, indeed, was no new idea, and had been employed in connection with vaults on a rectangular plan as early as c. 1125 at Dhuizel and elsewhere. In the fully developed Gothic, this construction was destined to become one of the most typical and strongly accentuated characteristics, not only of the chevet vaults, but of the nave vaults as well, and more than any other single feature to give rise to the peculiar form of the French Gothic vault. Furthermore, it was through this stilting that the structural usefulness of the wall rib in determining the form and shape of the vault was first fully demon-

strated. From the moment when it became usual to stilt the wall rib, this member was seldom omitted.

There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that the wall rib was stilted in the nave for the same reason that it was stilted in the chevet, *i.e.*, to raise it to the desired level. Mr. Moore,[1] however, believes that this rib was stilted in order to concentrate thrusts. If the wall ribs be stilted, it is obvious that the thrust of the vault will be brought to bear on a much smaller portion of the outside wall, than if the wall ribs be not stilted, since the conoid formed by the five converging ribs is much narrower in the first case than in the second. Thus by stilting the wall rib, the entire thrust of the vault is gathered on a single vertical line, where it can easily be neutralized by a flying buttress. No single feature was, therefore, more essential to the stability of the Gothic skeleton structure than this same stilted wall rib. I believe, however, that Mr. Moore, is mistaken in thinking that stilted wall ribs were developed in order to meet this structural necessity. Historical evidence shows that this stilting, which later became so integral a part of the structure of the building, grew up long before the flying buttress had been dreamed of, and was developed without other notion of structural importance than the raising of the crown of the wall rib. The apse of Largny, for example, where the problem of buttressing could as yet have had no weight, is supplied with fully stilted wall ribs.

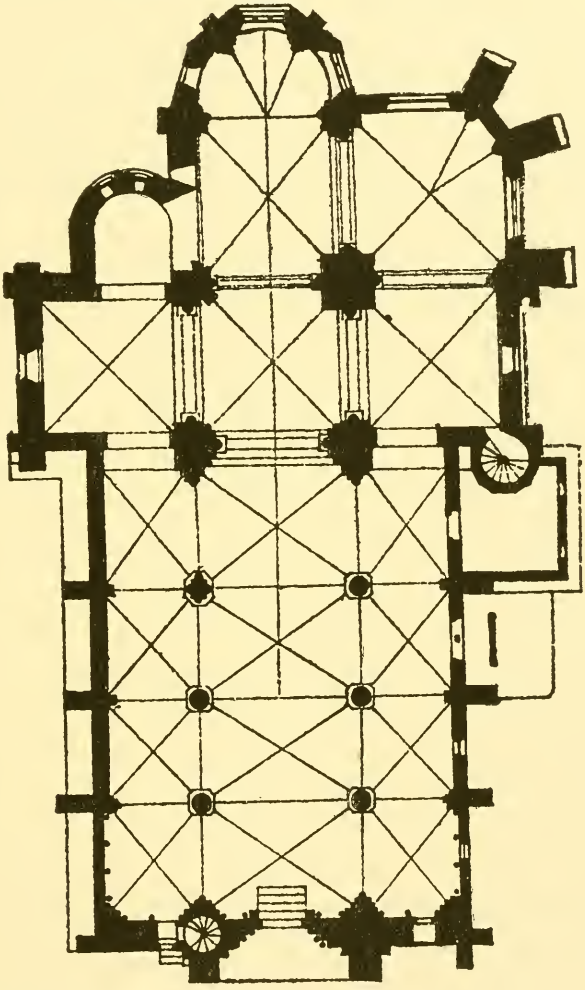
A direct consequence of the development of the chevet vault was the substitution of a polygonal for a semicircular plan in the apses and chevets. It is true that this polygonal plan had appeared sporadically before the chevet vault was perfected. Outside the limits of the Ile de France it had already been employed in Limousin, Velay, Provence, and even Artois, where the polygonal apse of St. Ulmer of Boulogne is said to date from as early as the XI century. But in the Ile de France itself the earliest instance known is the church of Coudun (c. 1125), whose apse is polygonal internally, but semicircular externally. At Auvers, however, side by side with one of the earliest examples of the ribbed half-dome (c. 1131) there

[1] *Gothic Architecture*, p. 133.



Ill. 173. — St. Germer. Interior

is an apse polygonal externally (Ill. 174), and at Ciry is another example about contemporary. Nevertheless it was only in the second half of the century that this motive became thoroughly established.[1]



Ill. 174. — Plan of Auvers. (From Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

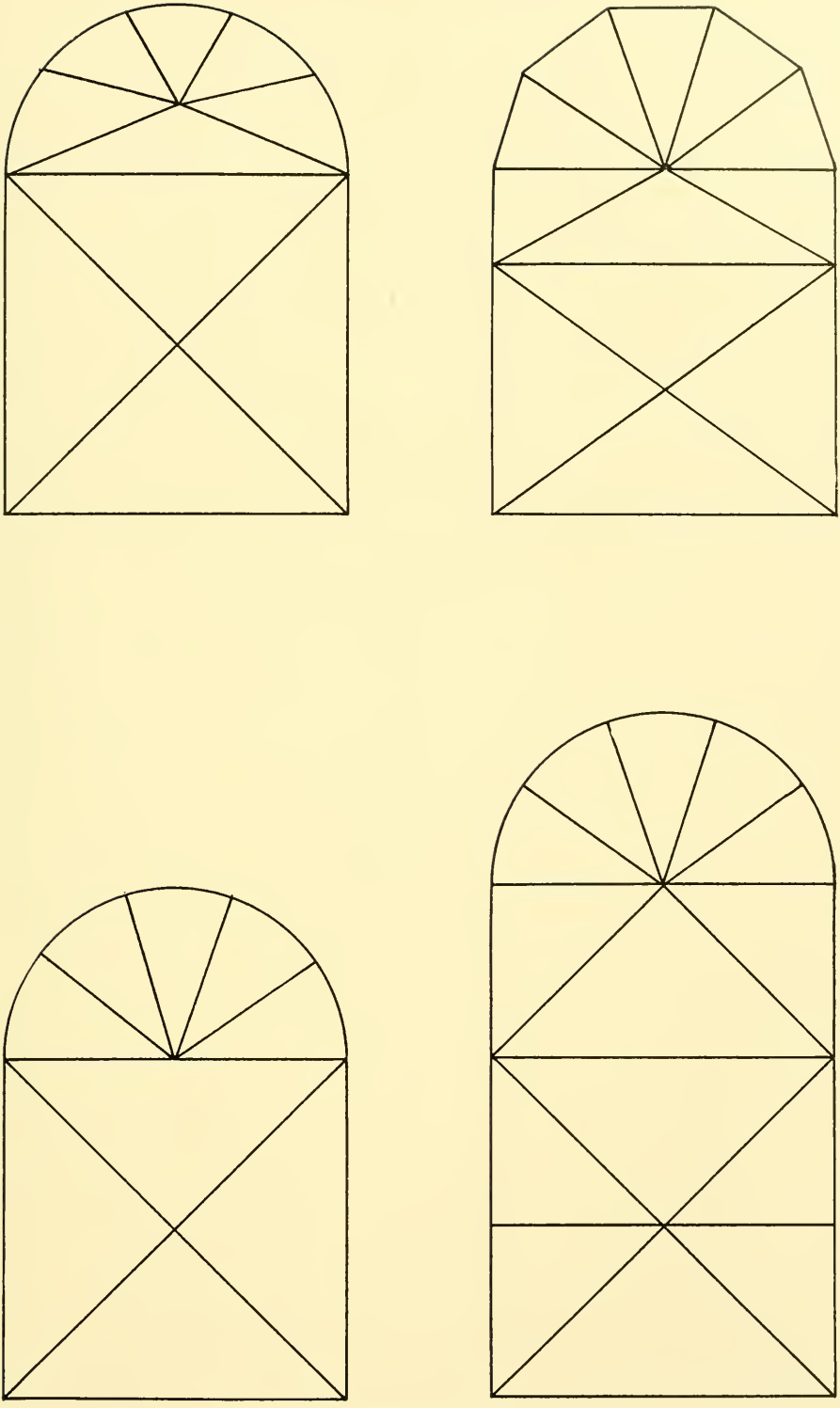
The lack of enthusiasm with which the polygonal apse was at first received must be attributed to the strength of the tradition that the east end of the church should be semicircular, for the

[1] As at Azy-Bonneil, Bussiares, Chassemy, Hautevesnes, Marigny-en-Orxois, Marisy-St.-Mard, etc.

polygonal form offered great advantages over the older type. Chief among these was the fact that by this means all the arches of the east end — whether of the main arcades, the triforium, the windows, or the wall ribs — could be built upon a straight plan, and surfaces of double curvature thus avoided. The new form was hence at once both easier to build and more satisfying to the eye. Yet, in the large churches of the second half of the transitional period, where the advantages of the new system, it would have seemed, were most obvious, the polygonal plan was never adopted; and it remained for the Gothic architects to translate this motive from the apse of the rustic parish church into the chevet of the cathedral.

One further change was wrought in the construction of the chevet vault, largely during the last phase of the transitional movement. In large chevets, with five or more bays and consequently as many radiating ribs, since all these ribs converged on the keystone of the last transverse rib and since all exerted thrusts in similar directions upon this keystone (Ill. 173, 175), the stability of the transverse ribs seems to have been somewhat compromised. To obviate this, the principle of the broken rib vault, as developed in the ambulatory, was applied to the chevet in the form shown in the diagram (Ill. 175). The thrust of the half ribs, *a* and *b*, was found sufficient to neutralize the generally opposite thrusts *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, and the stability of the vault was thus assured. This new construction is called the *radiating rib vault*, and a good example of its application may be found in the apsidal chapels of the cathedral of Noyon (Ill. 176).

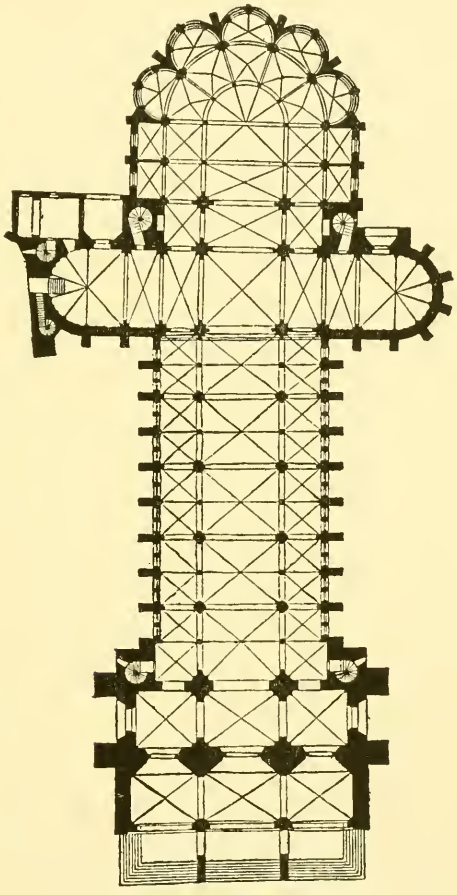
This same principle was carried one step further in the chevet of the same cathedral. This choir was originally vaulted with the sexpartite system. Therefore the semicircle of the chevet was joined to half a bay of the sexpartite system (Ill. 176, 175, Fig. 4) — an arrangement which gave an adjustment perfectly satisfactory. As long as the sexpartite system was retained, the choirs continued to be vaulted in this manner. With the return to the quadripartite vault in the Gothic period, however, this system was no longer practicable, and a new adjustment (Ill. 175, Fig. 3) was invented. The chevet was prolonged beyond a semicircle and made seven-sided, and the keystone of



Ill. 175. — Diagram of Chevet Vaults

the vault was placed, not exactly in the center of the polygon, but in such a position that all the ribs became approximately equal. Thus was found at last an entirely satisfactory solution to the problem.

Mr. Moore [1] has suggested another theory to account for



Ill. 176. — Plan of Noyon. (From Dehio)

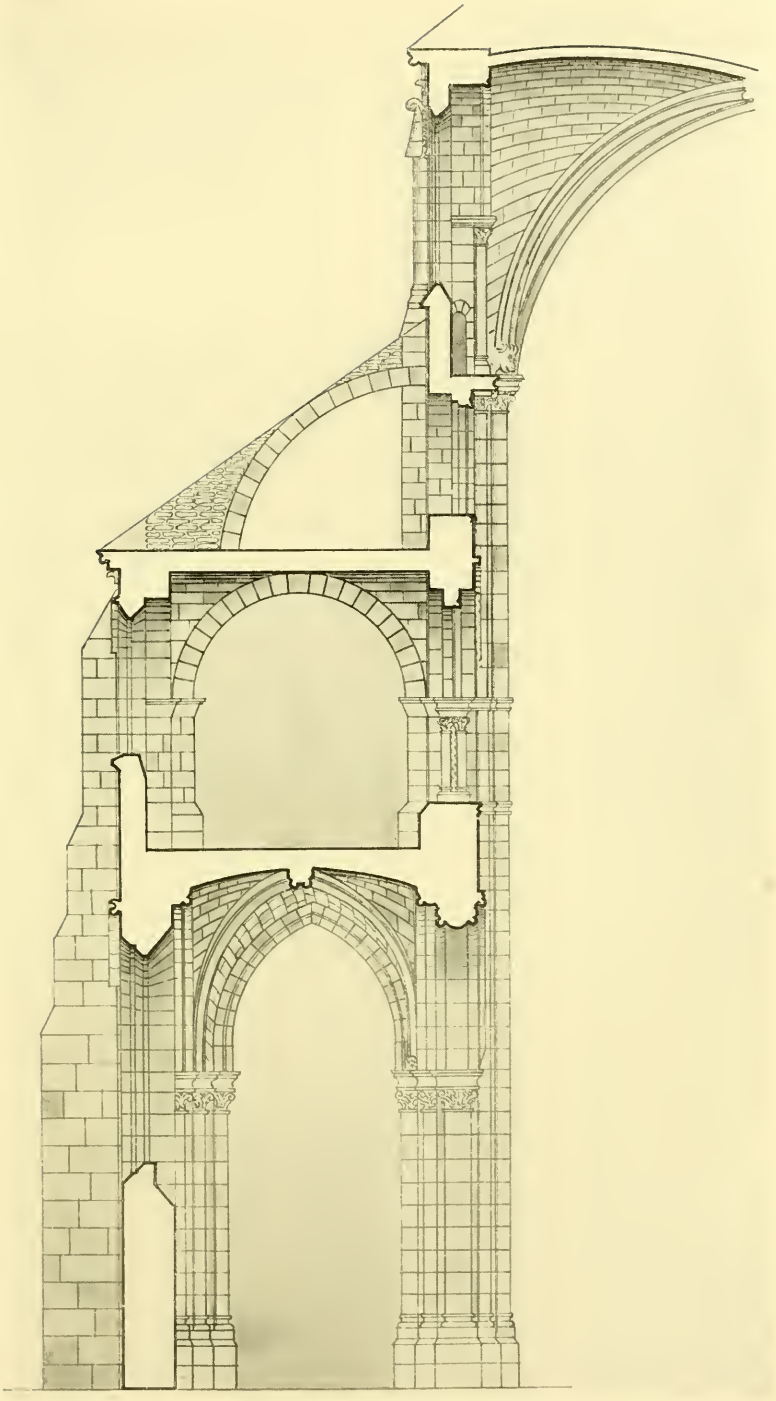
the abandonment of that type of chevet vault which is characterized by ribs converging on the keystone of the last transverse rib. He notes that in St. Germer (Ill. 173) the diagonals of the last bay are carried on corbels and not on shafts, and he remarks that, were shafts provided, the piers x and y would

[1] *Gothic Architecture*, p. 76.

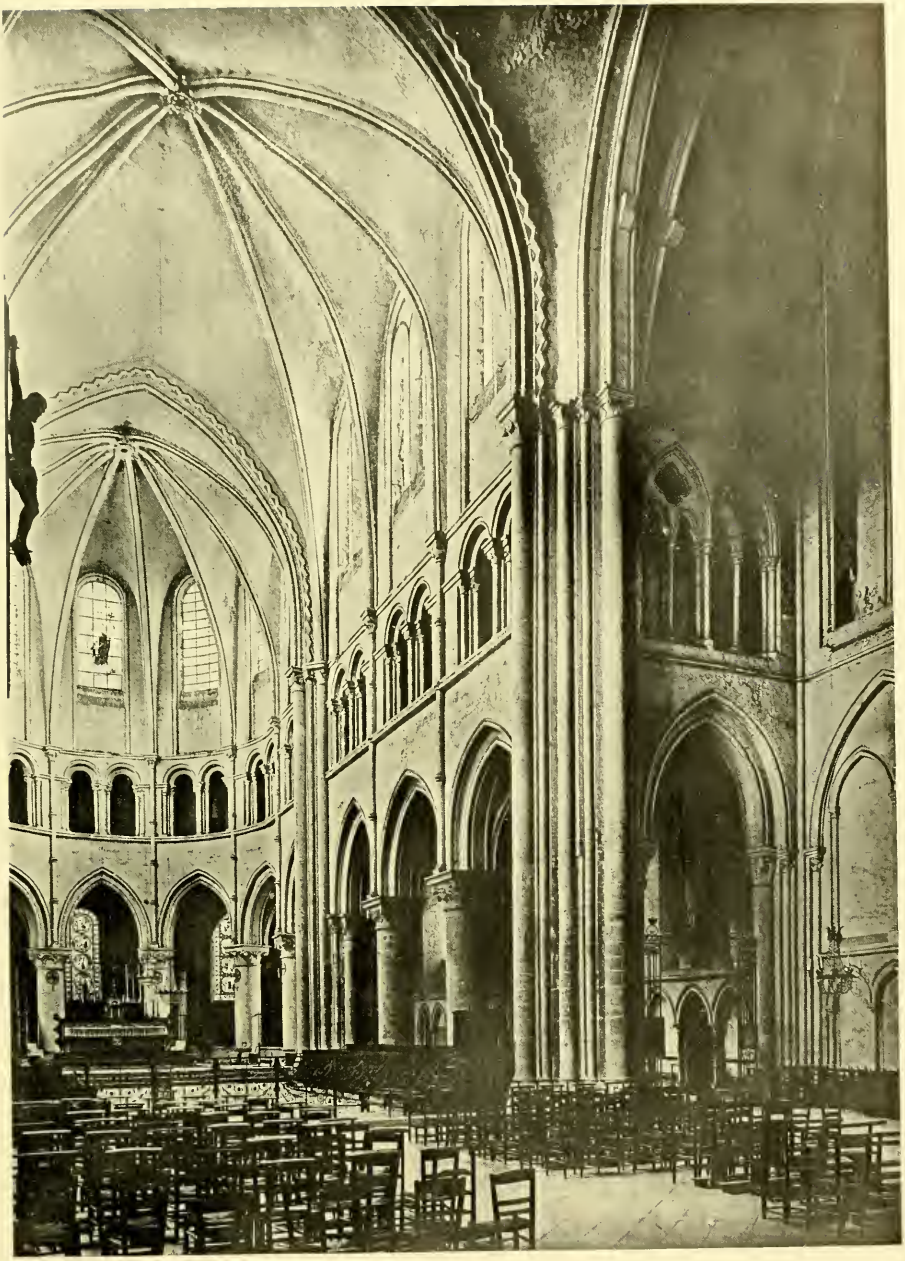
become unsymmetrical, there being nothing to the eastward to balance the diagonals. Hence, he thinks, the later forms were invented in order to preserve the symmetrical section of the pier and at the same time provide shafts for every rib. I find it difficult to admit, however, that the builders of this time would even to the slightest degree sacrifice construction to mere formal symmetry. Strangely enough, no one has emphasized this logical character of transitional architecture more effectively than Mr. Moore himself, who, nevertheless, abandons his own thesis in this single instance.

Before leaving this subject of the chevet vault it should be noticed that vaults of this character were occasionally applied even to square east ends, which became very common about this time. At Ouideuil, for instance, the square choir is covered with a vault of five converging ribs. Three of these abut against the east end forming a true chevet vault, although, of course, it is somewhat distorted by the very different lengths of the ribs.

We come now to the second phase of the transitional movement. This period, into which we have already made many excursions, is closely linked with the preceding forty years; on the whole, however, the erection of St. Denis marks the dawn of a new epoch with a far sharper distinction than any which can be traced, for instance, between the transitional and the Gothic periods. Perhaps, after all, the archaeologists of the old school did not make a mistake in calling St. Denis the first of the Gothic monuments. For St. Denis marks the moment when French architecture ceased to grope obscurely with new and strange principles in out-of-the-way country churches, and commenced instead to apply these principles on a grand scale to the great abbeys and cathedrals; when the rib vault, instead of being an experiment, a tentative construction, became a triumphant principle destined to bend all Europe to its sway; when the architecture of the Ile de France from being the least conspicuous school of the Occident, almost at a bound became the leader of the West, imitated and copied from Cypress to the



Ill. 177. — Section of St. Germer



Ill. 178. — St. Quiriace of Provins. Choir. (From Gurlitt)

Orkneys, from Gibraltar to the North Sea. History knows no parallel to the sudden flowering of this lovely art.

Not that, necessarily, no large buildings were constructed before 1140 — we know on the contrary from literary sources that the reverse was the case. But the very fact that to a later age all these monuments seemed mean and unworthy, and so were replaced, while a whole series of important abbeys and cathedrals erected after 1140 are still extant, is significant. Nor should it be understood that French architecture had yet reached its zenith — many problems still remained unsolved and even unattempted; much crudity and lack of skill still remained. The best part of a century of unceasing development and growth lies between the ambulatory of St. Denis and the nave of Amiens. Nevertheless, the year 1140 marks the turning of the tide. From this moment French architecture was conscious of its destiny; it was henceforth only a question of perfecting principles already understood, of carrying to their logical conclusion ideas already successfully applied on a small scale. And the medieval builders never faltered in pursuing to its goal the road that they were traveling. They rose from triumph to triumph still more lofty, until at Amiens they accomplished the utmost possibility of human achievement.

The abbey of St. Denis also marks the flood tide of monastic influence over the architecture of the Ile de France. Up to this moment, whether in France or Normandy, the most important monuments, the edifices that had been used as models for the humbler churches, had almost invariably been the great abbey churches. But after 1140 in France the abbey fell under the shadow of the cathedral. No abbot in France ever again held within his hands the destinies of architecture, as did Suger at St. Denis. The torch of progress was passed on to the bishops, to whom was given the actual accomplishment of what the monks had so largely made possible.

The exact relationship of the abbey of St. Denis to the sudden expansion of architecture, which took place in the Ile de France, c. 1140, is difficult to determine. Whether it was that the personal force of Suger and the genius of some unknown master builder called into being at St. Denis a work far in

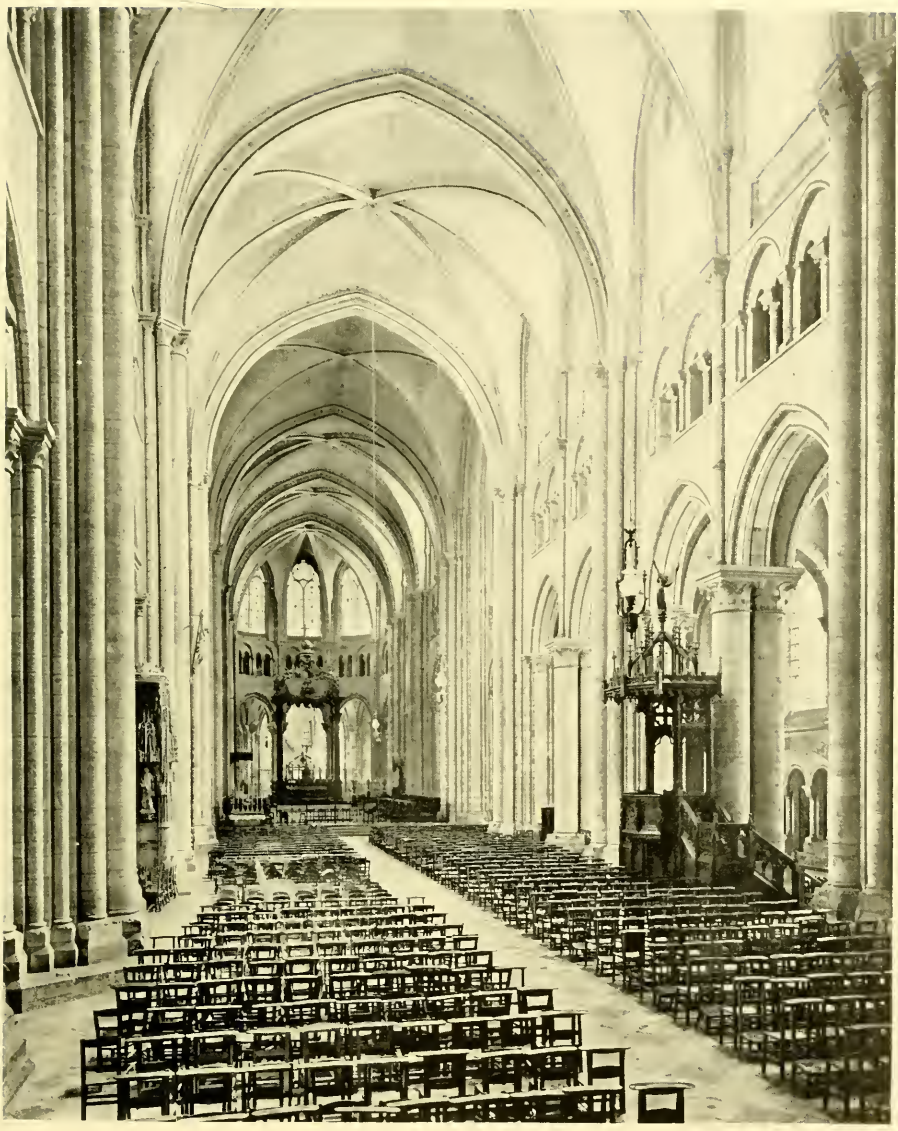
advance of its time, and one which, like Hagia Sophia or Jumièges, immediately impressed its form on the buildings of the surrounding country; or whether the advances we find in all the buildings of the Ile de France of about this time are merely the result of a sudden stimulation felt throughout the school, and not directly inspired by the abbey of Suger, has been much discussed. The extant monuments analogous to, and nearly contemporary with, St. Denis — such as the western portions of the cathedral of Chartres, the cathedrals of Sens and Noyon, the abbey of St. Germer — are none of them dated with sufficient exactness to make it possible to determine the question on the basis of chronology. There is, however, reason to believe that the influence of St. Denis was very great. For it is more likely that the Norman influence, which is unmistakable at St. Denis, should have radiated thence into the rest of the Ile de France, than that the whole of this virile and active school should have fallen all at once under the sway of foreign models.

This Norman influence showed itself not only in the sexpartite vault,[1] — significant as was this feature — but in other structural peculiarities almost as important: the concealed flying buttress, evolved in all probability at the Abbaye-aux-Dames, appeared at precisely this moment in the architecture of the Ile de France (Ill. 177); lanterns, a distinctly Norman feature, were also adopted by the royal school; triforium galleries, though much used by the Carolingian builders, had been practically unknown in France before 1140, but they now became well-nigh universal in larger edifices[2] and acquired an importance distinctly recalling the developed treatment given this feature in the Abbaye-aux-Hommes, Jumièges, and similar edifices; finally, the interior passage-ways in clearstory and triforium that had been known in Normandy from the third quarter of the XI century, now first made their appearance in the Ile de France (Ill. 177).

It is easier to state the fact of this Norman influence than to explain its cause. The sexpartite vault seems to have exercised for the medieval builders a strange attraction. The oblong rib vault, which was understood in the Ile de France at

[1] See p. 263, Vol. I.

[2] Except Sens and a few others.



Ill. 179. — Sens. Interior

this period, was structurally and artistically preferable in every way, as the Gothic artists a little later were not slow to recognize. Yet the builders of the XII century deliberately discarded it in favor of the sexpartite form — an awkward type of vault which had originated in Normandy largely as the result of an accident. Not that the quadripartite form ever quite died out; on the contrary it always survived in the naves of small churches. But for the naves of important edifices, during the entire second phase of the transition, the sexpartite vault was well-nigh exclusively employed. So firmly rooted did the popularity of this form become that, in the Cathedral of Paris, although the entire building up to the clearstory level had been designed for a quadripartite vault, and although the supports and shafts for this had actually been constructed, yet when it came to the point of erecting the vault, the builders suddenly changed their plans, abandoned the quadripartite vault intended, and erected instead a sexpartite vault.

This sudden and radical change in the design of Paris gives reason to believe that for some reason the builders, in the vaulting of great spans, found it easier, or safer, to employ a sexpartite rather than an oblong quadripartite vault. In fact, oblong quadripartite vaults, especially on a large scale, offered great difficulties of construction and adjustment, and it is probable that the French builders of 1140 hesitated to undertake them in so vast an edifice as, for example, St. Denis. The constructors of this church were accordingly reduced to one of two alternatives in designing the vaults for this choir: they might build them square and quadripartite — *i.e.*, on the old Lombard system; or they might borrow the sexpartite system successfully practised on a large scale in Normandy. The Norman sexpartite vaults clearly offered a structural advantage over the Lombard type. Since both required an approximately square plan, for a nave of a given width it is evident that a bay vaulted on the Lombard system would contain about the same amount of vault surface as a double bay of the sexpartite system, and would consequently have nearly the same weight and discharge thrusts of about the same power. But in the Lombard system these weights and thrusts were *all* gathered on the *alternate*

piers; but in the sexpartite system the intermediate ribs discharged a considerable part of these weights and thrusts on the intermediate piers, thus easing very materially the strain upon the principal supports.

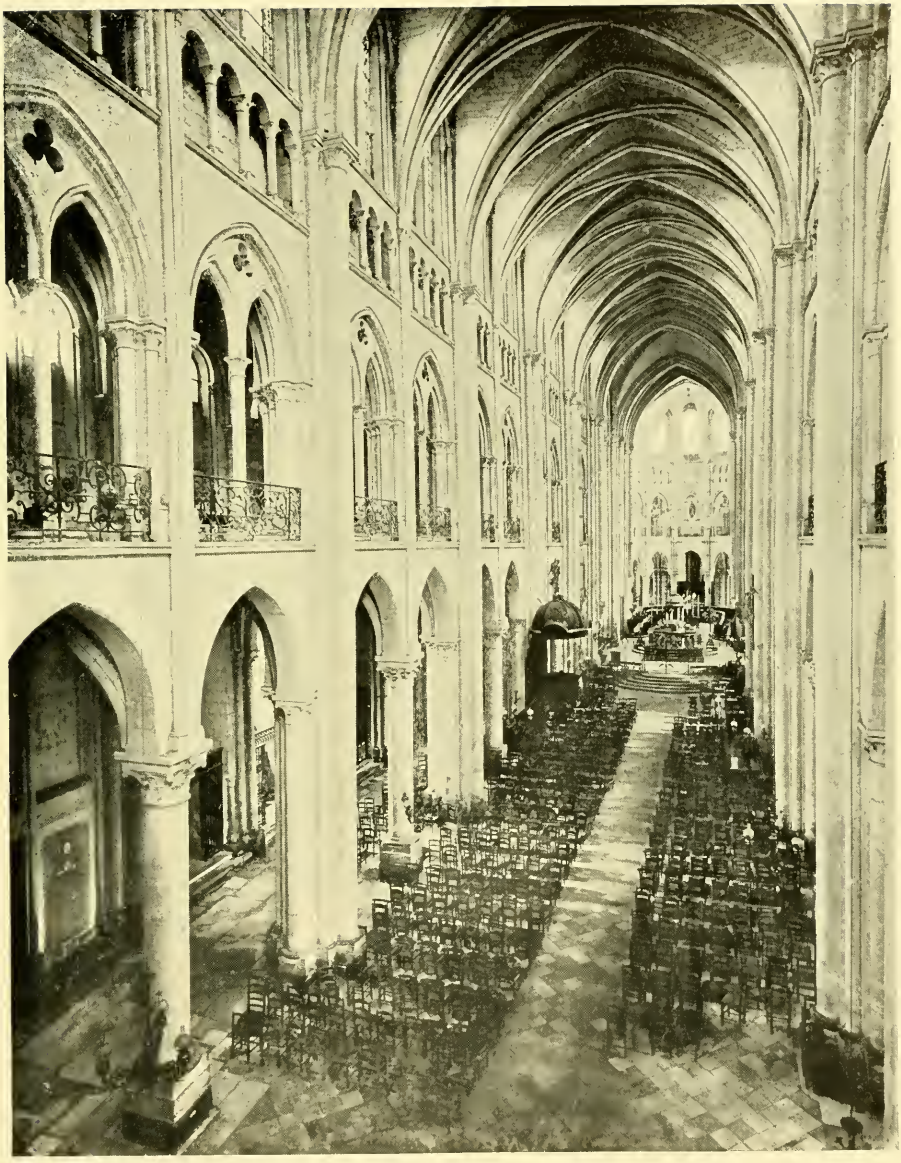
The Norman system thus once established at St. Denis was immediately copied throughout the Ile de France. The very fact that a more or less satisfactory substitute had been found doubtless deterred the builders from risking the difficult construction of an oblong quadripartite vault on a large scale. Yet at times they seem to have retained sexpartite vaults out of pure love for their distorted surfaces; — at least it is difficult to explain why else in Champagne and the bordering regions they should have out-Heroded Herod, and invented the octopartite vault. In this bizarre construction (Ill. 178) three bays were included between a single pair of main transverse arches, with the result of grotesquely distorting the vault surfaces.

The sexpartite vault, *ipso facto*, necessitated the alternate system. And this alternate system brought to a head the problem (which had long been impending) of how to provide proper supports for the various ribs. The Lombards had provided for every rib a shaft which had been carried directly to the ground. This construction, which was entirely satisfactory from both a structural and from an esthetic point of view, was adopted in the Ile de France during the first phase of the transition, except in rare cases, where for some unavoidable reason the ribs were carried on corbels [1] (Ill. 162, 170, 173, etc.). Cylindrical piers had occasionally been used in wooden-roofed churches like Crézancy, Lucheux, or Gassicourt; but it was only at the very end of the first phase of the transition that round piers or columns were employed in connection with the vault.[2]

Such columns seem first to have been used in the chevet, as, for example, at Poissy and Pontoise (Ill. 166), and they were probably substituted for compound piers partly in order to economize floor space, partly with a view to giving an appearance of greater lightness to the construction. Now the use of these columns raised the question of what to do with the vault-

[1] *e. g.* Rhuis and the nave of Bellefontaine.

[2] Morienval seems to be an exception.



Ill. 180. — Noyon. Interior

ing shafts, which, since wall ribs were now generally included, were five in number and of no inconsiderable bulk. For the present they were continued to the ground as of old, along the face of the column (Ill. 173); but before long it was found that floor space might be still further economized by stopping the shafts at the abacus of the capital. This was satisfactory from a constructive standpoint, since it is the natural function of a capital to adjust a bulky load to a more slender support. To place so great a bulk on only one side of the abacus, however, necessitated an awkward distortion of the form of the latter (Ill. 204), to avoid which many devices were invented.

One of the earliest of these occurs in the Cathedral of Sens. This nave (Ill. 179) is of peculiar interest because here for the first time columns were used to replace piers not only in the chevet, but in the nave and choir. The master builder, however, seems to have mistrusted the ability of the columns to bear the great weight of the vault and of the clearstory walls; accordingly he dared to use them only in the intermediate or lighter supports, and there he reinforced the construction by coupling two columns together in the latitudinal sense. In fact, until the Gothic period, the greater weight supported by the alternate piers was never entrusted to columns. This peculiar design of Sens was cleverly utilized to improve the adjustment of the shafts. Since columns were used only in the intermediate supports, there were only three ribs — two wall ribs and the intermediate transverse rib — to be carried in the system which rested on columns. Hence it was possible to gather all the ribs on the capital of a single shaft, which might easily be supported on the abacus, without undue distortion of the latter.

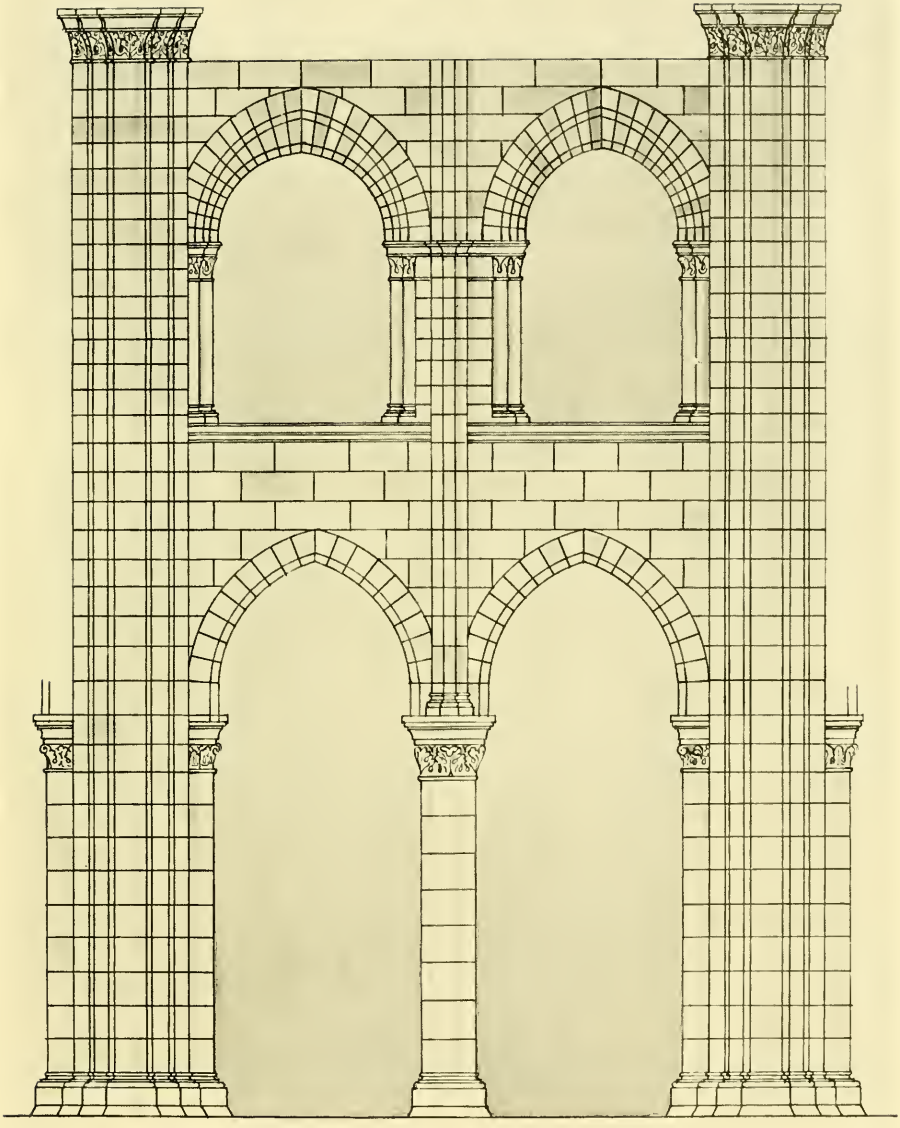
At Noyon (Ill. 180) an entirely different and a better adjustment was found. Single columns were substituted for coupled ones in the intermediate supports, and the alternate piers were lightened by concentrating the wall and diagonal ribs on a single shaft, so that there were thus only three shafts, instead of five, to be carried to the ground.[1] In the intermediate

[1] In the two eastern (earlier) bays of the nave there are, however, five shafts. The wall shafts have no capitals at the main impost level, but only at the top of the stilting.

supports three shafts rose from the abaci, which were enlarged by corbels so as to afford them sufficient footing. Thus both alternate and intermediate supports had the same number of shafts, but the sexpartite vaults with which the nave was originally covered were clearly and logically expressed by making the individual shafts of the alternate group much heavier.

At Senlis (Ill. 181) the system seems to have been precisely similar to that of the eastern bays of Noyon, that is, in the intermediate supports there were three shafts resting on the abaci of the columns and in the alternate supports five shafts carried to the ground. This arrangement is perfectly rational and satisfactory. At Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (Ill. 182) the system is alternate, although the vaults seem always to have been quadripartite. The peculiar adjustment of shafts, best explained by the illustration, is due probably to the fact that the present building is a reconstruction of an older edifice, though at St. Alpin in the same city an arrangement exactly analogous is to be found. At Coulonges the system is logical and continuous with five shafts and a quadripartite vault; at St. Germain-des-Prés of Paris three shafts rising from the abaci of the columns support five ribs; and in the almost Gothic chevet of St. Remi, Reims (Ill. 183) five shafts rise from the abaci of the columns.

There is no need of multiplying examples. Hardly two buildings of the second phase of the transition show exactly the same disposition of shafts. It was reserved for the Gothic builders to discover the adjustments which most perfectly combined structural logic, economy of material, and esthetic beauty. The builders of the second phase of the transition, however, fully realized the problem, and with that persevering, rational spirit so characteristic of the age, they attempted device after device and paved the way for the final solution. Not one of the answers proposed is without great ingenuity and interest, and nothing is more fascinating than to study comparatively the various systems of the second half of the XII century, for in the development of no other feature is the perseverance and logic by which Gothic architecture finally arrived at perfection more strikingly illustrated.



Ill. 181. — System of Senlis

Ill. 182. — Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne. Interior

As the adjustment of shafts came to be improved, it became customary to set the capitals of the diagonal shafts normal to the direction of the ribs they carried (Ill. 179), instead of placing them normal to the wall (Ill. 180). This was no new idea, and had been tried in the first half of the century, as, for example, at St. Étienne of Beauvais (Ill. 162); but it gradually became more and more common until the older disposition was supplanted.[1]

The builders of the second half of the transition were confronted by another problem far more vital than these niceties of adjustment. It was necessary to discover some means to buttress the thrust of the rib vaults, which, when erected over so large an area as the nave of an important church, seriously imperiled the stability of the building, unless some substantial abutment could be devised. Fully equal to the occasion, the transitional builders called into being the flying buttress — a new principle, that more than any other assured the triumph of the rib vault, and a principle whose discovery marks the moment when Gothic Architecture first came into being. Unfortunately, just how or where this new principle first saw the light, is among the most vexed questions of the entire transitional period.

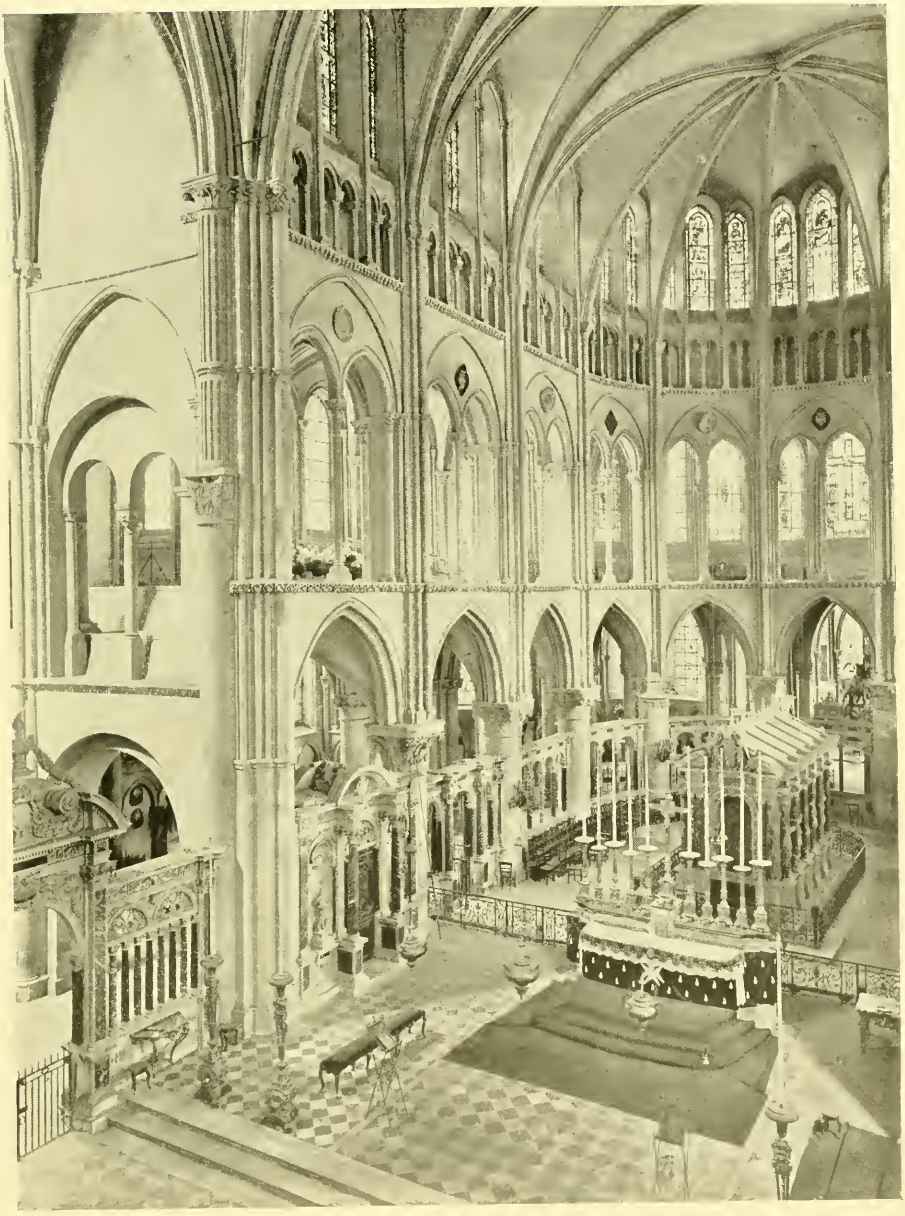
Flying buttress concealed beneath the aisle roof (Ill. 177) had been, as we have seen, imported from Normandy as early as 1140. During the next fifteen years and even longer, such buttresses were regularly employed without substantial alteration of design, as, for example, at St. Germer and Creil. Buttresses of this type, however, brought the strut to bear on a point too low to oppose most effectively the thrust of the vault, especially if the clearstory were of any great height. The step to raising the flying buttress over the roof to meet more squarely this thrust seems obvious, and was, indeed, taken. But when and where?

The early extant examples of flying buttresses give little clue to the answer of this question. The chevet of Domont

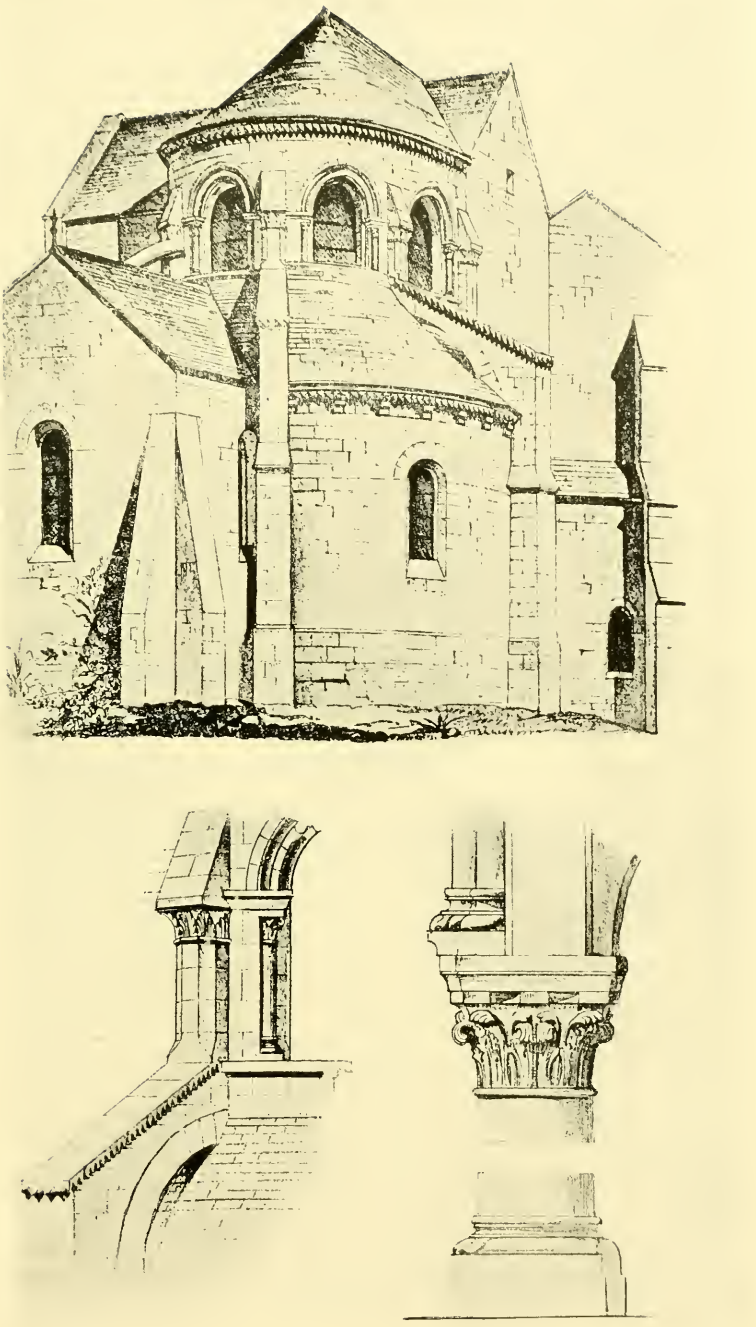
[1] Capitals normal to the wall, however, occur at Noyon, Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne, St. Martin of Laon (c. 1165), Namps-au-Val (c. 1150), etc. They seem to have been so set to adapt the abaci to the profile of the ribs they must carry. See below, p. 295.

(Ill. 184) has true flying buttresses which appear to be of a type as primitive as any that have come down to us, and which I should assign to c. 1155; there is, however, no documentary evidence to support this date. Other examples of flying buttresses of early type (Ill. 185) exist in the choir of Noyon (c. 1157), at Sens (c. 1160), at Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (c. 1160), at St. Germain-des-Prés (c. 1163), at St. Martin of Laon (c. 1165), at St. Remi of Reims (c. 1180), and at Arcy-Ste.-Restitute (c. 1180). If all these examples were contemporary with the original constructions, the evolution would not be difficult to determine; but with the single exception of Arcy-Ste.-Restitute, it is suspected, and apparently with good reason, that every one of these buttresses was erected subsequently to the original construction and probably in consequence of some signs of instability that had appeared in the masonry of the vault. They may thus have been added one or twenty years after the buildings to which they belong were completed. Furthermore, it is certain that the south transept of Soissons and the choir of St. Remi, both large structures, were erected c. 1180 without flying buttresses.

Hence it is probable that the advantages and possibilities of the flying buttress were not immediately appreciated at their full value, and, while the new construction was freely applied in cases where the threatened fall of the vault demanded its application, edifices even of considerable dimensions still continued to be erected without its aid. These early flying buttresses were clumsy and awkward in appearance (Ill. 185). The builders were as yet far from conceiving how such simple struts could be developed to give the exterior of the church the same beauty and aspiring character that had already long characterized the interior; nor did they perceive that by means of the flying buttress, and by this means only, the central fact of the Gothic church — the rib vault — could be expressed externally, and interior and exterior thus brought into one unified and logical whole. But there can be no question that the rudimentary flying buttress was known very shortly after 1160, if not before. It is incredible that the master builder who traced the grandiose foundations of the choir of Paris (c. 1163) could



Ill. 183. — St. Remi of Reims. Interior of Chevet



Ill. 184. — Flying Buttresses at Domont. (From Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

have conceived the execution of those mighty vaults without a very distinct intention to provide abutment by means of flying buttresses.

The flying buttress underwent little development in the transitional period. The flat top, it is true, in the later examples was gabled in order to shed rain water better, but the buttress itself always remained in a sense inefficient, since, before the Gothic period, it was never discovered how to apply the strut to the exact spot in the clearstory wall where it would most effectively neutralize the thrust of the vault. However, the principle had been established, and it now became only a question of carrying it to perfection.

The flying buttress marks the final step in the development of the rib vault. After this principle had been discovered, there remained to be carried out by the Gothic architects minor adjustments, but no vital changes. The evolution of the rib vault had been completed, and in the rib vault — its great central fact — is summed up the structural advance of the transitional period. We have already seen how other lines of development in general were merely corollaries and necessary consequences of this one line of progress.

There were, however, a very few structural changes unconnected with the rib vault made in the transitional era, and it is necessary to glance at the more important of these before closing this part of the chapter. The most interesting of all was the development of the spire, which, as has been already seen, was evolved from the roof of the tower. The towers themselves underwent no essential structural modification during the transitional period. It became increasingly rare, it is true, to place them at the west ends of country churches as had frequently been done in the XI century, and at last this usage entirely passed away. But they continued to be square, or rarely octagonal,[1] in form, quite as they always had been. The only true advance was made in the direction of ornament rather than of construction. Designs of ever-increasing dignity and beauty came to be produced; the pointed arch appeared in

[1] *e. g.* at Blangy-sur-Poix, St. Martin, Cauvigny, Orgeval, Juvigny, Bouconvillers, Cambronne, Lierville, and Feucherolles.

windows and openings, while the lovely flora of early Gothic ornament blossomed on capital, string-course, and cornice.

It was probably in the Ile de France rather than in Normandy that the Gothic spire was developed, although the two schools advanced along much the same paths. The exact stages of progress in this evolution are difficult to determine; there is always the possibility that any given spire was added long after the completion of the tower on which it stands, and, as the spires themselves are seldom furnished with ornament, it is impossible to obtain even an approximate idea of their date from the style of the details. The XII century has left us in the Ile de France, however, a splendid series of monuments [1] showing all stages of the evolution of the spire from the plain pyramidal tower roof, through the forms where the transition from square to octagon is managed more or less crudely by means of angle turrets and dormers (Ill. 186, 187, 188), until at Chartres (Ill. 190) and Senlis (Ill. 189) the fully developed Gothic spire appears in all its glory. These Gothic spires, although perhaps inferior to the spires of Normandy, are yet among the most lovely architectural compositions ever designed. Nothing could be more skilful than the means by which the transition from square base to octagonal pyramid is compassed; the eye travels smoothly from base to summit scarcely conscious of the change in form. At Senlis and Chartres [2] this transition is effected not only by means of dormers and turrets, but the upper story of the tower itself is made octagonal. Thus was reached the final solution of this difficult point of design. To appreciate the achievement represented by these Gothic spires, it is necessary to study the long experiments in proportion and adjustment made in the earlier examples, for here, as in every other part of the edifice, the patience and perseverance of the transitional period made possible the perfection of the Gothic.

[1] At Mogneville (c. 1175), Orgeval, Marolles, Jouy-le-Moustier (1125–1150), Cauvigny, Frouville, St.-Vaast-de-Longmont, Plessis-le-Charmant, Linay, Saintines, Athis, St.-Gervais-de-Pontpoint, St. Germer, Cambronne, Béthisy-St.-Martin, Nesles, Feucherolles, La-Ferté-Aleps, Nogent-sur-Marne, etc.

[2] To appreciate this tower it is necessary to consider it by itself, or rather imagine it as flanking a gable of about the height of the three pointed windows beneath the rose. The present lofty gable spoils the effect of the old tower and dwarfs its proportions.

Ill. 185. — St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris. Exterior

Of all the exterior, only the tower and the façade showed during the transitional period a development to correspond with the vast changes that had been wrought in the interior of the edifice. Flying buttresses appeared commonly only in the last twenty years of the XII century, and up to that time, save perhaps for an occasional pointed arch, or a deeper buttress here and there, the exterior of the main body of the church remained essentially Romanesque in appearance. As early as 1140, however, the façades of great churches like St. Denis (Ill. 191) or Chartres [1] (Ill. 190) began to show a changed character, the old Carolingian idea of flanking the central gable on either side by towers being developed into a new significance. The façade of Sens (Ill. 192), which retains some transitional fragments, is of interest for the arcade or gallery that seems to have been carried across it; — a feature which was nobly developed in the Gothic period. The builders of the Ile de France also employed a type of façade we have studied in Normandy, the central gable being flanked by turrets in lieu of towers. On the other hand, in country edifices they often accepted the somewhat awkward section of a three-aisled church without making any attempt to soften the outlines (Ill. 193).

In the treatment of the plan, outside of the addition and development of the ambulatory already described, few changes were introduced during the transitional era. Dimensions came to be greatly enlarged, but the typical dispositions were only slightly varied. Semicircular transept-ends were introduced at Noyon (Ill. 176), perhaps from Germany, and this singular motive was afterwards repeated in the south transept at Soissons and in the flamboyant period in the XV century church of Neufchâtel (Seine-Inférieure). The plan of Noyon (Ill. 176) is also peculiar for a second transept introduced at the west end adjoining the façade — a disposition of interest as finding analogies in England.[2]

Cloisters were doubtless constructed at this time in France in connection with all cathedral and abbey churches, but these

[1] It should, of course, be remembered that only the lower portions of the façade of Chartres, together with the southern tower, date from this period.

[2] *e. g.* at Ely. A western transept was planned at St. Germer but was never carried out.

lovely courts became the special object of attack in the Revolution and other iconoclastic periods of French history, with the result that practically all examples, whether of the transitional or Gothic epoch, have entirely disappeared. Fragments survive at Noyon, St. Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons and elsewhere; but I can not name a single well-preserved cloister nearer the Ile de France than Mt.-St.-Michel,[1] a monument which is much more English than French in style. Consequently we can only imagine, on analogy with cloisters in other countries, especially England, what the cloister of the Ile de France must have been.

While thus the changes wrought in the exterior of the design apart from the rib vault and its corollaries were few, there was only one new feature of importance independent of that all-controlling principle introduced in the interior. It has been seen that the habit of building high triforium galleries had been introduced from Normandy at St. Denis. Now the introduction of this gallery led to a noteworthy innovation in design. Since the triforium arcade had always been used to occupy the wall space beneath the lean-to roof of the aisles, when this roof was placed above the gallery, it was natural to place here also the triforium arcade, even though a triforium gallery already existed below (Ill. 173). Hence it resulted that the nave was divided into four stories: the main arcade, the gallery, the triforium, and the clearstory. The effect of this four-fold design, as may be seen in the illustrations of the naves of Noyon (Ill. 180), of Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (Ill. 182), and of St. Remi of Reims (Ill. 183), was not altogether happy. It tended to multiply the horizontal lines, whereas the true destiny of Gothic lay in the emphasis of the vertical line. However, doubtless owing to the fact that it tended to raise high the concealed flying buttresses, the four-storied design was very generally employed in the larger monuments of the second phase of the transition.

In the choir of St. Remi (Ill. 183) an attempt was made, while preserving the four-storied design, to overcome the effects

[1] The most ancient cloister extant in Normandy is, I believe, that of Abbaye Blanche of Mortain, dating from the end of the XII century.

Ill. 186. — Morienval. Exterior

of the extra horizontal lines, by binding together into one composition clearstory and triforium. This experiment which had already been tried at St. Germain-des-Prés and at Cambronne was so successful, that it was later borrowed in the nave of Amiens, and formed the basis of the glazed triforiums of the rayonnant period.

In Gothic architecture structure is so ornamental, and ornament is so structural, that it is impossible to draw a sharp line between the essential body of the building and its applied decoration. As Romanesque ornament was transformed by almost imperceptible stages into Gothic ornament, the forms which had hitherto had little but purely decorative significance, at once commenced to assume a share, however modest, in the task of holding the building together.

This is most strikingly illustrated in the profiles of mouldings, features which had always been the most purely esthetic and decorative part of a building, but which in the transitional period came to assume distinctly structural functions. Such structural mouldings are found in the abaci and bases of piers, in interior and exterior string-courses and cornices, in the archivolts of arches, windows, and doorways, and in the transverse and diagonal vaulting ribs. The variety and combinations of profiles used in each of these positions is legion, and it would be well-nigh impossible to exhaust all the various types. Yet amid all this infinite variety of design, this exuberance of invention, there are none the less certain governing structural principles. The artists who designed and executed these profiles possessed a fertile imagination which was restrained solely by the dictates of structural truth and expediency.

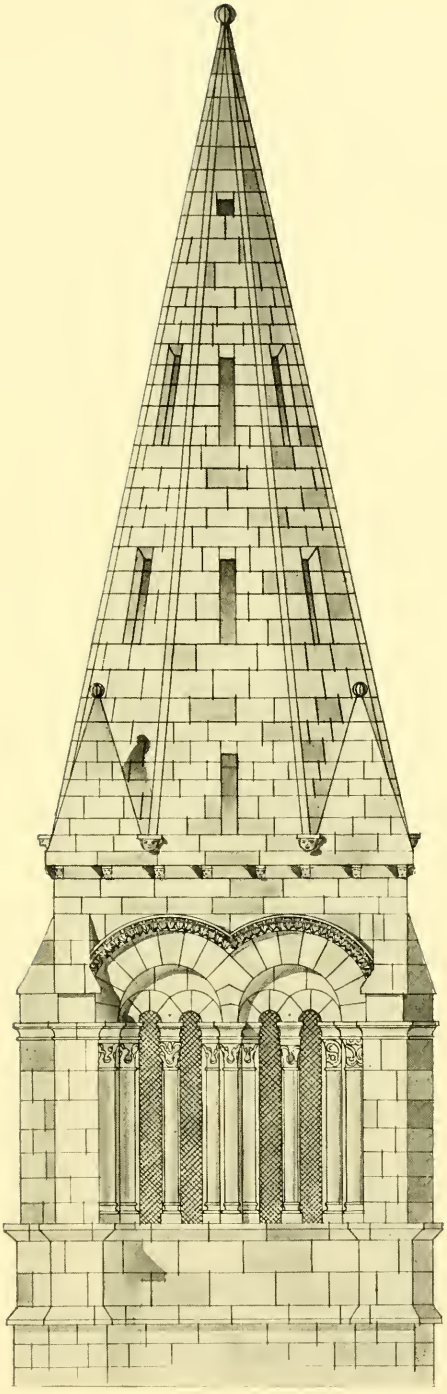
A capital, as I believe Viollet-le-Duc first pointed out, is of structural significance only when it serves to adjust a greater load to a more slender support. A Roman Corinthian colonnade would stand quite as well were the capitals omitted and the architrave placed directly on the shafts. On the other hand, if the capitals were omitted in a Byzantine or Gothic arch-construction such as, for example, the chevet of Noyon

(Ill. 204) the safety of the building would at once be compromised, for the archivolts would overhang the shaft to a dangerous extent. Now in the Romanesque and early transitional periods, the capitals had received loads only slightly more bulky than the supporting pier; but as the transition advanced, the load commenced to be made larger and larger, and the capital hence given more and more of a structural significance. In consequence of this larger load it came to be seen that it was of great importance to thicken the abacus, since such additional thickness was needed to strengthen this member against the weight of the overhanging corners. Thus in the second phase of the transitional movement it became the rule that the thickness of the abacus should be proportioned to the spread of the capital.[1] And by one of those happy coincidences so frequent in Gothic that we half come to suspect they were not coincidences at all, what satisfied structural logic also satisfied the eye. Compare, for example, the illustrations of the broad abacus with its heavy load in the ambulatory of Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (Ill. 242), and the extremely thin abacus with its light load in the triforium of Noyon (Ill. 180).

Of the actual profiles of abaci, the plate (Ill. 194) speaks for itself. The design was almost infinitely varied, and only a few general statements can be made. The top member, however, was always a plinth, giving virility and strength to the outline; and at this period it is to be noticed that the abacus was always square in plan. The habit of continuing the abacus as a string-course was common from the second quarter of the XII century. After c. 1145 the abacus almost invariably included a half-round projecting fillet somewhere among its members. As the transition period approached its close the outline of the profile became more refined, the shaping of the members more delicate, the undercutting deeper. There was also a tendency to increase the number of mouldings. But the profile was never allowed to approach anything like complexity, and to the end remained simple and dignified.

Bases show much the same structural evolution. The old Attic profile of two tori separated by a scotia was usually

[1] Moore, 304.



Ill. 187. — Spire of Béthisy-St.-Martin

retained in a general way, though its proportions were freely altered to suit individual cases (Ill. 195). Since, however, the greater weight which now came to be concentrated on the column rendered the base far more liable to lateral movement than had been the case in classic times, the stability of the base was increased by making the plinth higher and more spreading than had ever been done before. Thus was evolved the Gothic base stone,[1] which for greater effectiveness was often doubled. Here again beauty seemed to wait on structural truth. No footing has ever been devised more secure than these mighty Gothic bases which seem to defy time and destruction; and at the same time it would be impossible to improve on the proportions and profiles of the mouldings. Particularly when the lower torus was flattened and the scotia deeply undercut it is safe to say the Greeks themselves never devised a profile more subtle or refined.

Transitional bases were almost always supplied with griffes, which, although they had been used from the XI century, reached their most expressive development when the base plinth began to be much spread out, thus leaving large corners to be filled between the torus and the angles of the plinth. A griffe cannot be said to contribute to the stability of the building; it does, however, satisfy the eye, and when executed by the wonder-working hand of the early Gothic sculptors, makes a spot of beauty of what would otherwise be an awkward projecting corner. This feature may thus be said to have, to a certain extent, made possible the spreading base.

The development of the string-course (Ill. 197) was also structural. Until the XII century string-courses had been composed of various simple projecting mouldings, and had always been flat on top. Since this flat top offered a ledge where snow and rain-water might lodge and consequently disintegrate the stone, the transitional builders gave the upper member a sloping form, in order that the rain and snow might be thrown off. The earliest extant example where this was done, is, I believe, Berzy-le-Sec (Ill. 197), an edifice of c. 1140. Later the *drip stone*, as this upper sloping member is called, came to be deeply

[1] Moore, 318.

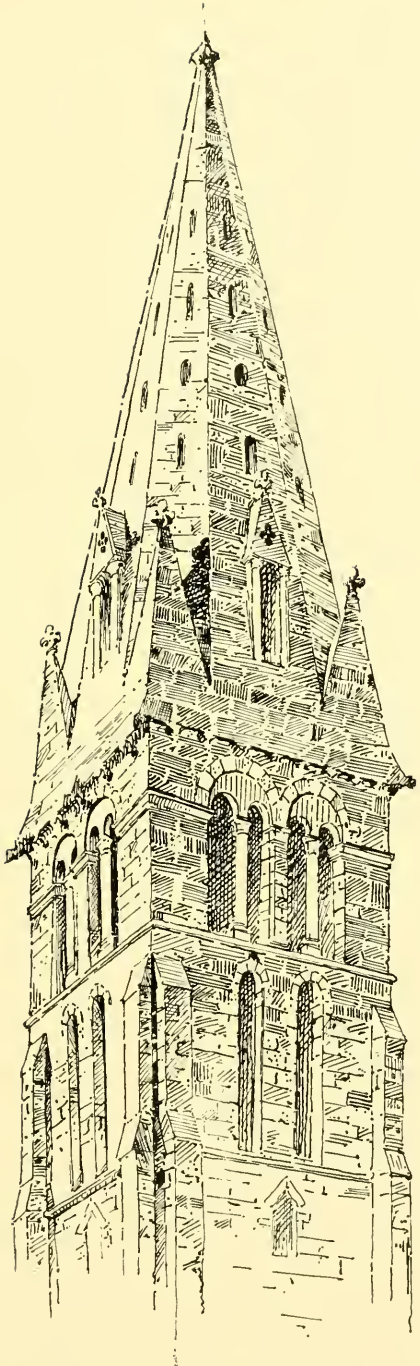
undercut, so that water could not trickle on down the wall. The exterior string-course thus became a highly important factor in the actual conservation of the walls, since it not only ceased to injure the wall above by causing the rain to spatter up against it, but it also actually protected a portion of the wall below.

That the peculiar form of the drip stone moulding was adopted from purely structural considerations is proved by the fact that this profile was rarely employed internally; when it was so used, it was generally in cases where it was desired not to shut from sight some detail immediately above. Thus in the cathedral of Paris the triforium string was given a sloping top member, in order to avoid hiding the bases of the triforium arcade.[1] The general character of internal string-courses is shown by the plate (Ill. 196). It is to be remarked that the string-course is almost the only *projecting* moulding allowed on the French interior.

For cornices (Ill. 198) the only structural requirement was that the profile should be receding, so that rain-water could not trickle down from the roof to the walls. Within this limitation the mouldings were varied almost without restriction. Flat and arched and double arched corbel-tables carved with grotesque figures (Ill. 205) were commonly applied as ornaments to this crowning member, as were also bands or friezes of grotesques, of Byzantinesque acanthus-leaves, and of rinceaux.

The archivolts of the arches of the main arcades in France were always simple. During the first half of the XII century, and indeed, at times, even in the second half of that century, as for example at Noyon (Ill. 180), the archivolts were made perfectly plain and unmoulded, or were merely broken into one or two orders, although the moulded form was used as early as c. 1125 at Bellefontaine (Ill. 199). The interesting and exceptionally advanced archivolts of this church consisted of double orders, each corner being softened by a roll moulding. This same form with the addition of curved undercutting (Ill. 199) became the characteristic type of Gothic archivolts, which in the best period were never elaborate. Except in Normandy, projecting mouldings were not added. Projecting mouldings

[1] Moore, 329.



Ill. 188. — Spire of Chamant

when used externally over windows and doorways, had their structural function in shedding rain-water; but to apply them internally as mere ornament was contrary to the Gothic sense of architectural truth.[1] Thus the archivolts were allowed to retain throughout the Gothic period their primitive simplicity.

The arched string-course of Carolingian tradition was the prototype of the projecting external member of the archivolts of windows and doorways (Ill. 200, 201). Flat at first, these projecting mouldings, on precise analogy with the drip stone, came to be given a sloping topmost member. As a further protection from the weather for the delicate mouldings and the rich ornament which were used to decorate the portals, even as early as the transitional period, a sort of gable was built out from the façade over the entrance arch. The mouldings of the doorways become fine and complicated (Ill. 201), and the ornament, which was often exceedingly rich, seems to have followed closely the Norman style. In windows the profiles remained far more simple. On the interior, the archivolt of the window usually consisted merely of a simple roll moulding supported on a shaft (Ill. 200).

The profiling of diagonal and transverse ribs (Ill. 202, 203) is a difficult subject, since the transitional architects seem to have especially delighted in devising new and varied forms for these important members. The earliest section of both was probably a simple rectangle. Then in the diagonals this rectangular section came to be moulded into a single torus, and later into three tori, while the transverse rib was first chamfered, then provided with a roll moulding on each edge. After this ensued the greatest variety of forms, as the builders acquired greater skill and technique. In general, the better proportioned and more delicate the profile, the later the moulding. As in later times the size of the ribs was diminished, the profiles became less complicated, and included fewer small members. The transverse ribs continued to be generally square in form, but the diagonals tended to assume a triangular shape, usually preserving, however much altered by other elements, the three

[1] There are a few exceptional cases where such projecting mouldings occur, as at Arcy-Ste. Restitute, etc.

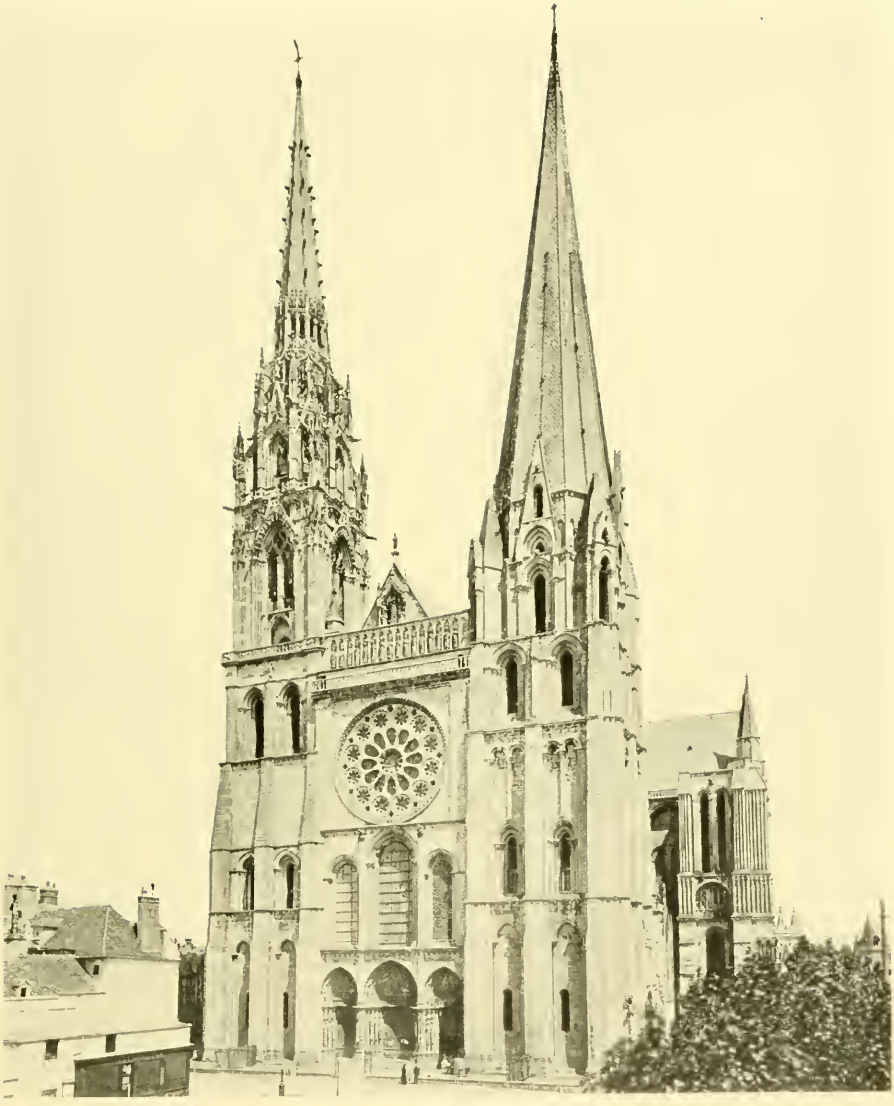
original tori, of which the central one tended to become larger and project beyond the others. As early as c. 1125 at Bellefontaine this torus had assumed the pointed form that was destined to become very characteristic of Gothic profiles; later it was gouged in the center, or else (towards the end of the XII century) a fillet was added along the ridge. In measure as the Gothic period approached, the undercutting became deeper and more skilful, and the lines of shadow were cut in subtle curves, producing thus a much more delicate effect of shading.

In the composition of geometric ornament, transitional architecture showed less originality than in the design of profiles. Shafting was a favorite motive which was used freely in the jambs of doorways and windows, on the angles of buttresses and towers, and groups of shafts, or rather columns, were employed as external buttresses for the apse. In the second half of the XII century it became customary to ornament the shafts, especially when employed internally to support a system, with bands or rings placed at regular intervals. The chevet of Noyon (Ill. 204) offers a characteristic example of this feature. About the same time, the shafts in the jambs of the portals came to be covered with rich diaper patterns, chevrons, lozenges, etc. — a motive which appears to be of southern (Burgundian) origin.

Also from Burgundy in all probability came the very evident classical reminiscences, the rinceaux and acanthus-leaves and anthemia, that flourish so luxuriantly about the portals of St. Denis or Rouen or Chartres (Ill. 215) and throughout the decoration of St. Remi of Reims and Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne. This classic influence gradually disappeared as the Gothic period approached, although it now and then would come to light in the most unexpected places; as, for example, in certain capitals (Ill. 207) in the south transept of Soissons — a structure almost completely Gothic.

The Carolingian billet moulding continued to be used in exterior string-courses and over windows until the middle of the XII century, when it gradually yielded to the drip stone. The chevron made its way from Normandy, probably as early as the first quarter of the century, and became very popular, being employed with rich effect in doorways, over windows,

Ill. 189. — Senlis. Exterior



Ill. 190. — Façade of Chartres

and on archivolts; its use was also extended to ribs, usually in monuments about contemporary with St. Denis, such as St. Germer (Ill. 173), Namps-au-Val, Trie-la-Ville, and Monchy-St.-Eloi. After c. 1170, however, the chevron passed out of use. The dog-tooth ornament, near relative of the chevron, also appeared in the Ile de France in the second half of the XII century, as, for example, at Courmelles.

Thus as the transition advanced, purely geometrical ornament came to be less and less used. The artists learned gradually to look more and more to the natural forms of leaves and plants growing about them for inspiration and models for their designs. This turning to nature is to the history of transitional ornament what the rib vault is to the history of transitional structure — it is the key, the central fact about which all centers. The naturalistic tendency never took the form of servile imitation in the best period of Gothic art, and least of all in the transition; for the early Gothic architects had learned from classic tradition the great lesson that natural forms must be conventionalized to be suitable for architectural ornament; that such decorations must be made an integral part of the composition; and that the foliage of capitals and string-courses must not distract the eye from the contemplation of the whole. This result can be effected only when the patterns are of a certain large character, with plainly marked divisions to which the smaller detail is rigidly subjected, since, if the detail all be made equally prominent, as is necessary in realistic imitation, the proportional emphasis of part and whole is immediately destroyed. Any of the later Gothic buildings where naturalistic foliage is employed will offer a graphic illustration of this truth.

Thus in the transitional period the artists avoided actual imitation of nature in their ornament. They preserved all that was best in classic tradition — the restraint, the strict subordination of the parts to the whole, the generally conventional character. They merely gave new life to old principles. For the traditional acanthus-leaf they substituted the tender forms of the spring plants they saw about them, for the volutes of the Corinthian capital, the yet unrolled bulbous form of the fern as it first appears in the springtime. The finest sense of judg-

ment was displayed in the selection of those natural forms which by their simplicity and grace were well adapted for architectural purposes; serrated or complicated leaf patterns were never used in the early period of Gothic foliage. On the other hand, the broad flat leaves of water plants and others of a similar character were freely employed, being conventionalized just enough to preserve strict architectural harmony.

These plant forms came into usage in their full beauty only at the very end of the transitional period. In the early XII century the capitals and string-courses were thoroughly Romanesque in character (Ill. 206), although the crude Byzantinesque surface decoration was often modified by the addition of other elements, strongly Lombard in character, such as grotesques, rude sculptured figures, strings, and interlaces (Ill. 208, 209, 210). This Lombard-Byzantinesque style of ornament became increasingly popular until about 1140; in the second phase of the transition, however, it passed out of use. Although this decoration is unquestionably crude and unrefined, it yet does not lack a certain rough grace (Ill. 210), and among the grotesques that ran riot in the corbel-tables and cornices of the early XII century, it is possible to find more than one figure that presages the charm of the Gothic gargoyle.

About 1130 the acanthus-leaf, which had been attempted occasionally even as early as the first quarter of the XII century, appeared prominently in the capitals, and speedily became one of the characteristic ornaments of the style. The Byzantine, rather than the Roman version (Ill. 207), was adopted, and the leaves were seldom undercut. At first rude and archaic in appearance, these acanthus-leaves gradually came to be treated with greater freedom, until, by the middle of the XII century, they commenced to assume the most graceful forms.

After this the naturalistic types came little by little to replace the acanthus, though the latter long persisted, often varied in a beautiful and striking manner, as in certain capitals of the south transept of Soissons (Ill. 207). Even in fully developed Gothic capitals, such as the gracious example from the nave of Noyon (Ill. 211), the essential elements of the Corinthian order were preserved in the bell-shaped form of the capital and in

Ill. 191. — Façade of St. Denis

the curled leaves which replace the ancient volutes. In this Noyon capital besides the four leaves, whose ends support the corners of the abacus and hence acquire a structural significance, four other similar leaves are added in the center of each face to complete the design, or perhaps as a reminiscence of the rows of acanthus-leaves of the classical order. The step from this form to the fully developed crocketed capital (Ill. 212) was a very short one, but was not taken before the Gothic period.

In the design of the capitals, as in every other part of the decoration, the churches of the transition show a variety that is without limit. It is almost impossible to find any two capitals, any two ornaments, any two profiles exactly similar. This wonderful versatility gives to the buildings, especially of the later part of the period, a variety of interest that is paralleled only in Nature itself; and yet, thanks to the rigid subordination of detail to the main lines of construction, confusion never results.

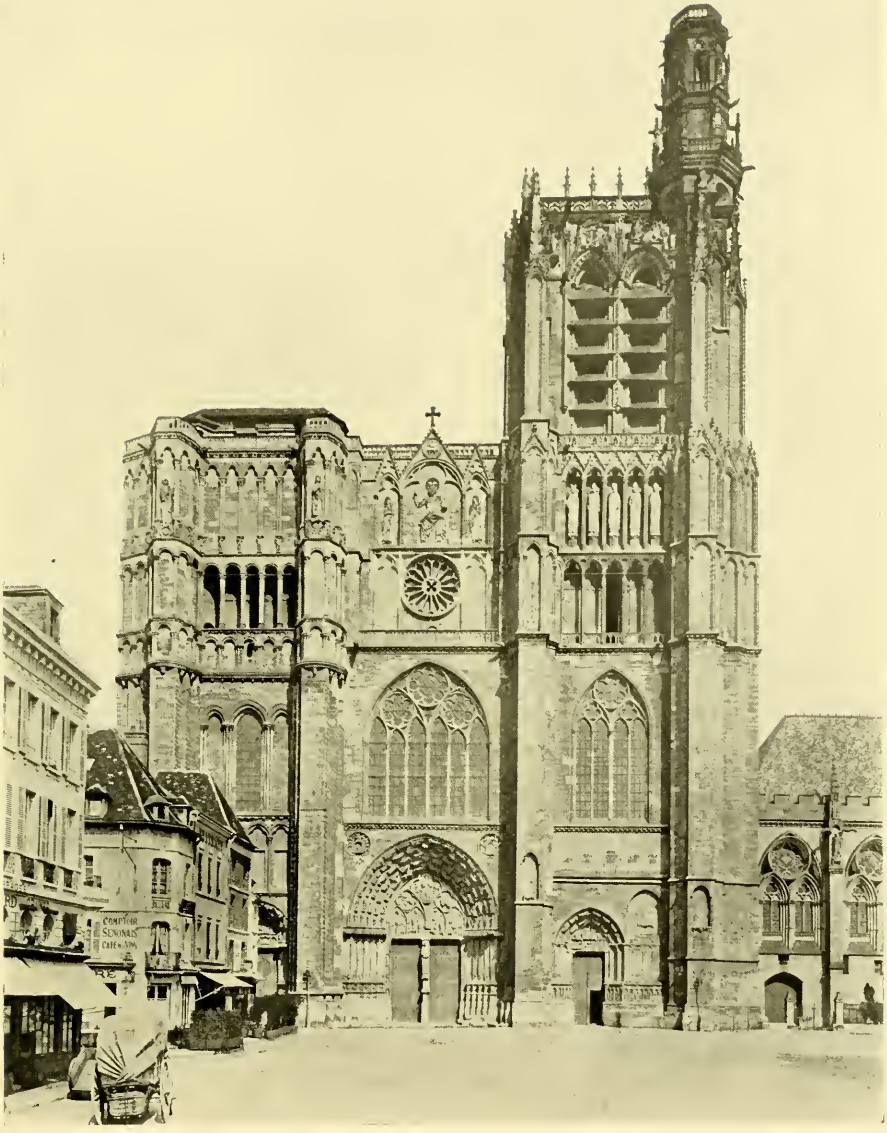
Before we take up the subject of the accessory arts, there remains one singular manifestation of transitional ornament to be noticed. The "wheel of fortune" of the north transept of St. Étienne of Beauvais (Ill. 213) is a composition as full of interest as it is entirely without analogy among contemporary designs of the Ile de France. The spokes which subdivide the composition seem to foreshadow Gothic tracery to a surprising degree. Even the size of this oculus — which is large enough indeed to merit the distinction of being called the first rose window — is astounding, for although oculi had been common in the Romanesque period, another circular window of this importance was hardly designed before the XIII century.

Of the accessory arts, the first in point of chronology was undoubtedly mural painting. Although only a very few examples of this decoration have come down to us, it unquestionably played an important part in the adornment of buildings, not only in the transitional but in the Gothic period. Until the XII century the art of fresco painting in northern Europe remained what the Carolingians had made it. The walls of

churches seem to have been covered with great rhythmical compositions of figures of saints and martyrs, and the half-domes of the apses, the tympanums and vaults, in short all those portions of the church that the Early Christians had usually treated with mosaic, were similarly adorned. About the middle of the XII century, however, this art underwent a transformation as radical as that which about the same time affected architectural sculpture. The figures became freed from certain traditions, the gestures became more natural, the composition lighter and more simple, although the general character of the design remained strictly architectural and subordinate to the structural requirements of the building. The pure ornament deserted Romanesque types, and adopted conventionalized natural forms. The range of color tones was greatly enriched. In the XIII century the painted decoration, although retaining the improved technique of the transitional era, became entirely subordinated to architecture, and the human figure was relegated to an almost wholly ornamental role. But from the end of the XIV century, the naturalistic tendencies that revolutionized the other arts reversed this relationship. The figure again became predominant, and mural decorations resumed the character of paintings.

At just what date the art of painting was transferred from the walls to the glass of the windows, is a much debated question. The earliest authentically dated stained glass windows extant are of c. 1140. It is certain, however, that the art is older. Even as early as the first centuries of the Christian era, the Romans had formed windows of pieces of colored glass mounted in perforated stone slabs, and this practice had been perpetuated by the Byzantines. It is probable that the Carolingians of the IX century combined these small pieces of glass of various colors with lead instead of with stone, forming thus a sort of translucent glass mosaic.[1] These mosaics were then gradually developed until figures and ornaments came to be

[1] A passage in Floardus, *Hist. Rem.* III, 5, cit. Schlosser, 250, would seem to imply that picture windows existed as early as the IX century in Champagne. The text, whose exact meaning is not, unfortunately, altogether clear, occurs in a description of the cathedral of Reims erected by Hincmar in the IX century: Tecta templum plumbis coöperint tabulis, ipsumque templum pictis decoravit cameris, *fenestris etiam illustravit vitreis*, etc.



Ill. 192. — Façade of Sens

represented partly by painting on the glass itself, partly by giving the pieces of glass and the lead interstices the form of outlines.

It must be confessed that the documentary evidence for this derivation of painted glass is scant; but from the internal evidence of the stained glass of the XII century itself, it is possible to deduce with confidence two conclusions: the first, that the art of stained glass existed much before the middle of the XII century; the second, that it originated in France. The art as we find it in the earliest dated examples at St. Denis, at Le Mans, at Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne, or at Sens, is already at its apex. The glass of the XIII century shows advances in certain directions, but in general, a decline; it may be said to compare with the preceding period as works of Greek sculpture of the IV century compare with works executed in the V century. Such a highly developed art as this glass of the XII century implies, *ipso facto*, a long period of growth. Furthermore, although we have a whole treatise on the art of glass painting by a certain monk Theophilus who lived in the XII century, and although Suger in his account of St. Denis has left us a full account of the windows of that abbey, neither of these authors says anything of painted glass being a new art. Finally, there are extant in the aisles of the cathedral of Le Mans, at Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne, and in the crypt of Bourges, a few fragments of picture glass, that, while not authentically dated, still seem to be earlier than any of the dated examples, and may be assigned with confidence to the first phase of the transition.

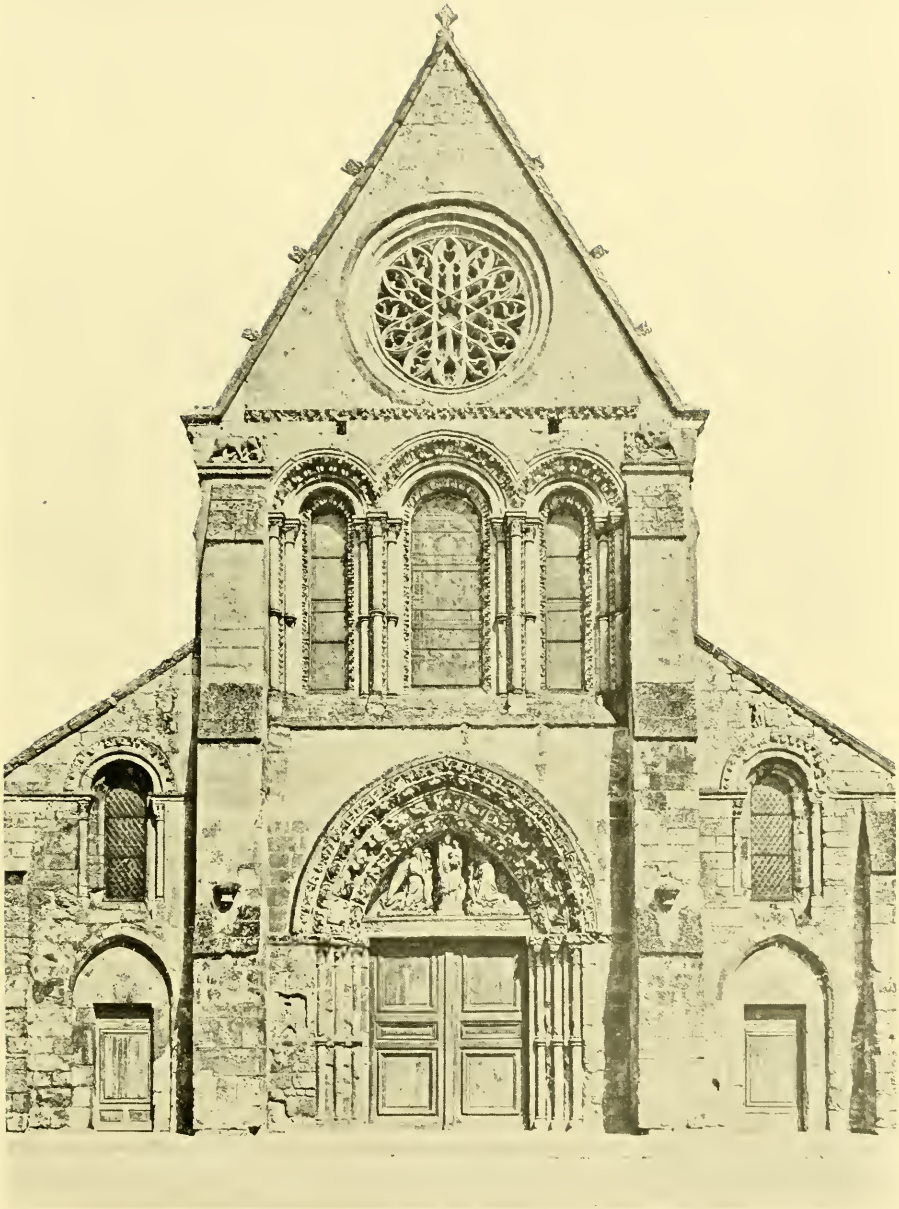
The claim of France to have invented stained glass can be challenged only by Germany; and, in fact, the cathedral of Strassburg contains some very primitive examples of picture glass. It must be admitted that French influence spread in this direction at a very early date. In other countries stained glass seems to have made its way hand in hand with Gothic architecture. There is not a trace of primitive glass extant in Italy, in Spain, or in England. The earliest stained glass I can name in Normandy is in the abbey of Lessay and must date from the third quarter of the XII century. As for the fragments

of blue glass found at the bottom of one of the windows of S. Abondio, Como, these — as M. Dartein has already recognized [1] — can not possibly be contemporary with the original construction. Theophilus, it is true, speaks of the various methods of making glass in Germany, Italy, and Spain, but there is no reason to believe that this author wrote much before the end of the XII century.

It is usually stated in the hand-books that the art of stained glass developed in consequence of the growth of Gothic architecture, because it was necessary to find some means to subdue the vast quantity of light admitted by the great windows which came to characterize that style. As a matter of fact, the case was exactly the reverse, for in 1140, when stained glass had already been perfected, the area of the windows had not yet been materially increased. It was rather because the Gothic builders appreciated the new decoration in all its architectural possibilities that they conceived the daring idea of turning the entire cathedral into a translucent wall of glass merely supported and held together by a stone framework. Thus, next to the rib vault, the invention of painted glass may be said to have played the most important role in the evolution of Gothic architecture. It made possible that suppression of the wall surface which was to be the great advance of the early Gothic period.

And indeed when we look at one of these stained windows of the transitional or early Gothic periods, we can readily understand why the Gothic architects immediately adopted them as the chief feature of their designs. Lovelier color the hand of man has not produced. There are times when human art seems to be something more than mortal; when it rises to heights infinitely above the ordinary achievements of men. French glass of the XII century is such an art. It is impossible to stand in the presence of these translucent mosaics without experiencing a depth of esthetic emotion that at once disarms the critical faculty. Such sensuous beauty of tone, such richness of color has been equaled by no painter of the Renaissance, by no Byzantine worker in mosaics. Yet it is not only for their absolute beauty, but also for their perfectly architec-

[1] *Arch. Lom.*, 495.



Ill. 193. — Façade of Vailly. (From Lefèvre-Pontalis)

tural character that these windows claim unqualified admiration.

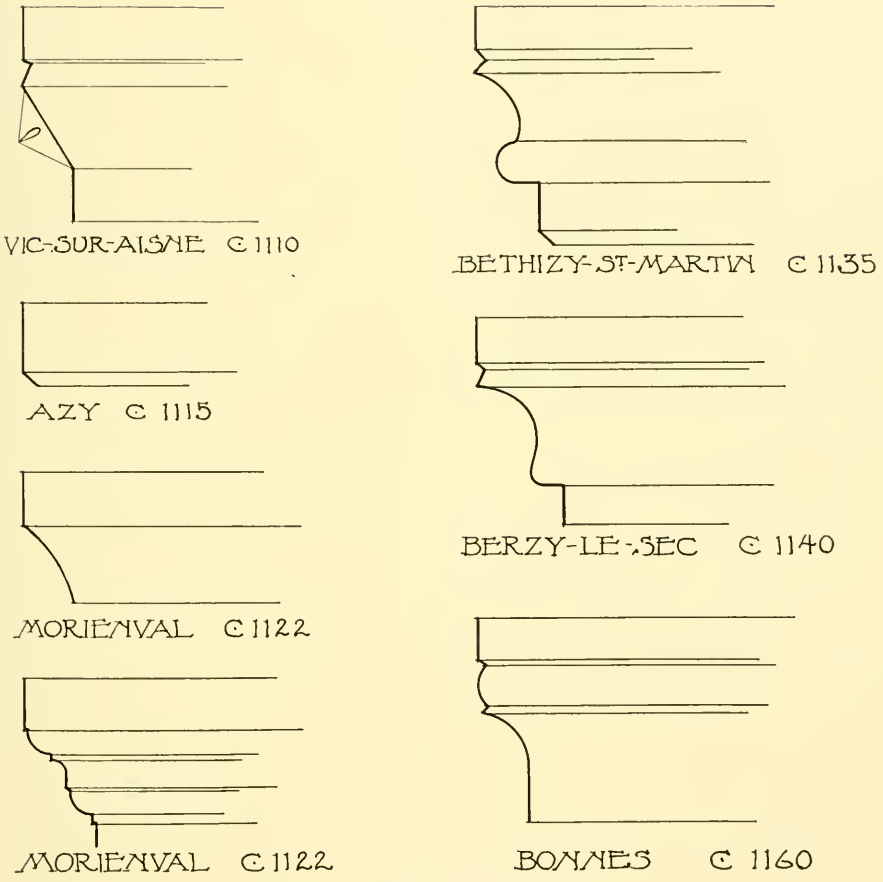
In fact, the first characteristic of these earliest windows to strike the eye is the small size of the individual spots of color. The separate pieces of glass, which are each of one solid tone though more or less drawing is usually superposed, are seldom more than an inch or so in length, and are often very much smaller. The predominating colors are peculiarly luscious shades of rich reds and deep ultramarine blues, but with these are mixed, always in very much less quantities, other colors, such as yellow or green. Owing to the small size of the separate pieces, from a distance the distinction between these colors is lost; the whole merges into a purple of wonderful richness, varying in tone in different windows according to the proportions of the various colors used. This purple — the veritable apotheosis of pure color — is like no tone ever produced in any other manner. The pointillistes of the XIX century made a clever discovery when they found that instead of mixing their colors on the palette, more lovely effects could be produced by placing beside each other on the canvas small patches of the original colors and leaving the eye to fuse them. But precisely the same principle had been employed in the glass of the middle of the XII century to produce effects far more beautiful than any dreamed of by Monticelli or Childe Hassam.

As a necessary consequence of this, which for lack of a better name we may call pointilliste, style of coloring, the figures were always small. In the XII century a very large part of the window surface was occupied with pure ornament. Figures were used only in a series of medallions, which whether circular, diamond-shaped, or quatrefoiled, were disposed upon a field of conventional design, and themselves formed a central motive in this design. From a distance this purely conventional central pattern is all that can be perceived. On nearer approach, however, each medallion is seen to contain a group of figures illustrating some scene of sacred or legendary history. The height of each individual figure is usually only about six inches or so; the figures are composed of a number of pieces of glass of different colors so arranged as in no way to acquire

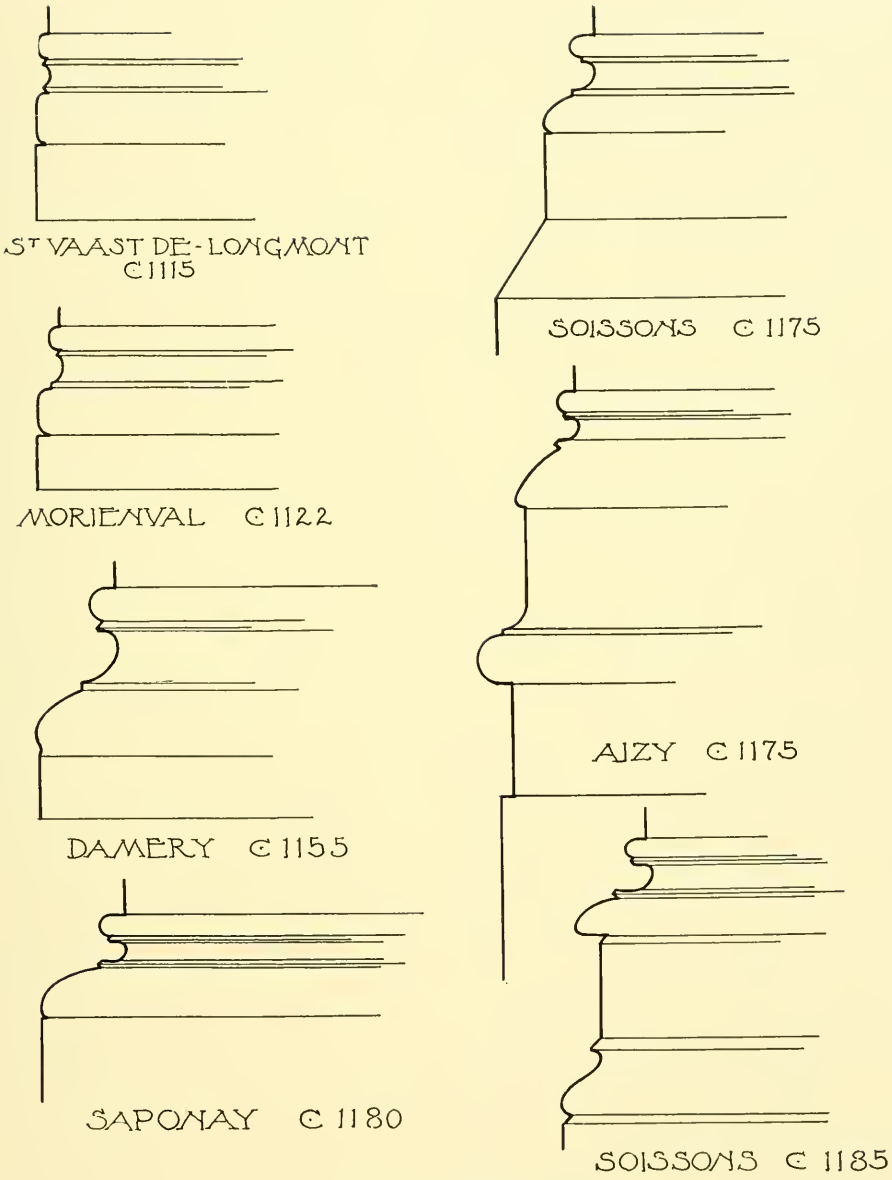
prominence over the background. The drawing, although often good for the age in which it was executed, is of no more importance than the drawing in a Whistler symphony; it was color which the artists sought primarily, and to color the drawing was purposely subordinated (Ill. 214).

It is hardly necessary to point out how infinitely more suitable and architectural is this art of the XII century than the great figure windows of Renaissance or modern times. A stained glass window by Mr. La Farge for example, judged by itself and as a picture, may be admirable; the drawing may be impeccable, the composition pleasing, the colors harmonious. But the window as a decoration is none the less an architectural anomaly. The great figures life size or more in the strong light of the translucent material distract the eye from all points of view; instead of being subordinated to the general scheme of the edifice, these staring forms seem fairly to jump out from the wall surface, and at once destroy the effect of the architecture. Injudicious mural paintings may much injure an architectural composition, but no mural painting can possibly acquire the prominence and consequent power for evil of a modern stained glass window. Similarly the broad fields of solid color in modern work, even if — as is seldom the case — these colors be rich and harmonious in themselves, inevitably impair the architectural unity by acquiring undue emphasis. The eye goes not to the structure, but to the staring field of deep blue or bright crimson. Unrest and lack of harmony between parts and whole inevitably result from such over-emphasis of an element primarily decorative. Thus the wisdom of the Gothic architects in treating stained glass as a purely decorative art is not open to question. And however much they subordinated the glass to architectural requirements, they none the less succeeded in creating windows which in themselves are more beautiful than anything that has since been produced.

That figures were not altogether omitted was doubtless due partly to the Gothic taste for didactic representations of sacred subjects, partly to the Gothic love of fine detail. Figures are infinitely more interesting to examine carefully than mere conventional patterns. Accordingly in the windows, as



Ill. 194. — Profiles of Abaci



Ill. 195. — Profiles of Bases

in every other part of the church, the Gothic genius spared no pains to give the detail the most exquisite possible form, while never allowing it to encroach upon, or obscure, the structural lines. Thus the separate pieces of glass combine to form a figure; the figures combine to form a medallion; the medallions combine to form the main pattern of the window; the windows combine to decorate the wall surface. On entering the church the eye merely perceives windows of blazing color perfectly subordinated to the general architectural structure; the eye, however much charmed, is not distracted. On closer examination the pattern of the medallions is made out, but it is only on the closest inspection that the groups of figures are perceived. Since each of these divisions is a delight in itself, as the visitor approaches new and unexpected beauties keep ever opening before him.

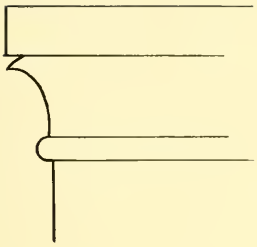
Exactly the same laws of proportion govern the use of sculpture in the transitional and early Gothic periods, and this art was as inexorably subordinated to architectural requirements, as was the stained glass.

The origin of the sculpture of the Ile de France is a subject of great difficulty. While, on the whole, we possess more monumental evidence for the beginnings of this art than for the origin of stained glass, yet the early examples are few, never surely dated, and often show seemingly contradictory tendencies. Thus of the numerous critics who have treated this subject no two are in accord. One fact, however, is indisputable. The opening of the second phase of the transition was marked by the appearance in the Ile de France of a school of sculpture that in its technique, its artistic sense, its virility, had nothing in common with the sculptors who during the first phase of the transition had crudely carved figures and grotesques on capitals, corbel-tables, or cornices. The nearest approach to pure sculpture to be found in the Ile de France during the first half of the XII century is perhaps the wheel of fortune of the north transept of St. Étienne of Beauvais (Ill. 213). But it is only necessary to compare the poverty of invention and technique displayed in these rude figures with the majestic forms which adorn the west portals of Chartres (Ill. 215) or St. Denis, to

appreciate the gulf that separates the two. There is nothing in the sculptures of the early XII century to show any remarkable growth, or in any way to foreshadow the achievement of the last phase of the transition. It seems certain therefore that, unlike stained glass, the sculpture of the royal domain was imported from abroad, though it is by no means obvious from whence it came.

During the XII century there flourished in the south of France several schools of sculpture, of which the two most important centered in Provence and Burgundy, although the school of Languedoc with its chief centers at Toulouse and Moissac is hardly less interesting. While the chronology and genealogy of all these schools are unknown and while their monuments are assigned to the most widely varying periods by different authorities, there is, nevertheless, one central fact which connects them all — the revival of classic influence. There can be no doubt that the XII century renaissance of French sculpture, wherever it originated, came about directly through the study of the Gallo-Roman remains, so numerous in certain portions of the country. All the schools, while differing considerably from each other in point of technique and detail, show unmistakably this classical influence, and even as late as the XIII century certain statues of the cathedral of Reims prove that the sculptors of the Ile de France, even in the Gothic period continued to study directly the antique. Further than the fact of the common classic character, it is safe to say that the school of the Ile de France shows points of contact with all the schools of the South, while at the same time its most important characteristics are peculiar to itself.

The school of Provence, perhaps in consequence of the great number of Roman remains to be found in that region, was influenced by classic tendencies even more strongly than its sister-schools. Largely on the strength of this fact Herr Vöge recognizes this school, as, so to speak, the parent of French sculpture. He finds a great similarity between the tympanum of St. Trophime of Arles, and the tympanum of the western portal at Chartres — a similarity assuredly undeniable, but which perhaps rests rather on the iconography and the grouping of fig-



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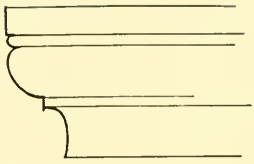
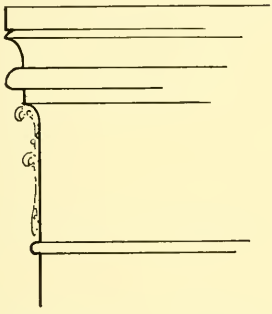
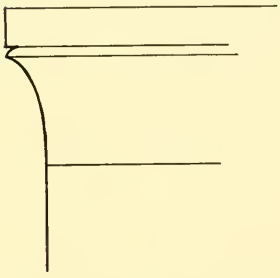


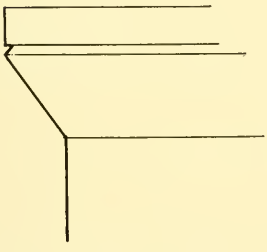
GLENNES C1160



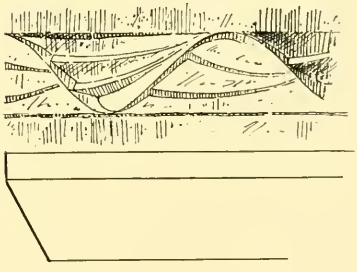
LHUYS C1140



SOISSONS C1185



COURMELLES C1160



ST LEGER-AUX-BOIS C1090

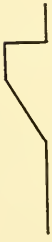
Ill. 196. — Profiles of Interior String-Courses

AZY C 1115

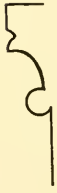
BERZY-LE-SEC C1140

BREAY C 1125

VAILLY C 1175



BETHIZY-ST-MARTIN
C 1135



ARCY-SAINTE-RESTITUT-
C 1180

Ill. 197. — Profiles of Exterior String-Courses

ures, — a tradition common to all Christendom — than on the details of technique and execution, by which the fact of relationship of style must be established. Basing his argument upon this somewhat questionable assumption, Herr Vöge concludes that the sculpture of the Ile de France originated at Chartres and was derived directly from that of Provence. He recognizes, however, above all the creative originality of the "head sculptor" and of his assistants at Chartres. The style of the sculptures of Chartres was adopted, he holds, at St. Denis, but was modified by influence from Burgundy and Languedoc.

This theory has been sharply attacked by recent writers, chief among whom is M. de Lasteyrie. Relying mainly on arguments of comparative style M. de Lasteyrie assigns the west portal of Chartres to the extraordinarily late date 1150–75.[1] The date of the north aisle of the cloister at Arles he believes he has established with certainty as c. 1180, and by a comparison of style he concludes that the west portal of Arles must date from 1180–90. The earliest sculptures of St. Gilles he assigns to c. 1150. Since an earlier monument obviously could not have been derived from a later, this critic concludes that the school of the Ile de France could not have originated in Provence. This origin, he consequently seeks in Burgundy.

Many of M. de Lasteyrie's dates, I confess, seem to me extreme and untenable. His work appears chiefly valuable for having established the strong presumption, if not the certainty, that no monument of Provence that is left to us can be older than the earliest sculpture of the royal domain. Hence, Herr Vöge's theory at once falls to the ground. M. de Lasteyrie is probably correct in seeking the origins of the French school in Burgundy, although he cannot be said definitely to have proved his point.

However the school of the Ile de France came into being, when once established it immediately displayed the most marked and individual characteristics. The human form was treated in precisely the same restrained spirit as were the leaves of plants

[1] For a short discussion of this chronology see list of monuments, p. 309. I find it impossible to accept M. de Lasteyrie's date for this portal which may, I believe, be assigned with confidence to the year 1145.

in the purely ornamental decoration of the period. Just as the flora had been conventionalized to suit it for its position on the capitals, so the human figure was conventionalized to adapt it to architectural needs. Thus the statues in the jambs, where vertical lines were necessary, were extremely elongated, and the vertical effect was further increased by the conventional folds of the long, clinging drapery. So as not to disturb these lines the hands and arms were kept close to the body in a restrained gesture; it seems as if the sculptor had been unwilling to sacrifice to the least degree the vertical contours of his composition (Ill. 215).

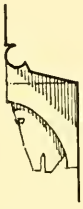
It is perfectly evident that this elongation of the figure was done purposely for architectural effect. That the sculptors knew well that these were not the true proportions of the human figure is shown by the tympanum of the portal of Chartres, where, since it was required to emphasize the horizontal line, the figures are made very broad in proportion to their height. Precisely as in the case of floral carving, the sculptor took from nature only a hint which he conventionalized just sufficiently to suit his needs.

These statues are consequently not realistic, and it would be a mistake to look at them in the spirit in which we study a portrait by Holbein. They are, on the contrary, eminently idealistic and typical, in this respect being strangely removed from the tendencies of modern art. As the Greek sculptors of the Doric school in all their statues, however varied the subject, ever sought to express only the perfection of the body, so the early Gothic sculptors sought to express only the perfection of the soul. Their statues are thus not highly individualized. The same serenity, the same meekness, the same gentle dignity invests saint and martyr, bishop and apostle, and all alike are thoroughly imbued with the serene spirit of medieval religion. Rows of such statues form a most dignified and impressive entrance to the house of God. The worshiper, in spite of himself, must be moved upon entering the church to pass these lines of majestic and dignified figures, whose outward forms so well express internal holiness and sanctity.

Thus the sculptures of the XII century are something more

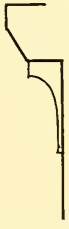
BETHIZY-ST-PIERRE C1125

MONTIGNY-LENGRAIN C1160



FONTENOY C1140

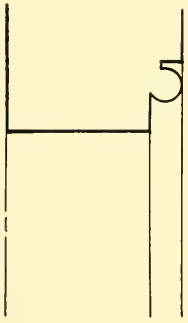
SOISSONS C1175

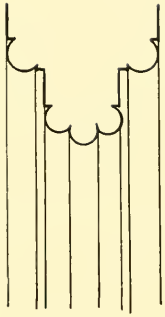


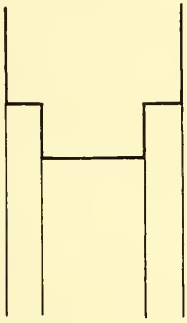
COULONGES C1160

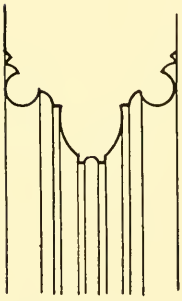
AIZY C1170

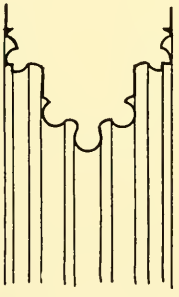
Ill. 198. — Profiles of Cornices

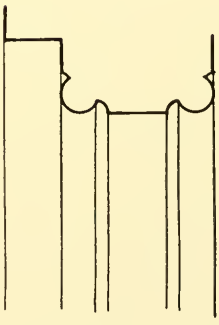












Ill. 199. — Profiles of Archivolts of Arches

than mere architectural ornaments, they are greater than, for example, the sculptures of ancient Egypt which, although quite satisfactory as architectural accessories, yet beside these French statues seem cold and lifeless. The French sculptures for all their lack of realism, for all their subordination to the architecture, are none the less instinct with life. Although each face expresses the same, or a kindred emotion, although there is no delineation of individual character, yet a single sentiment is denoted in a thousand different ways, and there is no stereotyped cast of features. Bearded saint stands next to beardless monk, youthful virgin by aged martyr. All shades and conditions of men and women are represented with as infinite a variety of feature as in life itself.

In many of these faces there is the greatest beauty — a beauty at first a little baffling for us of the XX century, who have been educated on the regular features and classic profiles of Greek sculpture. But the longer these statues are studied, the greater will be the realization of their esthetic charm. No art demands longer or more painstaking study for appreciation than XII century sculpture, but no art brings a greater or surer reward for application. As these works grow more familiar, the features that at first seemed archaic and crude assume an almost celestial radiance; the drapery which seemed stiff and conventional is seen to fall in folds of the most exquisite grace; and the very distortion of anatomy seems to lend added dignity and charm.

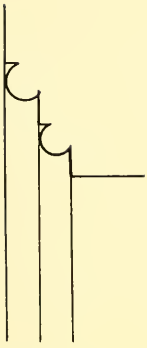
To understand and appreciate the stained glass and sculpture of the Middle Ages it is necessary to know something of the subjects represented and the manner of presenting them. An adequate study of medieval iconography would require several volumes by itself, since it would necessitate a thorough investigation of the vastly complicated and difficult subjects of the symbolism and the legendary and apocryphal lore of the Middle Ages. Moreover, it would require a separate account for the XII, XIII, XIV, and XV centuries each, for iconography changed and developed as quickly as technique. Lack of space clearly makes impossible any such study here, and I can only sketch hurriedly a few of the more salient principles which governed pictorial composition. I shall try to describe iconography as

it was at the best period of the XIII century, and I believe in general the broad facts will be found true, though in perhaps less degree, for the XII and XIV centuries.

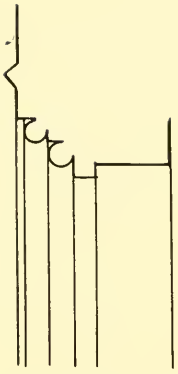
Richard Wagner devised a new form of opera. He produced effects of the most poignant emotion by means of reminiscences and repetitions of certain musical phrases. Brünnhilde, before flinging herself on the blazing funeral pyre, sings the old familiar call of the Walküren; Siegfried's funeral march passes in review the life of that hero; the dying Tristan sings snatches of the love duet with Isolde. Every one is familiar with the wonderful results Wagner has obtained by the use of this device.

> "Nessun maggiore dolore
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria."

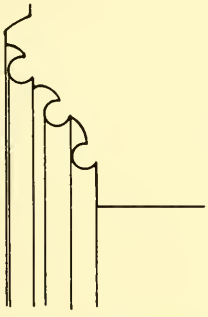
John Milton, several centuries before, had made use of precisely this same device of reminiscence. No music other than the melody of his verse was at the command of the poet, but he employed allusion to things familiar to the reader with much the same effect that Wagner used themes made known in earlier passages of his own music-dramas. Macaulay finely appreciated this side of Milton's technique, when he pointed out that many of the best-known passages of "Paradise Lost" are little more than muster-rolls of proper names. "They are not always more appropriate or melodious than other names, but they are charmed names. Every one of them is the first link in a long chain of associated ideas. Like the dwelling-place of our infancy revisited in manhood, like the song of our country heard in a strange land, they produce upon us an effect wholly independent of their intrinsic value. One transports us back to a remote period of history. Another places us among the novel scenes and manners of a distant region. A third evokes all the dear classical recollections of childhood, the school room, the dog-eared Virgil, the holiday, and the prize. A fourth brings before us all the splendid phantoms of chivalrous romance, the trophied lists, the embroidered housings, the quaint devices, the haunted gardens, the enchanted forests, and the smiles of rescued princesses."



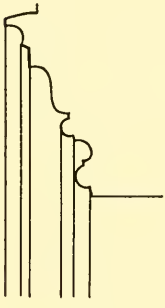
MORIENVAL C 1122



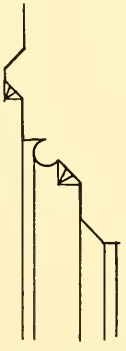
COURMELLES C 1160



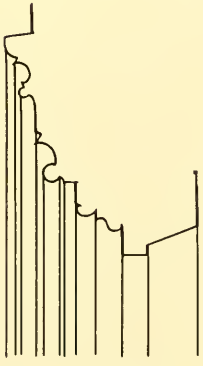
BERZY-LE-SEC C 1140



VAILLY C 1175

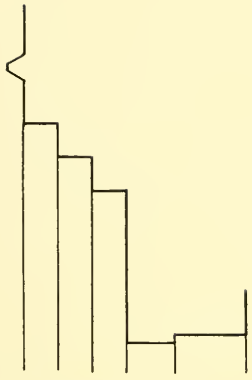


LAFFAUX C 1140

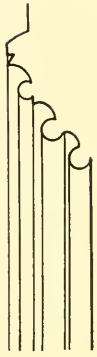


SOISSONS C 1185

Ill. 200. — Profiles of Archivolts of Windows



VIC-SUR-AISNE C 1110



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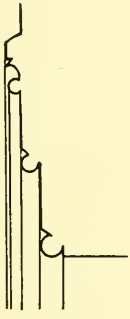
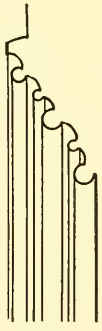
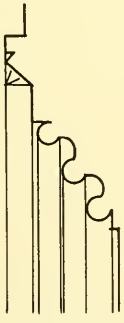


BELLEFONTAINE C 1125



CROUY C 1160



COULONGES C 1135

COULOISY C 1165

Ill. 201 — Profiles of Archivolts of Doorways

Now this same device of reminiscence the sculptors and glass painters of the Middle Ages applied to the cathedral. Everywhere from pavement to vault thousands of statues and thousands of window paintings called to mind the best loved scenes of Bible and Golden Legend. We have all experienced the thrill of pleasure that comes at the recognition of a favorite subject in a painting; to the little-read man of medieval times this thrill must have been far more intense when he saw such ample representations of the only subjects to which his learning extended. He must have experienced a pleasure, the extent of which we, who have completely lost touch with all this medieval mythology, can but dimly imagine.

That the cathedral was the Bible of the poor, as has been beautifully said, is, then, in part true. There can be no doubt that sculptures and glass paintings were favored by the clergy as stimulating interest in sacred subjects. These works of art, however, were not intended to instruct the ignorant. The poor man might here find allusions which would constantly refresh his memory on subjects with which he was already acquainted; but to believe that his knowledge could be materially increased by the mere contemplation of such pictured scenes, is to credit the medieval peasant with a supernatural amount of acumen. Many of the subjects are so exceedingly obscure that to decipher them, even to-day, often baffles the certainly developed critical perceptions of archaeologists who have given up their life to this work, and who are fairly steeped in all the turns and vagaries of medieval thought.

It was not to educate the peasant that pictured history was spread over the cathedral. How simple was his understanding the Church well knew, and when it was a question of instructing him, she had recourse, not to the profound scholastic theology reflected in the decoration of the cathedral, but to the naïve, almost grotesque, conceptions of the miracle plays. For never in ancient Egypt was the religion of the common people more sharply differentiated from that of the priesthood than in medieval Europe. This important fact is often slighted, because the popular religion has vanished, leaving practically no traces of its existence save only in the miracle play and the tradition

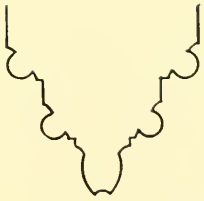
of certain festivals, such as the fête of the fool or of the ass; it is only the religion of the clerks and doctors that has come down to us in works of literature. The priests never purposely shut the masses from knowledge; but medieval scholastic philosophy, as any one who has read, ever so casually, in these formidable tomes can appreciate, is not food for an undeveloped intelligence. Since the medieval Church did not consider that knowledge was necessary to salvation, but held on the contrary that future safety could be assured by faith and good works, it was perfectly logical that the clerks, the intellectual class, should follow out their own theology and leave the people to understand what they could. How little this was, is shown by the miracle play.[1]

Now it is not at all the simple popular religion that is reflected in the statuary and stained glass of the Gothic church; it is, on the contrary, the most subtle, the most intellectual type of scholastic philosophy. All that was deepest, all that was most complex, in the learned thought of the age, finds its expression in the Gothic iconography. It is therefore necessary to conclude that the imagery of the cathedral was intended to appeal not to the masses but to the intellectually cultivated. Viollet-le-Duc made a profound error in asserting the popular character of the Gothic church. Misled by the example of the great archaeologist, practically every critic[2] who has since written on the subject has insisted upon this supposed popular spirit of the imagery, and has imagined the serfs of the XIII century as being highly edified at conceptions whose subtle mysticism is beyond the most astute intellects of the present day. This is a radical and fundamental misconception of the spirit of Gothic iconography. In all the imagery of the cathedral, probably the only trace of distinctly popular religion to be found is in the monsters and grotesques that climb among the gargoyles and buttresses, or peer over the balustrades; all the serious representations are preëminently scholastic, although

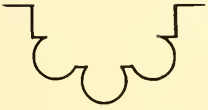
[1] Miracle plays were often written by clerks and not infrequently contained recondite allusions. Their general character, however, was distinctly popular.

[2] The credit for having established the scholastic character of Gothic imagery is due solely to M. Mâle, who, however, strangely enough hesitates to deny that the people comprehended the iconography.

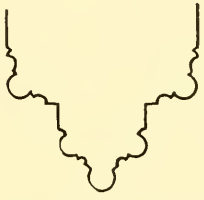
MORIENVAL C 1122



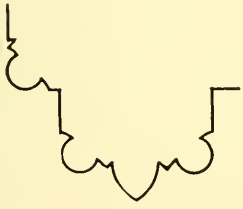
BERZY-LE-SEC C 1140



BELLEFONTAINE C 1125



AMBLENY C 1180



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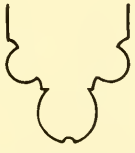
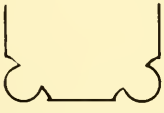


ARCY-SAINTE-RESTITUTE
C 1180



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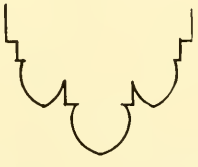
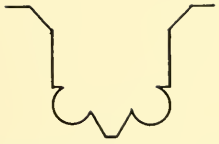
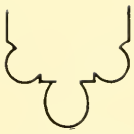


VEUILLY-LA-POTERIE
C 1200

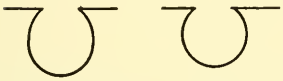
Ill. 202. — Profiles of Transverse Ribs



MORIENVAL C 1122



BERZY-LE-SEC C 1140



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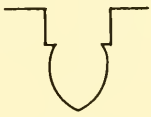
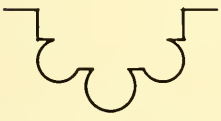
BELLEFONTAINE C 1125



BUSSIARES C 1160



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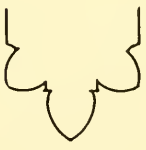

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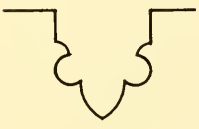


COULONGES C 1170

Ill. 203. — Profiles of Diagonal Ribs

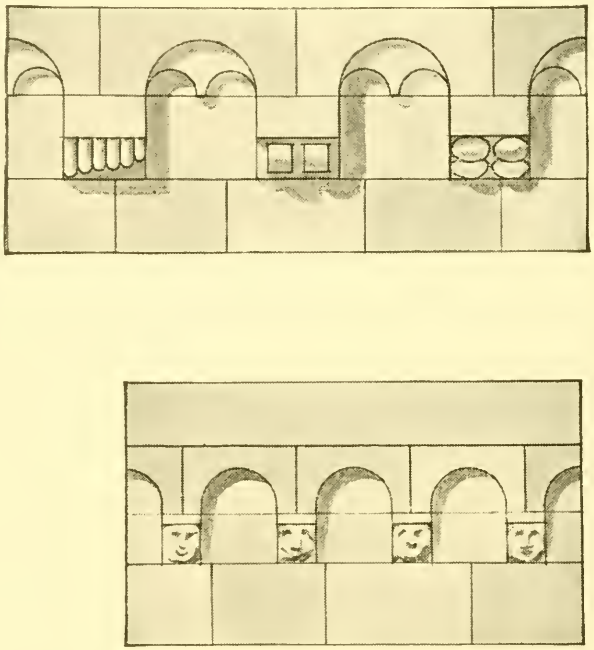
rarely, as in certain of the guild windows of Chartres and Bourges, the ecclesiastical and popular seem to approach so closely to one another as to be well-nigh indistinguishable.

In a recent work of great brilliance, M. Mâle has set in a clear light the general thought of the medieval designers. He has pointed out that the XIII century was above all the age of encyclopedias, an age when men delighted in attempting to gather into one compendium all human knowledge. A monk planning to write a history of his own times would almost invariably commence with the creation of the world; Vincent of Beauvais even went so far as to try to collect the entire sum of all human knowledge, and catalogue it under the head of four "mirrors" — the mirrors of nature, of science, of morals, and of history. Now this same encyclopedic tendency is noticeable in the pictorial compositions of the cathedral. It seems to have been the aim to reproduce an image of everything in the Universe. Never (except where exigencies of space demanded) were one or two apostles depicted, but always all twelve; the windows showed not one scene from the life of a saint, but a whole series representing the entire history of the holy man from his birth to his death; Heaven never appears without Hell; and so on throughout the entire category. Ruskin, in whose writings such brilliant flashes of light occasionally shine amid so much darkness, divined, rather than comprehended, a unity in the façade of Amiens; but it remained for M. Mâle to establish as a scientific fact, that all the imagery of each cathedral, all the various scenes represented in the glass of the windows, the sculptures of the portals and of the façade, far from being unrelated or chance compositions, all combine among themselves to produce a single great whole; and that, in short, this grand composition in a general way consists of four great parts corresponding to the four mirrors of nature, science, morals, and history of the encyclopedia of Vincent of Beauvais.[1]

This grandiose conception, which outside of the Divina Commedia finds no parallel in art, to the sophisticated world-child

[1] It should not be understood from this, of course, that the Gothic artists set out to illustrate Vincent of Beauvais. It is merely that both gave expression in different forms to the same scholastic philosophy which was the common heritage of the time.

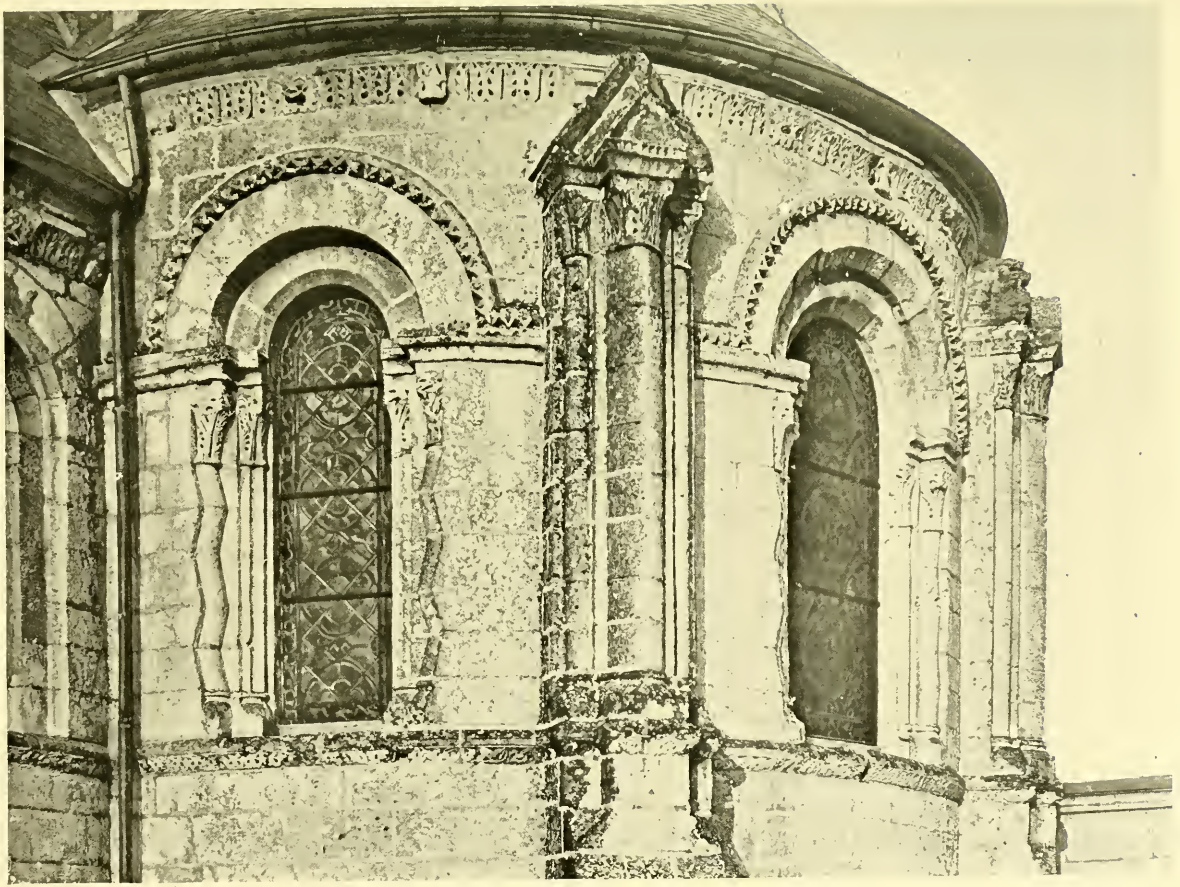
of the XX century seems at first somewhat over-naïve — at once too simple and too ambitious — just as a similar impression is ordinarily produced on first acquaintance with Dante's great poem. It is necessary to approach closely, to study carefully the masterly manner in which this colossal design is executed, the sure grasp by which so much divergent material is reduced to a strict unity, in order to appreciate the true gran-



Ill. 205. — Arched Corbel Tables of Dravegny and St. Étienne of Longmont

deur of such a composition. The XIII century was an age that delighted above all in orderly arrangement, and this taste found its fullest expression in the disposal of the imagery of the cathedral. Except in Dante, such mastery of composition has never elsewhere been achieved in the entire realm of art. To put together in one unified composition such a vast mass of little related subject matter, to group the lesser about the greater, to emphasize the more important parts, to shape the whole into a perfectly logical, comprehensible design, a grand hymn in praise of creation — this was a task of almost inconceiv-

Ill. 204. — Chevet of Noyon



Ill. 206. — Apse of Chelles. (From Lefèvre-Pontalis)

able difficulty, but one which the XIII century triumphantly achieved.

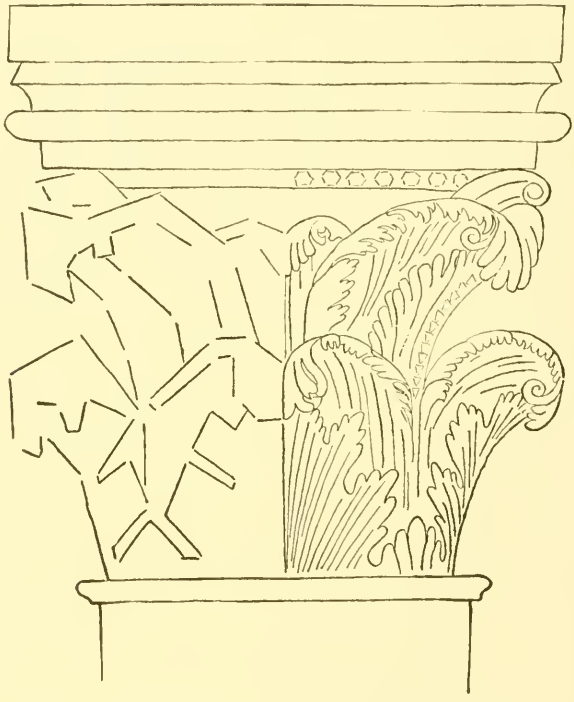
One of the chief means employed to establish this unity of the imagery was the use of allegory. To the great minds of the Middle Ages, all the world, from its largest principles to its minutest detail, was only a symbol. This mystic philosophy, this allegorical interpretation of the universe, had its beginings even in the New Testament; it was much developed by the early Church fathers, especially by St. Jerome; and in the XIII century it had become a developed system of the most surprising complexity, recognized as an official dogma of the Church. Much of this mystic interpretation, particularly in its more poetic forms, had begun as the individual fancy of some contemplative soul; but the encyclopedic nature of medieval thought gathered together all these fragments, and formed out of them a comprehensive system which became an essential part of scholastic philosophy.

The key to the allegory of the world was sought in the Bible, the book of double meaning, in which God was believed to have placed the solution of all mysteries, if men could only comprehend. Thus for the medieval mind, roses were not only a flower, but they were the symbol of the blood of martyrs, since it is written: "Roses wither near the living waters." Thistles signified the boldness of vice, since according to Isaiah: "In their house shall spring forth the thorn and the thistle." Chaff symbolized sinners, for it is written in Job: "They shall be like chaff before the face of the wind."

But many of the most ingenious and beautiful allegories that the Middle Ages have left us originated in pure fancy. Although God had placed the key to everything in the Bible, yet the soul of the Middle Ages in its passionate longing for mysticism, when unable to find the clue in the sacred book, sometimes allowed itself to wander far from the scriptural text. For the rapt contemplation of the mystic of the XIII century, every being, every object in the world, became a word full of meaning. In his conception the ignorant man looks, sees the figures, the mysterious letters, and understands nothing of their significance. But the wise man rises from things visible

to things invisible; in reading in Nature he reads in the thought of God.

Adam of St. Victor, seated in the refectory of his monastery, holds in his hand a nut. "What is a nut," says he, "but the image of Jesus Christ? The green and flesh-like burr which covers it is His flesh, His humanity. The wood of the shell, that is the wood of the cross upon which this flesh suffered.



Ill. 207. — Capital of South Transept of Soissons

But the interior of the nut, which is food for man, that is His hidden divinity." Thus beneath every physical object was thought to be concealed the symbol of the sacrifice of Jesus, the idea of the Church, the image of the virtues and vices. The spiritual and the physical world were thought of as forming only one single whole.[1]

Hugh of St. Victor contemplates a dove, and immediately thinks of the Church. The dove has two wings, as there are for the Christian two kinds of life, the active and the contempla-

[1] Mâle, *Art Rel.*, p. 46.

Ill. 208. — Capitals of Ambulatory, Morienval

tive. The blue feathers of these wings stand for thoughts of Heaven. The mottled color of the rest of the body, which makes us think of a stormy sea, symbolizes the ocean of human passions on which the Church is tossed about. Why has the dove yellow eyes? Since yellow, the color of ripe fruits, stands for experience and maturity, the yellow eyes of the dove are the look full of wisdom that the Church throws upon the future. If the dove has red feet, it is because the Church advances across the centuries, her feet stained by the blood of martyrs.[1]

Not only the objects, but also the natural phenomena of the Universe were considered as symbolic. The sun, the constellations, light, the evening, the seasons, all spoke a language full of allegorical meaning to the medieval mystic. In winter, when the days grow short and sad, when night seems about to triumph forever over day, the Middle Ages thought of the long centuries of twilight that preceded the coming of Christ. These weeks of December were called Advent (Adventus) and the waiting of the Old World for the coming of light was clearly expressed in the special liturgies for the season. And throughout the year, days, nights, seasons, were similarly made the reflection of the divine tragedy.[2]

Space will not permit more examples of this mystic reasoning, and I can only refer the reader for a fuller account to the excellent work of M. Mâle who has combined fine scholarship with deep sympathy and a style of great charm, in treating of this fascinating subject. Suffice it to say that this poetic, mystic conception of life permeated all medieval thought, and formed the true basis of the best intellectual activity of the Middle Ages.

Now, since all nature was thus considered as a symbol and the imagery of the cathedral was intended to reflect not only all nature but all knowledge, it is not surprising that such subtle allegorical reasoning should be applied to the decoration of the church in all its parts. And, in fact, mysticism underlay not only the general composition of the imagery, but even its apparently most minute and casual details.

Just how far this intentional symbolism was carried has

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Op. cit.*

been much discussed. In the greater number of the serious figures of statuary this thought was evidently present; on the other hand in the flora of Gothic decoration the artist seems to have worked for the love of art without hidden meaning. Also in the gargoyles and grotesques, popular imagination undoubtedly held full sway, and it is impossible to admit the claim of certain archaeologists, that here, too, is hidden a moral lesson. There are even a few windows which evidently have no other purpose than to recall the events or characters which they portray, although the vast majority are quite as evidently intended to suggest not only the reality which they represent, but also another reality of which the first was merely the shadow in the thought of the time. Between these two classes — the one clearly symbolic, the other clearly non-symbolic — there stands a third class of images which may or may not be allegorical. Modern writers have fairly out-mystified the Middle Ages in inventing subtle interpretations of these supposed allegories. All such attempts to guess a lost secret are untrustworthy, and most are absurd in measure as they are sentimental, since sentimentality was one thing happily unknown in medieval times. In general it is safe to accept only such symbolic interpretations of medieval iconography as are based upon ancient texts.

The composition of the cathedral imagery was founded upon two strange vagaries of medieval allegory. The first of these was the secret power of numbers, — a power never doubted in the Middle Ages. "Divine wisdom," says St. Augustine, "is recognized in the numbers imprinted on everything." The physical and moral world were thought to be constructed on eternal numbers, so that who could grasp and understand the mystic meaning of these would hold in his hand the key of the Universe. We of the XX century admit that the charm of music or of the dance lies in rhythm, that is to say in a number; but the medieval thinkers went farther. For them beauty itself was only a cadence, a harmonious numeral. Furthermore, special properties were associated with certain numbers. Every one is familiar with the mystic meaning so poetically attached by Dante to the number three and its multiple nine, and recalls the

Ill. 209. — Capitals of Nave, Bury

strangely beautiful effect with which this symbolism is used in the Vita Nuova and the Divina Commedia. Two other numerals were equally significant to the medieval mind: four; and the multiple of four and three, twelve.

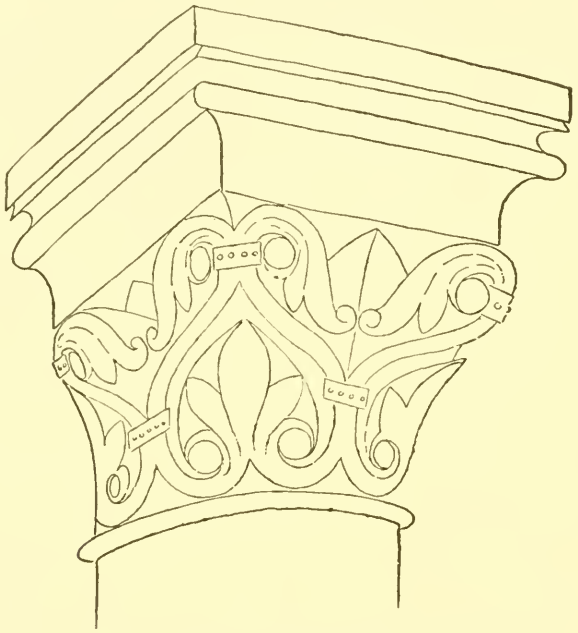
Together with this belief in the symbolism of numbers, and in effect largely in consequence of it, developed a love of symmetry. No idea did the Middle Ages adopt more passionately. The artists loved to place side by side the twelve patriarchs or the twelve minor prophets of the Old Testament, and the twelve apostles of the New; the four major prophets and the four evangelists. At Chartres a window of the south transept shows the four prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jeremiah, like so many St. Christophers, carrying on their shoulders the four evangelists, Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke. This is obviously not a scene of actual biblical history; the artist wished to indicate that the four evangelists found in the four prophets their point of support, but that they saw higher and farther.

This love of numbers and symmetry permeated the Middle Ages. Dante is full of it. The Divina Commedia includes a hundred cantos, all told, of which one forms the *proemio* or introduction. There are three main divisions, the Inferno, the Purgatorio, the Paradiso. Each division contains thirty-three cantos. There are nine circles in Hell, seven *girone* in Purgatory, and nine divisions of Paradise, etc. In general who has well understood the inner meaning and symbolism of Dante will not find himself in unknown territory in the iconography of the cathedral, for the Italian poet has given expression to much the same thoughts that were plastically presented by the sculptors and glass-painters of France.

The second basic principle of the symbolism of the cathedral was the custom which is frequently illustrated in the literature of the period, of regarding the Bible itself as an allegory. Each incident, each character in the scriptures was considered not only as true in itself but as containing a mystery; as being the hidden symbol of some other character or incident. Thus on the façade of the cathedral such or such a person of the Old Testament must be regarded only as a figure; in reality he stands for Christ, the Virgin, or the Church. At Chartres, Melchisedek, priest

and king, carrying bread and wine to offer to Abraham, should recall to us another priest and another king who offered bread and wine to His apostles. At Laon, Gideon calling on his fleece extended on the earth the rain of Heaven, is intended to remind us that the Virgin was that fleece on which fell the dew from on high.[1]

The patriarch Joseph prefigures Christ not in an isolated

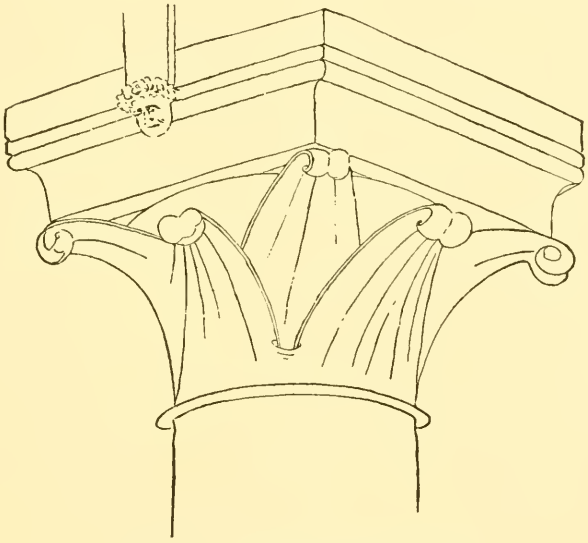


Ill. 210. — Capital of Arcading of Lady Chapel, Noyon

incident, but in his entire life. A window of Bourges represents this history. The first medallion, apparently portraying the dream of Joseph, really alludes to the reign of Christ. Joseph dreams that the sun and moon worship him, because it has been said of Christ, "The moon and the sun shall worship thee, and all the stars." His brothers become angry with him when he tells his dream, as the Jews, among whom Jesus was born and whom he called his brethren, became angry at the Saviour. Joseph, who is seen in the following medallions stripped of his cloak, thrown in the pit, and sold to the merchants of Ishmael

[1] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

for twenty pieces of silver, symbolizes Jesus in the betrayal, the passion, and the crucifixion. The cloak which is torn from Him is the humanity with which the Saviour was clothed and which was stripped from Him when He was killed upon the cross. The pit where Joseph was thrown figures Hell, where Jesus descended after His death. The twenty pieces of silver for which Joseph was sold recall the twenty pieces given Judas. The story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife which follows is a new allusion to the passion. The wife of Potiphar is the Synagogue, accustomed to commit adultery with strange gods. She seeks

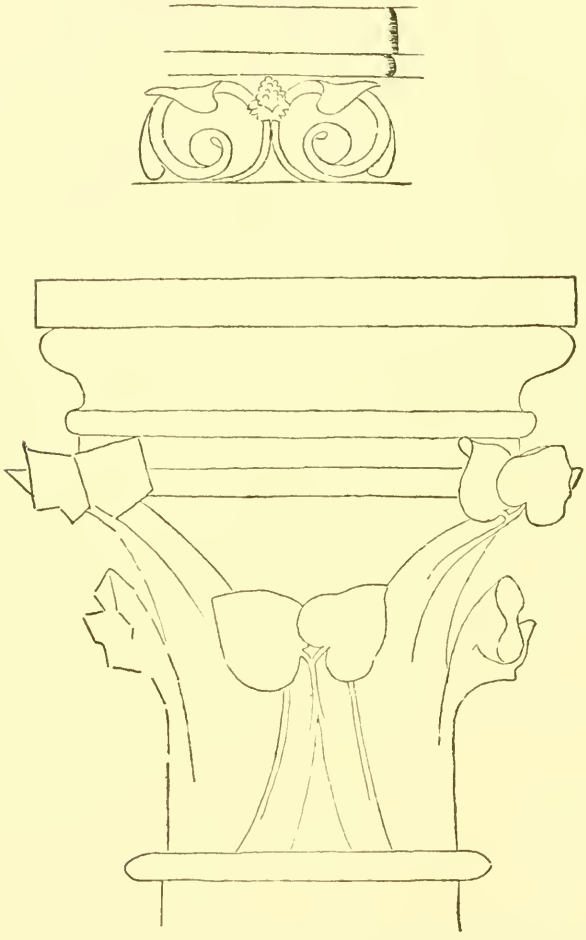


Ill. 211. — Capital in Nave, Noyon

to seduce Jesus, who rejects her doctrine but leaves in her hands His cloak, that is, His body, of which He was despoiled upon the cross. The triumph of Joseph figures the victory of Jesus over death and His eternal kingdom.

This same allegorical interpretation extends to the New Testament. The artists in portraying the crucifixion did not undertake to wring our hearts by a vivid portrayal of the sufferings of Christ, as became conventional in later, more sentimental ages; they were primarily interested in portraying two dogmatic ideas; the first, that Christ is the new Adam come into the world to efface the fault of the first; the second, that by the

crucifixion He gave birth to the Church and abolished forever the powers of the Synagogue. As Eve was fashioned from the side of Adam while he slept, so the Church, to save humanity, issued from the side of Jesus dead. The blood and the water



Ill. 212. — Capital of Triforium String Course, North Transept of Soissons

which flowed from the wound of Christ are the symbols of the two principal sacraments of the church, baptism and the Eucharist. Mary was the familiar figure of the new Eve, and hence also of the Church. She was therefore placed in the position of honor at the right of the cross, and held a chalice in which she caught the blood from the Saviour's side. That she might

conveniently do this, the wound had to be transferred — in direct contradiction to the scriptural account — from the left to the right side.[1] On the left stands the figure of the Synagogue, with eyes blindfolded, the crown falling from her head, a broken standard in her hand. Or sometimes the Synagogue is replaced by John, a much more subtle symbol of the same idea. It will be remembered that when John and Peter (the Church) came to the tomb of Christ, John feared to enter in. Therefore, for the Middle Ages, he became the symbol of the Synagogue. Sometimes in the representations of the crucifixion Mary is replaced by the centurion and the Synagogue by the sponge-bearer. The meaning is the same. The centurion, who after having pierced the side of Christ was converted and proclaimed his belief, is the New Church. The vinegar of the sponge-bearer is the wine of the ancient law which has become decomposed; henceforth the Church shall pour the true wine.

This same principle of the allegorical interpretation of the Bible applies to the composition of many windows, where, for example, each one of a series of medallions dealing with the history of New Testament scenes will be surrounded by smaller medallions with scenes from the Old Testament prefiguring the main incident. Thus the story of the passion is regularly accompanied by medallions representing Abraham, the father, sacrificing Isaac, his only beloved son; the resurrection naturally suggested the story of Jonah who returned to life after three days of death in the fish's belly.

But the Gospels were thought to be prefigured not only by the Old Testament. The bestiaries supplied the medieval mystics with many allegories. The lion, for example, always stands for the resurrection, since according to the bestiaries the lioness gives birth to cubs, seemingly still born, that for three days betray no sign of life, until on the third day the lion comes, breathes upon them, and thus brings them to life. So the apparent death of the lion cub figures the descent of Christ into the tomb, since he also came to life on the third day. The

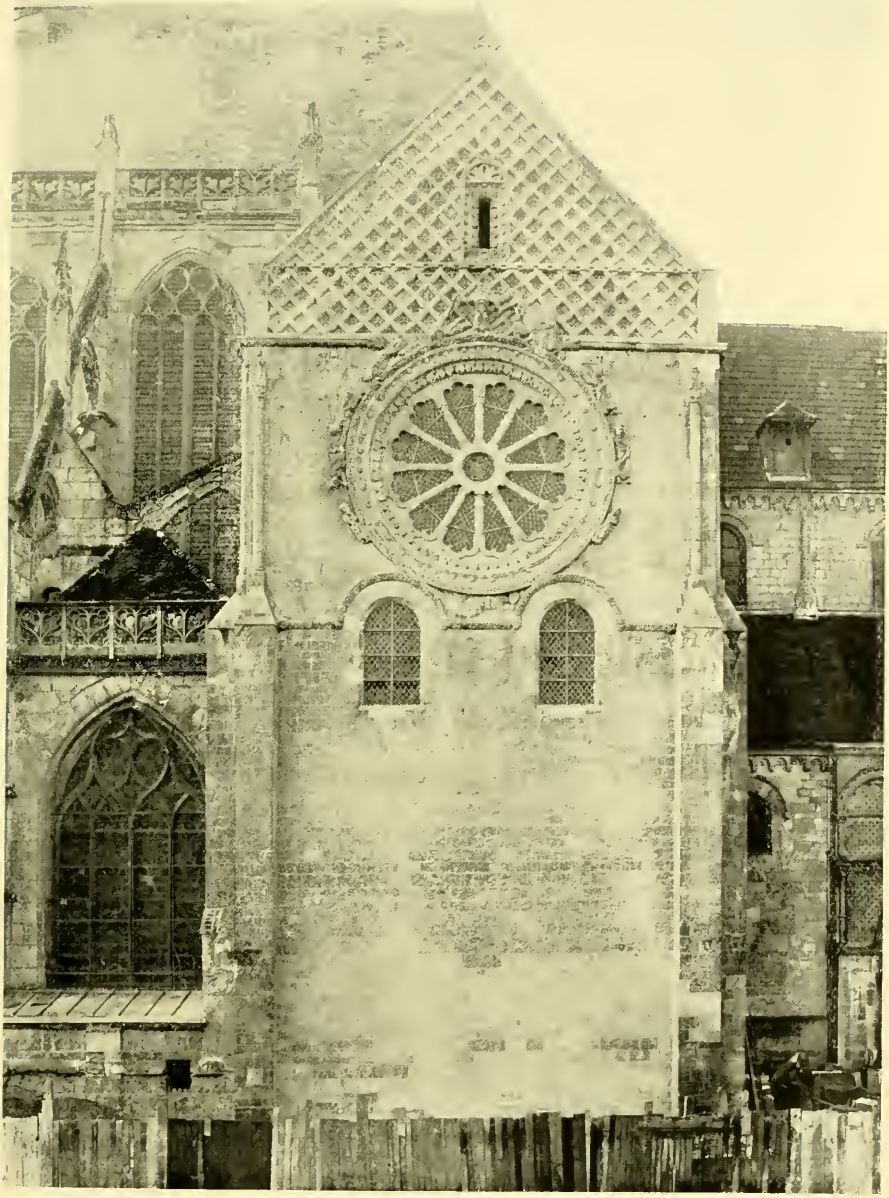
[1] It is unnecessary to recall that there is no basis for this entire incident in the story of the Gospels.

pelican typified the resurrection because it was believed to have brought its young to life by blood drawn from its own breast; and the eagle stood for the Redemption inasmuch as it carried its young (humanity) upon its broad wings (the cross). The unicorn (Christ) submitted to the hunters (man) only upon the breast of a virgin (Mary). The basilisk (Ill. 266), with the head of a cock and the tail of a snake, typified death; the aspic (Ill. 266), a strange creature with the body of a dragon, signified sin, and is always represented as stopping one ear and placing the other on the ground. Thus many symbolical interpretations of various animals and monsters were drawn from these strange natural histories, which, of course, were universally believed in the XIII century. Other allegorical figures, derived from a misunderstanding of the Apocalypse, were the man (not angel) of St. Matthew, the eagle of St. John, the lion of St. Mark, and the calf of St. Luke (Ill. 215).

In medieval glass and statuary the symbolism is often extended with the most astounding thoughtfulness to the smallest detail. Under the bases which support large statues, for example, may almost always be seen crouched figures (Ill. 215, 265, 268). These would seem, superficially, to be works of pure decoration; in reality each of the personages so represented is in relation to the principal figure. The apostles trample under their feet the kings who have persecuted them. Moses treads on the golden calf; the angels on the dragon; Jesus on the aspic (sin) and the basilisk (death). Sometimes the emblem of the base expresses not the idea of triumph, but some trait of the life or character of the person represented. At Chartres beneath the feet of Balaam is his ass; a negro charged with gifts of Ophir is placed beneath the Queen of Sheba. The relationship between base and statue is so close that in the cathedral of Paris it has been possible to restore with practical certainty the lost statues of the portal from the bases which supported them.[1]

Thus the subjects depicted in the imagery of the cathedral, even to the smallest details, had almost always a double significance. Principles very similar governed the design of the

[1] Mâle, *Art. Rel.*, p. 22.



Ill. 213. — St. Étienne of Beauvais. North Transept End

larger aspects of the composition — the representations of the four mirrors. The mirror of nature, in Vincent of Beauvais, consists of a commentary on the seven days of creation, when God made Heaven and Earth and all the creatures therein. To this mirror, therefore, belong not only all the numerous scenes of the creation itself which are so frequently portrayed in the windows and statuary of the cathedral, but also all the vegetable ornament, the animals and monsters and grotesques with which the cathedral was adorned from base to summit.

The mirror of science included the handicrafts and practical knowledge of man. Thus all the useful arts and trades found their representation in the cathedral imagery. At Chartres and Bourges, at the bottom of the windows given by the various corporations, the donors are portrayed plying the spade, the hammer, the loom, the baker's rolling pin, the butcher's knife. There was felt no incongruity in placing these pictures of daily life side by side with the heroic scenes from the lives of saints. Beneath the signs of the zodiac on the façade of Amiens appeared genre scenes depicting the forms of agricultural life appropriate to each season — the sowing of the grain, the harvest, the vintage, etc. (Ill. 265). Under this mirror were also included allegorical representations of the seven arts, which according to the medieval idea comprised the possibilities of human intellectual activity, outside of the Revelation; these arts were: Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectics, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. Over the seven arts arose Philosophy, their mother. The artists of the XIII century almost never failed to sculpture on the façade of the cathedral these eight figures which are presented usually in the form of young women, full of dignity. Grammar holds the rod as her attribute; at her feet are often gathered children deep in reading. The attribute of Dialectics is a serpent or scorpion; Rhetoric makes a gesture of oratory, and writes in her tablets; Arithmetic is usually made known by her counting-board; Geometry has a compass and a table on which she traces figures; Astronomy carries a curious disc-like instrument with which to measure the distances of the stars; Music is seated, and strikes three or four suspended bells. Philosophy sits with her head in the clouds — her em-

blems are books in her right hand, a scepter in her left, and sometimes a ladder.

The mirror of morals concerned itself above all with the depiction of the virtues and vices. The virtues in the earliest times were represented as warrior maidens, fighting in battle against the opposite vice. But in the XIII century the psychomachia gave place to a new mode of presentation. The virtues, sculptured in low relief, are women, calm, composed, majestic; they carry shields with heraldic devices, witnessing their nobility. As for the vices, they are no longer personified, but represented by genre scenes placed below each virtue. A husband beating his wife is Discord; Inconstancy is a monk who flies from his monastery throwing off his cloak. The selection of the particular virtues and vices to be represented seems to have been governed by principles not altogether clear. The three theological virtues were Faith, Hope, and Charity; the opposite vices, Idolatry, Despair, and Avarice. The cardinal virtues were Temperance, Force, Prudence, and Justice. But this classification the sculptors seem to have treated freely, often omitting certain virtues or vices and adding others.

The mirror of history, the most important of all the mirrors, included subjects drawn from the Old and New Testaments, the apocrypha, and the lives of the saints, thus comprising, from the creation of the world, all events that seemed of importance to the medieval mind — *i.e.*, those which were related to religion. It was mainly in this mirror that mystic and symbolic compositions found their place. Profane history did not enter, and the galleries of the kings, as are called the long line of royal statues that ordinarily stretched across the cathedral façade, represented not kings of France, as has been erroneously maintained by Viollet-le-Duc and others, but kings of Judah. These royal statues thus formed, in fact, a sort of Jesse tree, representing the genealogy of the Virgin. Especially in windows were represented the legends of the saints; and the saint selected was often the patron saint of the corporation that gave the window.

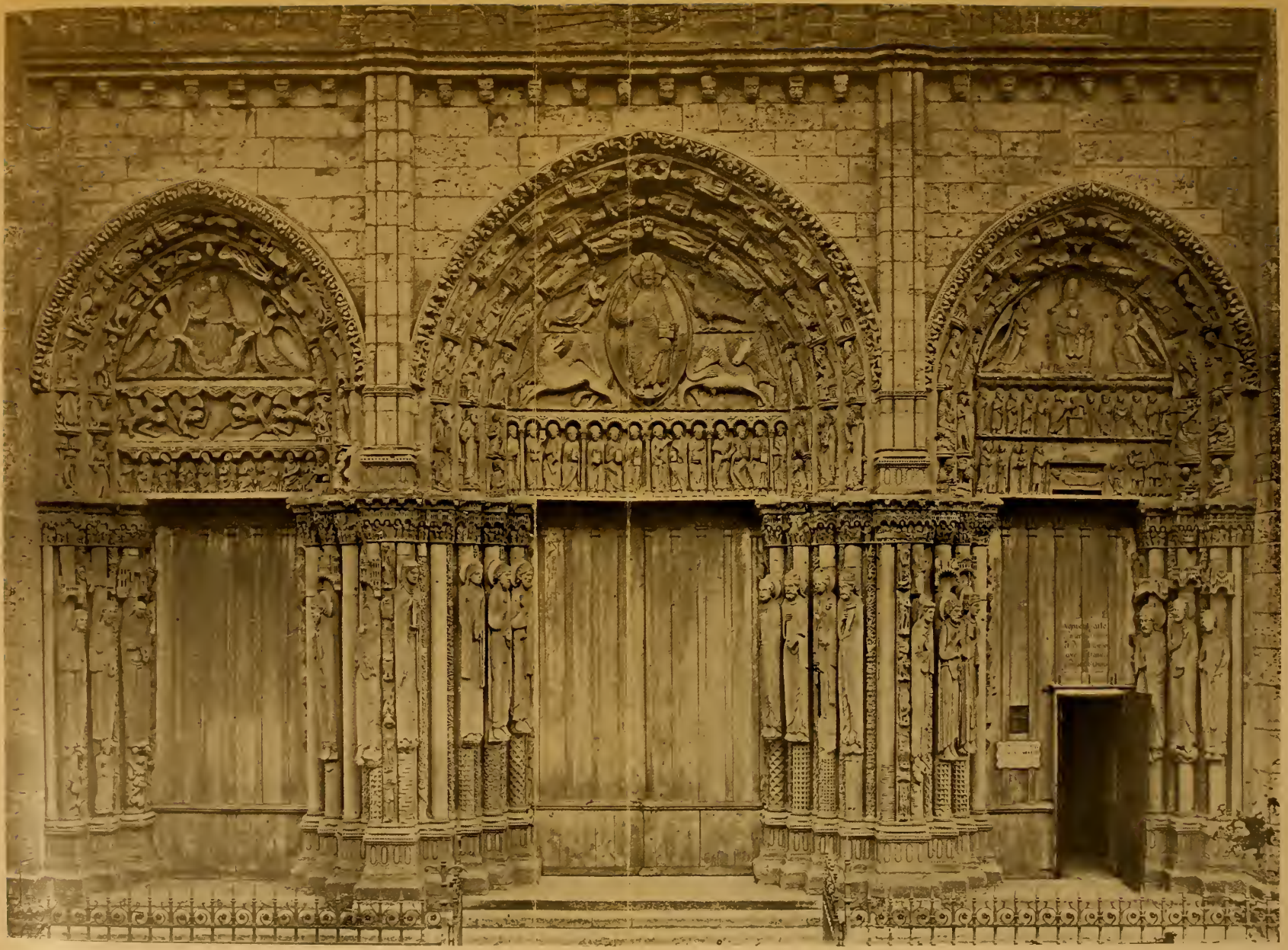
Thus it will be seen that the task imposed upon the Gothic designers of stained glass and statuary was a highly complex

Ill. 214. — Stained Glass Window of Bourges. (From Martin et Cahier)

one. Not only must they produce works beautiful in themselves, not only must they strictly subordinate them to the architectural scheme, but they must also make allusions to the dogmas of scholastic philosophy, and they must combine all these countless divergent subjects representing the sum of all knowledge into a single and unified whole. To accomplish this difficult task, resort was had to the use of attributes, more or less conventional, to distinguish different persons and subjects. The imagery thus possessed a sort of hieroglyphic character for those able to read it. Many of the attributes, it is true, were merely survivals of the tradition of a cruder age. For the Romanesque sculptor, who was unable to raise the dignity of his figure of Christ above the level of the grotesque figures of men, a peculiar nimbus was necessary to distinguish the figure of the Deity. The Gothic sculptors, on the other hand, were well able to invest their representations of the 'beau Dieu' with a matchless dignity and gentleness that must be immediately recognized by the most dull (Ill. 266). Yet they still retained at times the conventional attribute (Ill. 267).

The list of these symbols is a long one, and it is possible to mention only a few of the more important to illustrate their general character. The halo placed like a circular disc behind the head of a figure expresses sanctity (Ill. 215); when this halo is inscribed with a Greek cross it signifies the divinity (Ill. 215, 266). The elliptical aureole, which may be seen in the illustration of the portal of Chartres (Ill. 215) surrounding the entire figure of Christ in the tympanum, is used only in connection with the three persons of the Trinity, the Virgin, and the souls of the blessed, and seems to express eternal happiness. God, the angels, Christ (Ill. 266, 215), and the apostles always have bare feet; never the Virgin or the saints (Ill. 265, 268). A tower pierced with a door signifies a city, but if an angel watch between the battlements it becomes the heavenly Jerusalem. St. Peter always has curly hair, a short thick beard, and on top of his head a bald spot; St. Paul has a bald forehead and a long beard. The Virgin wears upon her head a veil, the symbol of virginity. Jews may always be recognized by their conical bonnets.

A similar hieroglyphic purpose, mingled with the medieval love of order, governed the position of individual persons in the group and the arrangement of the groups themselves. The center of the composition was always the place of honor, right had preference over left, and higher over lower. Thus every personage, every scene, was graded according to strict hierarchal rank, and the position in the composition was accordingly determined. This grouping dominated over the division according to the four mirrors of nature: that is, subjects belonging to different mirrors were mingled and placed beside each other if the rule of hierarchal precedence demanded it. This law, therefore, even more than the symbolism, served to bind the imagery of the cathedral into a centralized and unified whole. Although the composition was freely varied in every individual cathedral, in the XIII century certain general principles of grouping came to be established, largely in consequence of this rule of hierarchal precedence. In the central support of the central doorway of the west façade — the place of highest honor since it was the center of the entire composition — was regularly placed the figure of Christ. To the right and left in the jambs stood the twelve apostles placed according to their rank, and behind them in due order the majestic figures of the four major, and the twelve minor, prophets. In the two side portals flanking the great central portal were placed usually the Virgin and the local patron saint of the diocese. Thus at Amiens, St. Firmin occupies the position of honor in the center of the portal to the right of the Saviour; the jambs of this portal are adorned with statues of the other saints of whom the cathedral possessed relics. In the portal to the left of the Saviour was placed the Virgin, who although the titulary saint of the church thus yielded to St. Firmin in honor; on the jambs of this south portal were depicted scenes from her life. Above the three portals, across the façade, stretched the gallery of the kings of Judah, recalling the genealogy of the Virgin and Christ. The façade of the transept which faced the north, the region of cold and of winter and of night, was usually devoted to scenes from the Old Testament; the façade which faced the south, the region of light and warmth, was adorned with subjects drawn from the Gospels. In the tym-



Ill. 215. — West Portal of Chartres

panum of the central portal of the west façade, over the central figure of Christ, was almost invariably displayed the solemn drama of the Last Judgment, so placed that the last rays of the setting sun might illumine this terrible scene of the last evening of the world — a scene which it was the great mission of Christ to teach, and prepare the world to endure.

Gothic sculpture in relief is at its best in the portrayal of this subject, which so strangely preoccupied the thoughts of the Middle Ages. In the center of the upper of the three zones into which this composition was generally divided (Ill. 267) was placed the figure of Christ, sitting upon His throne, and surrounded by the archangels; on either side the Virgin and the saints kneel in supplication, while Gabriel sounds the last dread trumpet. In the second zone, the archangel Raphael balances in his hand the scales of justice. In either disc rests a soul; notwithstanding the efforts of the malignant devil who tries to pull down the balance on the wrong side, the weight inclines towards salvation, and the gentle archangel places his hand upon the head of the spirit awaiting judgment with infinite kindliness and love. To the left of Raphael stand hideous devils ready to seize the condemned; they bind them with chains, poke them with pitchforks, hurl them headforemost into the gaping jaws of Hell. Kings, bishops, priests, monks, form ordinarily a goodly portion of this company of the damned. On the other side in calm procession the blessed walk serenely towards the joys of Paradise, or angels bear the naked souls in napkins straight to Abraham's bosom. In the lower field is represented the resurrection of the dead. The departed, naked, reincarnated in the perfect flower of youth, men and women, saints and sinners, burst open the lids of their coffins, and arise to await judgment. Meanwhile all around this solemn scene on the voussoirs of the orders, are sculptured the hosts in glory: crowds of angels, martyrs, confessors, witnesses of the awful scene. (Ill. 267.)

I should hardly know how to put in words the stern grandeur and tragic power of these terrible representations of the Last Judgment. Fortunately, the XIII century itself has expressed

not only in stone, but in poetry, this terrible conception, which so fascinated the medieval mind:

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit et natura,
Cum resurget creatura
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Quum vix justus sit securus?

Rex tremendae majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me fons pietatis!

Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuae viae,
Ne me perdas illa die!

Quaerens me sedisti lassus;
Redemisti, crucem passus;
Tantus labor non sit cassus!

Justae judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis!

Ingemisco tanquam reus,
Culpa rubet vultus meus,
Supplicanti parce deus!

Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed tu bonus fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne!

Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab hoedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra!

Confutatis maledictis,
Flamnis arcibus addictis,
Voca me cum benedictis!

Oro supplex et acelinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis!

Lacrymosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla,
Judicandus homo reus.

Huic ergo parce deus,
Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem.

The "Dies Irae," kitchen Latin though it be, one of the master lyrics of all time, is, as it were, the literary translation, not of the details of iconography, but of the spirit of the Gothic reliefs of the Last Judgment. Surely there could be no more fitting place for this impressive subject than the tympanum of the main portal of the cathedral, where the pictured narrative warned each sinner who entered the house of God, to repent while there was yet time.

Thus throughout the Gothic cathedral, from pavement to spire, every detail of imagery occupied its definite and logical position in the powerful unity that dominated the whole. It is

never by chance that one subject, instead of another, is treated in a given window; no two statues of the façade could be transposed without injury to the entire scheme of iconography. Gothic sculpture and glass are arts supremely beautiful in themselves; but it is only when it is considered how much else these arts are, besides being merely beautiful, that the full genius of the Gothic artist is comprehended. At the same time that he created images architectural as no other plastic art has ever been architectural, at the same time that he so successfully filled fields more difficult than any other sculptors have ever been required to decorate, at the same time that he imbued his figures with the breath of life, and with a consummate beauty, the Gothic designer was also able to conceive a vast unity of composition that must rank as one of the most impressive achievements of any art, and to imprint upon the whole a depth of inner poetic meaning and symbolism, which sums up the best in scholastic philosophy.

All this was certainly a sufficient attainment for any art or artists, but modern writers in their admiration for Gothic design have gone even farther, and have insisted on reading symbolism where it almost certainly does not exist — *i.e.*, in the structural forms of the building. The three aisles, the three divisions in which Gothic windows were usually divided by mullions, are considered by authors of this class as so many symbols of the Trinity; the cruciform plan was long unquestioningly accepted as an allegory, and even the deviation of axis that sometimes occurs in the choirs of churches has been seriously thought to have been a reminiscence of the head of the Saviour which fell to one side when he died upon the cross.

In point of fact, however, although medieval mysticism was extremely apt at inventing allegorical interpretations of structural forms already existing, there is not a single instance known where this spirit governed the design of anything but the decoration, or where the development of architecture proper was subordinated to other considerations than the logic of structure. In the Carolingian period, the mystics delighted above all in the allegorical interpretation of the dome which was taken to symbolize Heaven, crowned and sealed by one keystone,

Christ. But this allegory, popular as it was, did not prevent the dome from being discarded in the Gothic period. Hence, even if texts could be cited in favor of the allegorical interpretation of Gothic structure — which has not been done — I should be inclined to hold such interpretations rather as the chance imaginings of some mystic, invented *après coup*, than as having influenced the choice of forms adopted. The cruciform plan, developed purely out of liturgical needs, only at a very late date and quite by accident came to assume the form of a Latin cross. As for the theory of the "inclinato capite" its sentimentality is so thoroughly out of keeping with the eminently unsentimental XIII century, that it is difficult to understand what has induced so many eminent archaeologists to accept it.

M. A. St. Paul (who has since, however, with admirable frankness acknowledged himself in the wrong) was the principal champion who kept this strange theory in vogue until the last year or so, although even such scholars as Viollet-le-Duc and M. Mâle had hesitated to pronounce against it. M. de Lasteyrie, however, in a recent forceful article, has pointed out that no ancient text supports the allegorical interpretation of the deviated axis, which cannot be traced to a period more remote than the XIX century; that deviation frequently occurs in churches without transept, where it could not possibly have been symbolical;[1] that in the XIII century the crucifixion was rarely if ever represented with the Saviour's head drooping, that detail having been added by a later age, while the XIII century was much more concerned with dogma than sentimentality in portraying the scenes of the passion; and finally, that since the deviation was quite as often to the south as to the north, it could not refer to the Saviour's head, which always was represented as falling to the right.

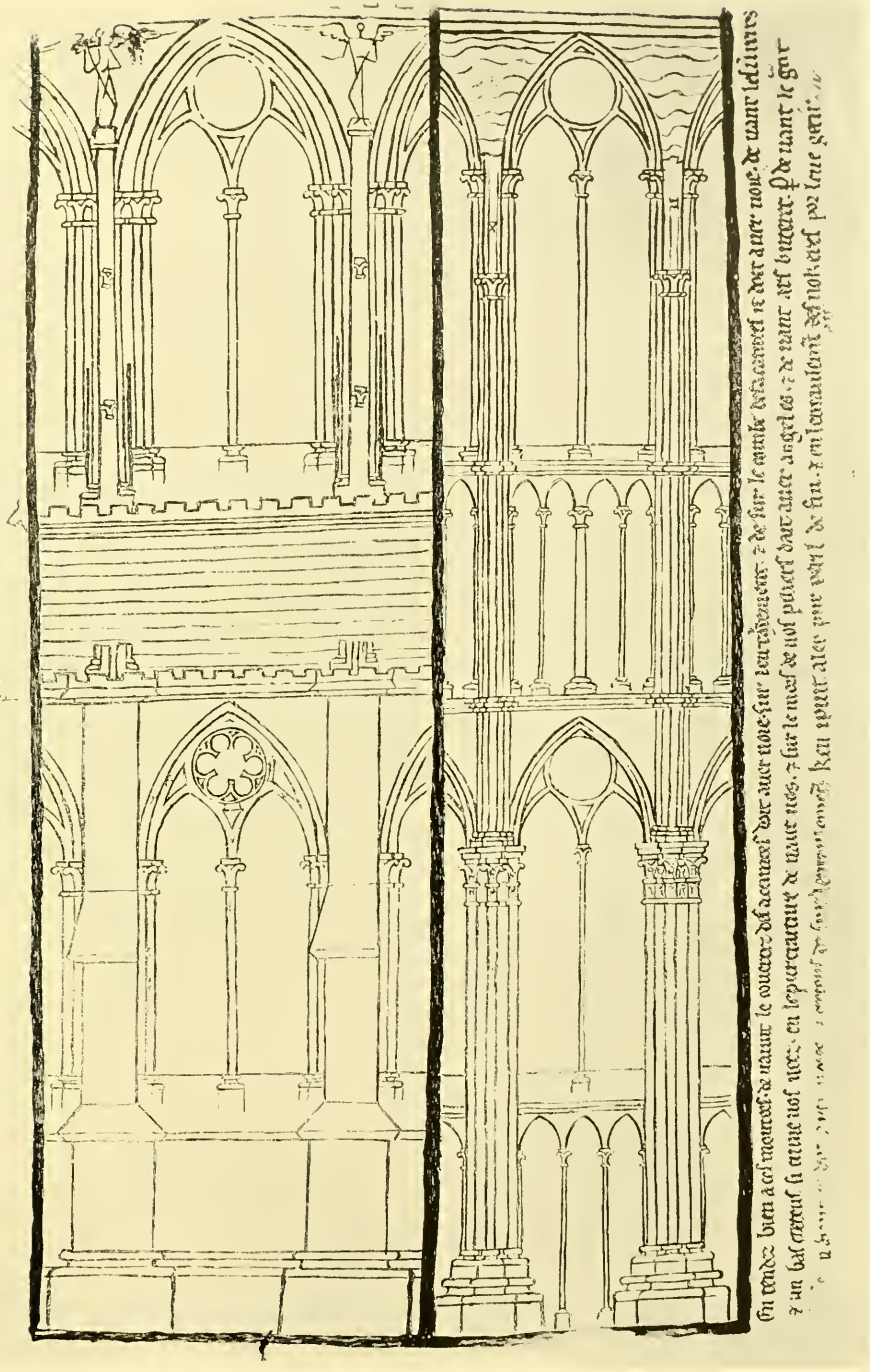
This article, as M. St. Paul himself confesses, settles the question of symbolism. But it remains to account for the deviation of axis, which unquestionably exists in a large per-

[1] An excellent instance of this which M. de Lasteyrie does not mention is found at St.-Nicholas-du-Port (Meurthe-et-Moselle) where one of the most exaggerated examples of deviation I know occurs in a church without transepts.

centage, if not in a majority, of medieval churches.[1] M. de Lasteyrie notes that this deviation usually coincides with a break in the works; he concludes in consequence that the workmen in continuing the old construction were careless in laying out the new lines, and allowed them to vary slightly from the direction of the old lines they continued. M. St. Paul suggests that in rebuilding an older church, the larger choir was constructed with improved orientation, without foreseeing the extra land it would require in the nave, and the buildings with which it might interfere; that, however, when it came to building the nave these objections were realized and the axis consequently diverted.

Both these theories, and the many others that account for the deviation of the axis by supposing carelessness on the part of the builders, while fully adequate to explain any individual instance, still seem insufficient to account for all the very numerous instances of this phenomenon that occur. It is a well-known fact that in practically all medieval churches works were interrupted at the choir. It was the regular formula of procedure to reconstruct the old choir first; when this was finished, works were suspended until sufficient funds were collected to resume work on the transepts and nave. I suspect that were the few churches in France, where no such interruption in the construction occurs, to be carefully examined, the percentage of deviated axes would be found to be quite as large as in those in which the break is found. Certainly in at least two instances that I can name — the churches at Coudun (Oise) and of Guilray at Falaise, — there exists a marked deviation in the axis which corresponds to no break in the construction. The idea of M. St. Paul, on the other hand, is perfectly plausible for a cathedral like that of Paris, which was placed in a great city where land was dear and which was surrounded by conventual buildings. But how extend it to country churches, where the building stood free and land was cheap? Yet the deviated axis is of frequent occurrence in just such struc-

[1] No statistics have ever been compiled to show the exact facts in regard to the deviation of the axis. Until such statistics, made from accurate measurements, are accessible, no definitive solution of the problem is possible.



Ill. 216. — Villard de Honnecourt's Design for the Cathedral of Cambrai. (From Lassus)

tures: witness the churches at Solesmes (Sarthe), Nérondes (Cher),Vorly (Cher), Lagenay (Cher), Binson (Marne), etc., etc.

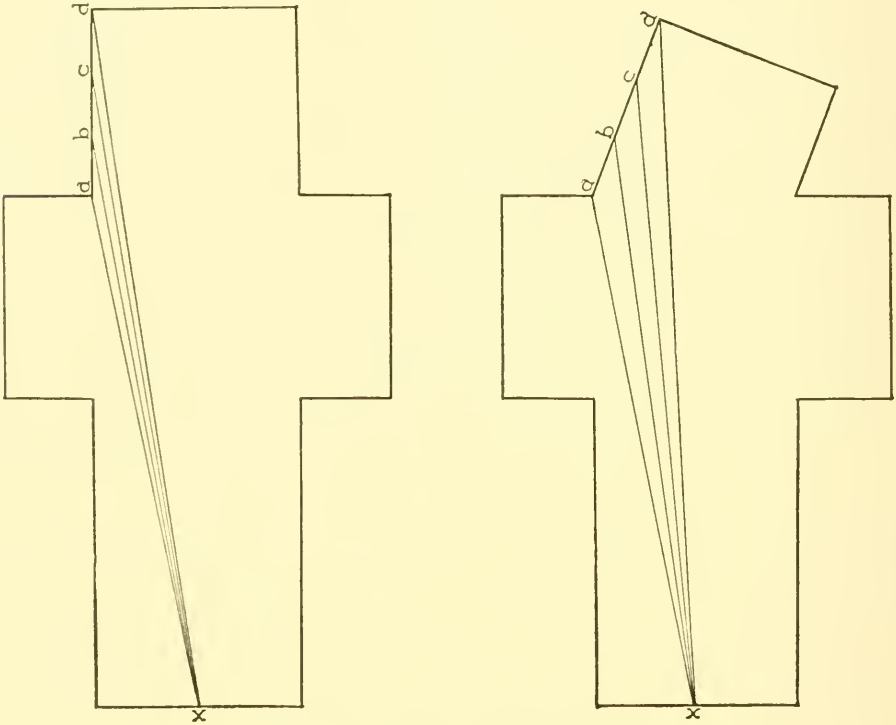
Furthermore I confess I find it difficult to admit that the Gothic builders, with all their skill of technique, with all their strong artistic conscience, were still unable, or did not take the pains, to trace on the ground a line quite as straight as they desired. Any child could tie a string at one end of a building and stretch it taut; that the creators of Paris and Amiens could not carry out this simplest of operations seems incredible.

Consequently the conclusion that the deviated axis was intentional seems inevitable; and I believe that this singular construction was adopted for the purpose of increasing the apparent length of the building. Every one is familiar with the law of perspective, by which equal distances seem to diminish as they are far from the eye. Now in a church, the lines of the vertical bays give the scale by which the eye instinctively measures the length of the whole. To a man standing at the west end of the edifice and looking east, the first of these divisions will seem large; the second smaller; and so on until at a certain point one set of vertical lines will merge into the next and the division of bays will be lost. After this point is reached, a difference of fifty or even a hundred feet in the length of the edifice becomes hardly apparent.[1]

The point is aptly illustrated in certain English cathedrals, notably Salisbury. This structure of immense length the medieval builders had wisely divided into two distinct parts by the use of high choir screens, each part being of sufficient length to obtain the greatest sense of perspective possible. Modern restorers pulled down the choir screen, and hoped by this means to obtain an effect of added length. But they were mistaken. The building twice as long as formerly appeared to have no greater length than either one of the original halves. The French medieval builders also realized that to increase the length of a church beyond a certain point was effort thrown away; hence, since they did not employ the high choir screens

[1] Mr. Goodyear has suggested that the axis was deviated for esthetic reasons, though he has not, so far as I know, advanced this particular explanation. He has found, however, many analogous cases of optical illusions in medieval buildings.

of the English, they seldom erected cathedrals of much over 350 feet in length. It therefore is not unreasonable to suppose that the axis was deviated in order to overcome this tendency of perspective to minimize the apparent length of a rectangular nave by foreshortening the far bays. The principle will be clear on reference to the diagram (Ill. 216a). In the left hand



Ill. 216a. — Diagram of the Deviated Axis

figure, for a man standing at x, the equal divisions a, b, c, d, will be projected in such small angles that the perspective will much diminish the apparent length of the choir. If, however, the axis be deviated, as in the second figure, the angles of projection will be increased, and the choir will appear at much more nearly its true length. The deviation of axis in Gothic buildings is seldom so acute as to be noticeable, except upon the closest examination; it is, however, sufficient to increase materially the apparent length of the building.

The entire subject of the irregularities of medieval build-

ings has lately been brought very much into the limelight by the researches of Prof. Goodyear. Prof. Goodyear, starting at the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and proceeding thence through the medieval buildings of Italy and France, remarked that practically all the structures of the Middle Ages, instead of following rule and plumb-line, are irregular; that lines apparently straight wander up and down to a considerable extent, that the distances between the piers vary, and, most remarkable of all, that the plans are frequently laid out on distinctly curved lines. Therefore, on analogy with the discoveries of Penrose at the Parthenon, Prof. Goodyear concluded that these irregularities were the result of intentional and carefully planned deviations from the straight line; that they represented an unbroken tradition extending from Greek times to the Renaissance; that they were, in fact, so many refinements perfectly analogous to those which occur in Greek work. This theory, which he has sought to establish by means of photographs and minute measurements, has been broadly accepted, especially in America, though it has met with much scepticism and some ridicule in Europe.

The question is still before the archaeological courts, and must be left to time and the specialists in optics and perspective to determine. As yet, however, although Prof. Goodyear has certainly succeeded in establishing remarkable facts, I find great difficulty in accepting his theory as a whole, and am strongly inclined to believe that there is nothing carefully planned about medieval irregularities.[1] Settling of the foundations and the continuous outward thrust of the vaults for six centuries are amply sufficient to account for the greater part of the "curves" Prof. Goodyear has discovered in the superstructure. As for such irregularities as did exist in the original buildings — the irregular spacing of the bays, lines of mouldings apparently parallel that are not so in fact, the bases of different heights, the horizontal lines that curve upwards or downwards, etc. — these may easily be explained without resorting to the difficult hypothesis of scientific refinements. In the study of this problem it is necessary to bear in mind the evolution of Gothic archi-

[1] However, I confess I am at a loss to account for several instances of curvature in plan, notably that of the steps of S. Marco, Venice.

tecture, and the fact that in Carolingian, even in Romanesque, times, precision of architectural technique had been unknown. Buildings had been crudely constructed in a haphazard manner. In the Gothic period, although technique was vastly improved, the old manner of building was not completely discarded. The lines of a Gothic church are so nearly true that the irregularities are not perceived by one eye in a thousand not especially on the watch for them; and in the Gothic age such vagaries as do exist must have been even less noticeable, since in that day people were not accustomed to our modern machine-made architecture.

In the most flawless and lifeless of modern work, it is certain that all lines are not *absolutely* true; the deviations may be of a hundred-thousandth of an inch, but they exist. Thus the Gothic builders, who constructed far more accurately than their predecessors, may well have felt about their edifices just as we do about ours — that they were sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes. Moreover, even had they known modern mechanical precision, I strongly suspect that they were too great artists to have wished to copy it. As a matter of fact there is nothing which adds more to the charm of Gothic work, nothing which does more to give the medieval building its distinct, if intangible superiority over modern imitations, than this very deviation from the mathematically exact. If the Gothic builders had ever thought of constructing with cold precision, this consideration would have deterred them. Prof. Goodyear has not succeeded in showing that the exact variations were nicely calculated. The Gothic builders felt that an irregular line was more effective than a straight one; they did not work out a geometrical curve which should bulge two inches here, three inches there. The artist, when he wishes to draw on his canvas the line of the horizon separating sea and sky, does not take his T-square and triangle; he knows rigid mechanical accuracy is fatal to artistic effect. Neither does he measure out mathematically that this line shall curve upwards a hundredth of an inch here, and downwards a thousandth there. He simply draws a bold, strong, free-hand line. It matters not just where or how it curves; it is only of importance

that it be in the main true, but without the disagreeable hardness of mechanical work. It is the same with Gothic architecture. True enough for all practical purposes, the slight irregularities of its lines give it a life, a charm, and an artistic quality, perfectly analogous to that of a free-hand drawing. The same distinction separates Gothic from modern architecture that separates an etching by Haig from a photograph.

The greatest of all the marvels of the Gothic cathedral is the age which produced it. Amid the broils of robber-barons, amid the clamor of communes and contending factions, amid the ignorance and superstition of the Church, this lovely art, at once so intellectual and so ideal, suddenly burst into flower. It seems almost like an anachronism, that this architecture should have arisen in the turbulent Middle Ages. Yet Gothic architecture, although in a sense so distinctly opposed to the spirit of the times, was none the less deeply imbued with that spirit, and can be understood only when considered in relation to contemporary political, ecclesiastical, economic, and social conditions. For the XII century, despite its darkness, was yet a period far in advance of what had gone before — so far that M. Luchaire does not hesitate to name it "la Renaissance française."

Especially in the field of literature was this advance conspicuous. The Alexis, the oldest monument in the French vernacular, had been written at Rouen as early as 1040–50; but it remained an almost isolated example until in the XII century vernacular literature truly came into existence. Latin poetry on secular subjects began to appear at this same time; the writing of history became an art; sermons multiplied. The XII century is the age of the earliest and most beautiful of the chansons de geste — the Chanson de Roland and the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne. These feudal epics continued from this time to increase in number, until in the XIII century they reached their zenith contemporaneously with Gothic architecture. In the South, the trouvères began to sing their courtly lays as early as the beginning of the XII century, and ceased only when the

horrible Albigensian Crusade ruined the budding culture of the Midi. About the year 1180 through Chrétien of Troyes the famous cycle of the Grail legends spread from France over all Europe. Even earlier the miracle play had come into being, no longer as part of the liturgy, but as a separate and self-sufficient drama, largely in the vernacular tongue. In short, the XII century saw the beginnings and the development of a secular and national literature.

Also in the more intellectual and less popular learning of the clerks there took place a great advance. Not only in such great names as those of Abelard and St. Bernard — giants who loom up across the centuries and influence even the thought of our own times — but in the hosts of smaller scholars, men whose very names are now forgotten, are to be found some of the keenest intellects that the Middle Ages produced. The XII century was the age of dialectics and scholasticism; the age of the controversy of realist and nominalist; the age when was produced and codified the best of medieval thought and dogma; the age when flourished the famous schools of Chartres, of Orléans, of Laon, and when the foundations were laid for the great University of Paris, destined to rise to such greatness in the XIII century.

The revival spread even to channels unconnected with the ecclesiastical dogma, which, up to this moment, had absorbed all the intellectual activity of the Middle Ages. The study of Roman law, which had already been resuscitated in Italy, was passionately taken up by the scholars of the North. Classical literature, from the most secular poets to the most religious early fathers, from the most edifying discourses to the most immoral lyrics, was studied and imitated with an enthusiasm equaled only by that of the humanists of the Renaissance. Above all the XII century is marked by the spread of the first serious heresies. Men were beginning to think for themselves even against the universal Church. Two peasants were burned for heresy at Soissons between 1108 and 1126. In 1145 a heretical sect was suppressed at Cologne. Soon after, the heretics Henri de Lausanne and Pierre de Bruis obtained such a numerous following that it required the personal efforts of St. Bernard

and of the pope himself to suppress the uprising. Even so, the heresy was not extirpated but really formed the basis of the sect of the Vaudois and Albigeois, which in the early XIII century had disaffected the entire Midi, and was put down only after thirteen years of massacre by the united forces of Christendom.

The intellectual revolution was accompanied by an economic upheaval no less radical. Herr Schmoller has even compared it to that which took place in the XIX century. In the cities the workmen were freed from serfage, and commenced to unite themselves into free corporations; and the same process was at work in a less degree among the villains or serfs of the country. The economic advantages of this emancipation were incalculable. The pilgrimages, the journeys of the French chivalry into all parts of Europe, above all, the crusades, opened to the merchants a field of activity undreamed of heretofore. The guilds of merchants, which ever became more numerous and stronger; the commercial relations that were established between Normandy and England; the redoubled prosperity of Montpellier and Marseille; the multiplication of markets; the increasing importance of the great fairs of Champagne — all these conditions betray a radical transformation in the material condition of the population. Everywhere the condition of the laborer was made easier; everywhere the cities increased their economic production, and extended their traffic; everywhere bridges were rebuilt and repaired; everywhere new roads were opened. And with commerce, came wealth.

The power for evil of the robber-barons, while certainly not destroyed, was vastly diminished. These plagues of society still continued to prey upon Church and peasant, but the rising monarchy had already broken their power. The great aim of Louis VI (1108–37) had been to curb the violence of his vassals; Louis VII (1137–80) and Philippe Auguste (1180–1223) continued and extended this policy. Thus about the year 1200 the barons were more nearly subdued to the royal authority than at any other time during the Middle Ages.

In the domain of politics, the same prosperity was not altogether maintained. Under Louis VII (1137–80) the Capetian

lost not only diplomatic prestige but much land. The marriage of Eleanor with Henry II united all the west of France with England under the Plantagenet dynasty. Between this millstone on the one side and the Empire on the other, the French monarch found himself stripped of one piece of land after another. His very powerlessness, however, forced him to keep peace, even with dishonor, and thus the XII century in France was a period comparatively free from war — a fact which doubtless favored material development. And, although the monarchy lost physical power and its domain was lessened, still even the reign of Louis VII was rich in domestic moral conquests, since the influence of the king was extended to the remotest parts of France and the foundations for French unity and patriotism were securely laid. This patriotism long lay smoldering, but when Philippe-Auguste (1180–1223) was able to lead this nation so newly conscious of itself from victory to victory, to overthrow the empire of the Plantagenets, to double the size of his dominions, and finally at Bouvines (1214) to overwhelm at one blow English king, German emperor, and revolted baron, the popular national enthusiasm flared into a brilliant flame. In the patriotic demonstrations which accompanied the triumphal progress of Philippe-Auguste from Bouvines to Paris might well be found sufficient cause for a sudden outburst of architectural activity such as seems invariably to follow great military conquests. But as a matter of fact, Gothic architecture had no need of such a stimulant; from the moment of St. Denis, Amiens had become inevitable.

Thus the XII century saw a progress in civilization not unworthy of the name of renaissance. Yet however light appears the twilight of this period compared with the darkness that preceded, it should not be forgotten that it was absolutely very dim. The nobility had been at heart but little touched by the dawning ideals of chivalry, and their sole occupation still remained the art of war. The country was torn from one end to the other by petty feuds carrying in their wake devastation and misery; the brief intervals which intervened between these feuds were occupied by tournaments and jousts the imitation of war, and hardly less bloody. The bands of brigands who

swarmed everywhere over the land made all traveling dangerous. Regularly in league with the barons and even with the Church, with whom they shared their spoils, these robbers were strong enough at times to defy a royal army. The taxes levied on the laborer by the king, by the Church, and by the feudal lords not unfrequently amounted all told to a third or even a half of his total produce. Famines were of such frequent occurrence that no less than eleven are recorded during the reign of Philippe-Auguste, and so severe were these periods of want that the peasants were reduced to eating roots, dogs, even, it was said, human flesh. The famine of 1195 lasted four years; in the second year an innumerable number perished from starvation — *innumeri fame perempti sunt.* Expressions like these: *multi fame perierunt, moriuntur fame millia millium* recur with sickening frequency throughout the chronicles of the XII century.

Nor is the picture even of the more prosperous cities of the epoch an altogether attractive one. The houses were built almost entirely of wood; the streets were narrow and winding. There was constant danger from fire, and when a conflagration was once started there was nothing but the destruction of the entire city which could check the flames. Rouen was burned six times between 1200 and 1225. In the single year 1188 Rouen, Troyes, Beauvais, Provins, Arras, Poitiers, and Moissac were all destroyed by fire. Hundreds of persons perished in the great fire of Chartres in 1194. To these accidental catastrophes were added the fires which resulted in the course of wars. Every army included, besides the foragers, a special corps of officials whose duty it was to set fire to granaries, houses, villages, and cities.

Even more disastrous were the plagues and epidemics which raged especially in the towns. The population had not the most elementary ideas of cleanliness or hygiene; the unpaved streets were merely open sewers. In Paris, "the most beautiful of cities," in the cemetery of Champeaux situated almost in the center of the town, the dead were buried so near the surface that in time of rain the stench became intolerable. It is not surprising that disease spread among this unwashed people.

To these natural evils was added the violence of man. Since there was practically no police — no attempt of any kind to prevent crime, — assassination, murder, theft, and rape were committed at will. Street broils, usually with fatal terminations, were of daily occurrence; no availing effort was made by the government to protect the lives of citizens or their property.

When this side of the picture is considered, it becomes difficult to explain the growth of Gothic architecture merely as a result of the generally increased prosperity of the XII century. Gothic architecture, moreover, was so essentially the product of the single province of the Ile de France, that it seems as if some peculiar local condition in the royal domain must have favored its growth. This stimulus Viollet-le-Duc saw in the commune. In his view the cathedral was little more than a town hall — a vast monument of civic pride, erected as much for secular as for ecclesiastical ends, and essentially the work of the *bourgeoisie*.

The thesis is attractive. It is pleasant to believe in the democracy of great art. Consequently the great majority of archaeologists have accepted Viollet-le-Duc's opinion, although of late years there has been a growing tendency to view with a more or less openly expressed scepticism the supposed popular character of the Gothic church. It is, therefore, worth while to examine in some detail the evidence upon which this theory is based.

The cathedral itself offers but slight confirmation of such a theory. Many windows at Chartres and Bourges, it is true, were given by various trade guilds, as is known from the lower medallions which depict the particular handicrafts of the donors. At Amiens and elsewhere, beneath the signs of the zodiac, are sculptured genre scenes portraying the life of the peasant at various seasons (Ill. 265), and beneath the virtues are similar genre scenes portraying the vices. The grotesque carvings, as has been mentioned, also seem to be of popular character. This is the extent of the distinctly democratic elements that can be traced in Gothic ornament. The guild windows prove that the corporations did contribute a certain amount of stained glass towards the erection of the building. As for the sculp-

tures and grotesques, such small details are they in the vast mass of ecclesiastical ornament, that here the artist may well have slipped away a moment from the strict tutelage of the clerks.

More serious are certain texts which date especially from about the middle of the XII century and bear witness to a most remarkable condition of popular religious enthusiasm. The most illuminating of all these is a letter of Haymo, abbot of St.-Pierre-sur-Dives, in Normandy, — a letter which it will be well to let speak for itself.

"Who ever saw, who ever heard in all former generations, of such a thing, that rulers, princes, potentates, full of the honors and riches of the world, men and women of noble birth, should submit their haughty and puffed-up necks to be bound by straps to carts, and like beasts of burden should drag to the asylum of Christ loads of wine, wheat, oil, mortar, stones, wood, and whatever else is necessary for the maintenance of life or for the construction of the church? Moreover, it is wonderful to see how, although a thousand or even more men and women are yoked to one cart (so great is the size of the carts and so heavy the load piled upon them), nevertheless the whole company marches along in such silence that no voice, no sound is heard; and unless you saw with your eyes, far from believing that such a multitude was present, you would not think that there was a single person. And when a halt is made on the road, there is no other sound but the confession of faults and orison to God, and holy prayer for the forgiveness of sins. During these halts the priests preach peace, and straightway hatred is lulled to sleep, discords are driven out, debts are forgiven, and the unity of spirits restored. Moreover, if any one has fallen into such an evil way that he is unwilling to humble himself as a sinner, or, when piously admonished, to obey the priests, immediately his portion is cast from the cart as unclean, and he himself with much shame and ignominy is separated from the company of the holy people. There, as the faithful relate, you might see the infirm and those smitten with diverse ailments arise cured from the carts to which they had been harnessed; you might see the dumb open their mouths in the praise of God; you might see those troubled by unclean

spirits recover their sanity; you might see the priests, who presided over the various carts of Christ, exhort all to penitence, to confession, to lamentation, and to the leading of a better life; you might see the people themselves prostrate on the ground, lying flat on their bellies, kissing long the dust; you might see old men and young, and boys of tender age, calling on the mother of God and appealing to her with sobs and sighs from the bottom of their hearts, in the voice of confession and praise. All this is known to be the work of Christ, but after Him, especially of the Virgin, for she herself, after Him, particularly showed her graciousness in these events. She it was who made famous first the church of Chartres and then ours, both dedicated to herself, by means of so many wonderful miracles, that if I wished to tell what I have seen in even a single night my memory would fail and my tongue be exhausted. . . . To return, therefore, to what I began to tell, when the faithful set out upon the road, to the sounding of trumpets and to the waving of the banners carried before, nothing retarded them in their progress, neither the height of mountains nor the intervening depths of waters. And when the different troops came to a river which must be crossed, even in a place that had never been attempted before, just as the people of the Hebrews of old boldly entered into the Jordan, so these troops entered without hesitation into the waters; and verily at the place which is called Port-Ste.-Marie the waves of the sea stood back for them to pass while they crossed over to us who were coming to meet them; — a miracle which is faithfully witnessed. It is comprehensible that old men and the aged should undertake this labor and service because of the number of their sins. But what induced boys and children to do it? Who persuaded them, if not that good doctor who achieved His glory by the word and deed of babes and sucklings? . . . And such children you might see, together with kings and potentates, yoked to, and dragging, the heavy carts. These children are not bent down by the burden as are the elders, but stand erect, and advance just as if bearing no weight; and what is still more miraculous, they outstrip their elders in speed and agility. . . . [In a passage which I omit it is described how the people arrive at the

church dragging the carts and begin to pray for miracles of healing]. . . . If, moreover, the cures are a little slow in coming, and at the prayer do not immediately take place, you might see the people strip off all their garments, men and women make themselves naked above the loins, and in all abject confusion fall on the ground, while the boys and children act in even a more devout manner. For they fall prone on the ground, and no longer creeping on hands and knees but rather dragging the whole body in the dust, they seek first the great altar and then the various other altars, calling all the while upon the Mother of Mercy. This new sort of supplication certainly moves her to make petitions in their behalf. For it does not suffice — what certainly was to be wondered at in that tender youth — that immense uproar with weeping; it does not suffice, I say, that pouring out of tears; but to obtain more quickly the cure of the sick, voluntary corporal punishment is resorted to. Therefore the priests, though with tears, stand above them, striking with whips the tender exposed limbs, and those who are struck pray them not to spare nor do they wish them to be merciful. A single voice sounds forth from all: 'Strike, whip, smite, and spare not!'

"Such sacred scenes had first taken place in connection with the building of the church at Chartres, and thence the holy institution came to be established among us in consequence of innumerable miracles; at last it spread throughout the length and breadth of almost all Normandy, and especially was established in almost all places dedicated to the Mother of Mercy. But our church — that is to say, hers — in which we unworthy serve her and her sweetest Son, she herself, — merciful and gracious lady — made glorious (as we have said above) with so many miracles and distinguished by so many clear tokens as an everlasting memorial to her benign Son and to herself, that the multitude of faithful ran hither from different and very remote parts of the world, and here obtained the speedy fulfilment of their petitions in whatsoever necessity they supplicated."[1]

[1] Quis enim vidit umquam, quis audivit in omnibus generationibus retroactis, ut tyranni, principes, potentes in saeculo honoribus et divitiis inflati, nobiles natu viri et mulieres superba ac tumida colla loris nexa plaustris summitterent, et onusta vino, tritico, oleo, calce, lapidibus, lignis, caeterisque vel vitae usui vel structurae ecclesiarum necessariis ad Christi asilum, animal

I should not know where to find a more vivid portrayal of the spirit of medieval religion than is afforded by this passage; — medieval religion in its fanaticism, its belief in miracles, its mortification of the flesh, its hysteria. With all due allowances of the exaggeration of the edified abbot, this vivid account by an eye witness brings us face to face with the fervent religious enthusiasm of the masses in the XII century. There is nothing in this text, however, to show that the extraordinary scenes described were in any way stimulated by popular enthusiasm for architecture. The people yoked themselves to the carts, not because they were interested in having a fine church in their town, but because they wished to acquire salvation by humiliating the flesh. The scene of the flagellation in the church, and, indeed, the whole tenor of the description makes this clear. The monks were merely shrewd enough to turn this religious enthusiasm of the multitude to their own advantage. That they even went so far as to stimulate such hysteria with the express purpose of profiting from it, seems to be proved by

ium more brutorum, pertraherent?. In trahendo autem illud mirabile videre est, ut cum mille interdum vel eo amplius viri vel feminae plaustro innexi sint (tanta quippe moles est, tanta machina, tantum et onus impositum) tanto tamen silentio incedatur ut nullius vox, nullius certe mussitatio audiatur, ac, nisi videas oculis, adesse nemo in tanta multitudine estimetur. Ubi autem in via subsistitur, nihil aliud resonat nisi confessio criminum et supplex ad Deum puraque oratio pro impetranda venia delictorum; ibi praedicantibus pacem sacerdotibus sopiuntur odia, discordia propulsantur, relaxantur debita et animorum unitas reparatur. Si quis autem in tantum malum progressus fuerit, ut nolit peccanti in se demittere aut unde pie admonetur sacerdotibus obedire, statim ejus oblatio tanquam immunda de plaustro abjecitur, et ipse cum pudore multo et ignominia a sacri populi consortio separatur. Ibi ad orationes fidelium videas infirmos quosque et languoribus variis debiles ex plaustris quibus impositi fuerunt sanos exsurgere, mutos ad laudes Domini ora aperire et vexatos a daemonibus saniorem mentem recipere. Videas sacerdotes, Christi plaustris singulis praesidentes, ad poenitentiam, ad confessionem, ad lamenta, ad melioris vitae propositum universos hortari, ipsos humi prostratos ac toto corpore incumbentes terram diutius osculari, senes cum junioribus et pueris tantillae aetatis matrem Domini conclamare atque ad ipsam praecipue singultis suspiriaque ab intimis praecordiis cum voce confessionis et laudis dirigere; ejus enim post benignum filium maxime hoc opus esse dignoscitur; ipsa se in hoc opere post ipsum praecipue commendavit, ipsa primum Carnotensem ecclesiam ac tum nostram, dicatam tibi, tot ac tantis virtutibus ac miraculis illustravit, ut si ea quae sub una tantum nocte videre merui velim exprimere, memoria prorsus et lingua deficiat. . . . Ubi autem fidelis populus, ut ad coepta redeam, ad clangorem tubarum, ad erectionem vexillorum praeeuntium sese viae reddidit, quod dictu mirabile est, tanta facilitate res agitur, ut eos ab itinere nil retardet, non ardua montium, non profunditas interjecta aquarum, sed sicut de antiquo illo Hebraeorum populo legitur quod Jordanem ingressi sint per turmas suas, ita singuli, cum ad flumen transmeandum venerint, e regione subito, ducente eos Domino, incunctanter ingrediantur, adeo ut etiam fluctus maris, in loco qui dicitur Portus Sanctae Mariae dum transirent ad nos venientes, stetisse ab ipsis transeuntibus fideliter asseratur. Nec mirandum

another passage of the same letter: "When the fame of the miracles (by which the blessed mother of God and immaculate Virgin Mary had shown she and her son were benignly present at Chartres) had spread far and wide and came also to us her unworthy servants, and when these miracles had acquired great celebrity by the witness of the faithful, a greater devotion for her commenced to be noticeable in our church together with a daily increase in her worship, and a veneration much more profound than usual. Therefore, since our monks had heard that at Chartres certain carts, built in a new manner, had been loaded with materials necessary for the church of the sin-freeing pious mother of God and had been dragged by the French populace, they also with great diligence constructed a cart in honor of the same mother of God, and this they devotedly dedicated to completing the new church building, which had been commenced in the times of King Henry, but whose construction had now been interrupted many years." [1] This significant passage

sane est seniores et majores aetate id laboris et oneris propter multitudinem peccatorum suorum assumere. Puerulos autem et infantes quid ad id compulit? quis adduxit? nisi ille doctor bonus qui laudem suam et ore et opere infantium lactentiumque perfecit. . . . Hos enim videas, cum regibus suis simul et ducibus, plaustris suis onustis innexos, non incurvos sicut majores trahere, sed erectos et tanquam nil oneris perferentes incedere, et, quod his mirabilius est, alacritate simul velocitate majores praecedere. . . . Si autem sanitates ad modicum tardaverint, et non statim ad votum fuerint subsecutae illico, videas universos vestes abjecere, nudos simul viros cum mulieribus a lumbis et supra, confusione omni abjecta, solo incumbere, puerulos et infantes idem devotius agere et ab ecclesiae atriis solo stratos non jam genibus et manibus sed potius tractu corporis totius primum ad altare majus dein ad altaria singula repere, matrem misericordiae, novo quodam obsecrantium penere, inclamare atque ibi statim ab ea petitionum suarum pia desideria extorquere certe. Non enim sufficit quod certe mirandum esset in tenella aetate, clamor ille immensus cum fletu, non sufficit, inquam, lacrimarum illa profusio, ni adhibeatur etiam pro salute debilium impetranda celerius ultronea corporalis afflicto. Astant ergo desuper sacerdotes cum lacrimis membra tenerrima exposita flagellis cedentes et ne parcant orantur a caesis neve esse velint in feriendo clementes. Omnium ibi una vox resonat: "Caedite, percutite, verberate et nolite parcere!" . . . Hujus sacrae institutionis ritus apud Carnotensem est ecclesiam inchoatus, ac deinde in nostra virtutibus innumeris confirmatus; postremo per totam fere Normaniam longe lateque convaluit ac loca pene singula, matri misericordiae dicata, praecipue occupavit. Nostram autem, immo suam, in qua ei post dulcissimum filium suum indigni licet deservimus, tanta miraculorum gloria clemens ipsa et benignissima domina, ut supra diximus, illustravit, tanta signorum claritate ad perennem benigni filii suamque memoriam sublimavit, ut de diversis longeque remotis mundi partibus ad eam fidelium multitudo conveniat, ibique petitionum suarum effectum celerem, de quacumque clamaverit necessitate, obtineat. — Haymo, abbas S. Petri Divensis, *Relatio de miraculis b. Mariae*, Ed. Leop. Delisle in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes. Sér V. Tom. I. 1860, p. 120–139. Also in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIV, p. 318, 319.

[1] Cum miraculorum, in quibus beata Domini mater et perpetua virgo Maria filii sui suam

makes it evident that the popular hysteria was merely utilized by the monks to aid in the construction of the church, and that it was not the church building itself that carried the people to such spectacular extremes of religious emotion.

Noteworthy is Haymo's account of the spread of this peculiar cult. Begun at Chartres (1144) it was copied at St. Pierre-sur-Dives in 1145, whence it spread through all Normandy. These facts, which are reiterated no less than three times in the account of Haymo, are further confirmed by a letter of Hugh, bishop of Rouen, to Thierry, bishop of Amiens, dating from this same year, 1145. "Hugh, priest of Rouen to the reverend father Thierry, bishop of Amiens; may thou ever prosper in Christ. The great works of the Lord are shown in all His designs. At Chartres they commenced in humility to draw carts and beams for the construction of the church, and this humility brought forth miracles. The fame of these spread abroad and excited our Normandy. Therefore our diocesans, having accepted our blessing, went to Chartres and fulfilled their vows. After this,[1] in a similar manner, they commenced to come from throughout our diocese to their own cathedral church of Rouen, having made this condition, that no one should come in their company unless he should first confess and repent, and unless he should lay aside wrath and envy. Thus those who were formerly enemies came into abiding concord and peace. These requisites filled, one among them is made chief, at whose command they drag with their own arms the

que benignam praesentiam commendabat, fama longe lateque crebresceret et ad nos usque, indignos licet, ejus famulos attestatione fidelium celebratior pervenisset, tum circa eam devotio major coepit excrescere, et quotidianus incrementis cultus ejus apud nos, veneratioque multo solito amplior pullulare. Sed et nostri, comperto quod in Galliis plaustra quaedam novi fierent apparatus, atque a Galliarum populis Carnotum onusta emendandae piae Domini genitricis basilicae necessariis ducerentur, plaustrum et ipsi in honore ejusdem matris Domini multa cum diligentia extruxerunt, quod et perficiendo novo operi, inchoato a regis Henrici temporibus, sed a multis jam annis intermisso, devotissime dedicarunt.

[1] The interpretation of this passage is open to doubt. An alternative translation would be: — "After this, [other bands of pilgrims departing] from our diocese [for Chartres], commenced to come [to receive our blessing] to their own cathedral church of Rouen [before departing]." The Latin is unfortunately so ambiguous that it is possible to understand it in either sense. The reading I have adopted, however, which is that authorized by M. Loisel, seems more natural than the alternative, and better suits the context. It is certain that the cart cult spread through Normandy at this epoch, and also that works were in progress about this time at the cathedral of Rouen; this translation, therefore, is consistent with known conditions.

carts, advancing in humility and silence, and bringing thus their offering not without discipline and tears. These three conditions which we have related, — confession with penitence, the laying aside of all malevolence, humility and obedience in following their leader, we required from them when they came to us, and we received them piously, and absolved and blessed them if these three conditions were fulfilled. While in this spirit they were accomplishing their journey, very many miracles took place in our churches, and the sick who had come with them were made whole. And we permitted our diocesans to go out of our see, but we forbade them to go to those excommunicated or under the interdict. These things were done in the year of the incarnation of the word 1145. Farewell."[1]

Noteworthy is the fact that this cult of dragging carts, although begun at Chartres, flourished especially in Normandy. Now Normandy, at precisely this moment, was peculiarly backward in architectural development. If the cult of carts had been a result of any popular enthusiasm for building a great church, we should expect to find just the opposite the case. On the other hand in the Ile de France, where Gothic art was germinating, there are very few traces of this cult. Outside of Chartres the only records of such demonstrations occur in connection with St. Denis.

The account which Abbé Suger has left us of the cart cult

[1] Reverendo patri T. Ambaniensium episcopo, Hugo, Rothomagensium sacerdos, prosperari semper in Christo. Magna opera Domini exquisita in omnes voluntates ejus. Apud Carnotum coeperunt in humilitate quadrigas et carpentra trahere ad opus ecclesiae construendae, eorum humilitas etiam miraculis choruscare. Haec fama celebris circumquaque pervenit, nostram denique Normaniam excitavit. Nostrates igitur, benedictione a nobis accepta, illuc usque profecti sunt, et vota sua persolverunt. Deinde forma simili ad matrem suam ecclesiam in diocesi nostra per episcopatus nostros venire coeperunt, sub tali proposito quod nemo in eorum comitatu veniret, nisi prius data confessione et poenitentia suscepta, nisi deposita ira et malivolentia, qut prius inimici fuerant convenirent in concordiam et pacem firmam. His praemissis, unus eorum princeps statuitur, cujus imperio in humilitate et silentio trahunt quadrigas suas humeris suis, et praesentant oblationem suam non sine disciplina et lacrimis. Tria illa quae praemisimus, confessionem videlicet cum poenitentia, et concordiam de omni malivolentia, et humilitatem veniendi cum obedentia, requirimus ab eis cum ad nos veniunt, eosque pie recepimus et absolvimus et benedicimus si tria illa deferunt. Dum sic informati in itinere veniunt, quandoque et in ecclesiis nostris quam maxime miracula creberrima fiunt, de suis etiam quos secum deferunt infirmis, et redecunt sanos quos secum attulerunt invalidos. Et nos permittimus nostros ire extra episcopatus nostros, sed prohibemus eos ne intrent ad excommunicatos vel interdictos. Facta sunt haec, anno incarnati Verbi M° C° XL° V°. Bene Vale. — Bibl. Nat. Ms. Latin 14146, fol. 167, V°. Cit. Loisel.

at this abbey deserves careful study: "How often did both our own people and our very devoted neighbors, nobles and serfs together, tie about their arms, their chests, their shoulders, the ropes attached to the columns to drag them up a hill! Thus instead of beasts of burden did they labor. And when they had advanced halfway up the hill, different officers of the castle, leaving the tools of their toil, would come to offer their aid to the difficulty of the way, by this timely aid ingratiating themselves to God and the holy martyrs." [1] Thus by the testimony of another eye witness, it was the hope of acquiring salvation and no especial appreciation of architectural art that moved the people. For the rest this enthusiasm at St. Denis seems to have been but of the slightest possible aid in the actual construction of the church. Men, after all, are not a particularly practical substitute for horses, and a few teams of oxen would doubtless have transported the building materials quite as effectively as the thousands of faithful. Without question the Church profited by all this enthusiasm; but she spent these resources in the construction of monuments which reflected her own ideas, not those of the people. Suger, in his two works relating to the rebuilding of St. Denis — works in which he describes with the greatest detail not only the actual course of the construction, but such minutiae as the means by which he raised resources to defray the expenses of the building, and his efforts to obtain suitable materials — refers to coöperation on the part of the people only in the few lines quoted above. It is easy to see of how little practical account he holds their aid. And yet at St. Denis the relations between people and monk were extraordinarily cordial. Suger had been the most liberal of abbots; and he himself tells us that on festivals so great a number of people attended mass in the abbey church, that the women with much uproar pressed to the altar "walking upon the heads of the men as upon a pavement!" It was at times even necessary to ab-

[1] Quotiens autem columnae ab imo declivo fundibus innodatis extrahebantur, tam nostrates quam loci affines bene devoti, nobiles et innobiles, brachiis, pectoribus, et lacertis fundibus adstricti vice trahentium animalium educebant; et per medium castri declivium diversi officiales, relictis officiorum suorum instrumentis, vires proprias itineris difficultati offerentes, obviabant, quanta poterant ope Deo sanctisque Martyribus obsequentes. (Sugerii, *De con. Ec.* II.)

stract the host from the altar in order to protect it from desecration by the too eager multitude.[1]

Outside of Chartres and St. Denis there is no instance in the Ile de France where it is recorded that the people collaborated in the construction of the abbey or cathedral. An attempt seems to have been made at Chartres to revive the scenes of 1144 again after the fire of 1194,[2] but this effort met with only partial success. Since the chroniclers of the Middle Ages especially delighted in recording all events which redounded to the glory of Mother Church, it is quite safe to conclude from their silence that the cult of carts never spread farther in the Ile de France. In Normandy itself the cult is never heard of after 1145. Consequently this idea of dragging carts, while a most typical and instructive manifestation of medieval religion, was not one that was widely spread or of long duration.

A passage in Robert de Mont, while seeming to contradict, in reality confirms this view: — "In this very year (1144) at Chartres men first began to drag with their own arms carts loaded with blocks of stone and beams and grain and other things for the construction of the church, whose towers were then building. Who has not seen these things never will see the like. Not only at Chartres, but indeed in almost all France and Normandy and in many other places, everywhere there was humility and mortification. Men submitted to crawl through deep swamps on hands and knees, and to be struck with whips; everywhere many miracles came to pass, and song and praise were rendered God. For there is extant about this thing unheard-of before, a letter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, to Thierry, bishop of Amiens, who wrote to inquire on this subject."[3]

[1] The original text is quoted in the List of Monuments, p. 198.

[2] See *Le Livre des Miracles de Notre Dame de Chartres*, written in verse in the XIII century by Jehan le Marchant and published by M. G. Duplessis, Chartres, 1855, 8vo.

[3] Hoc eodem anno ceperunt homines prius apud Carnotum carros lapidibus onustos et lignis, annona et rebus aliis, suis humeris trahere ad opus ecclesie, cuius turres tunc fiebant. Que qui non vidit, iam similia non videbit. Non solum ibi, sed etiam in tota pene Francia et Normannia et aliis multis locis, ubique humilitas et afflicto, profundas paludes genibus trahere, verberibus cedi, creba ubique miracula fieri, Deo cantus et iubilos reddi. Extat enim de hac re prius inaudita Hugonis epistola Rothomagensis archiepiscopi ad Theodoricum episcopum Ambianensem, super hac rescicit autem. — Roberti de Monte, *Cronica*. (Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores, VI, p. 496.)

Not to be misled by this text it is necessary to remember that Robert de Mont was not an eye witness of these things. He wrote about the year 1184, or forty years after the events which he describes. Since the whole tone of his narrative implies that such scenes were unknown to his own observation, it it safe to assume that the cart cult had ceased to exist long before 1184. It therefore could have enjoyed but a very brief existence. Robert du Mont clearly compiled his account on second-hand materials, and he is so unusually kind as to name for us his main source, the very letter of Bishop Hugh, which we have already studied in the original. This letter, as has been seen, contained nothing to imply that the cart cult spread to "almost all France and many other places." There is consequently every reason to believe that these words are an addition — and a very natural one — made by Robert du Mont himself, to give a round turn to his sentence. Besides, this writer is not above the charge of inaccuracy and carelessness in recording the events even of his own times.

These facts justify the conclusion that Viollet-le-Duc and other historians of architecture have laid too much stress upon the cart cult and its relation to the building activity of the time. This form of religious hysteria never was widely extended in the Ile de France; it died out entirely a very few years after its commencement in 1144; and the dragging of carts, far from being inspired by interest in the church building, was merely a form of religious penitence, practised in precisely the same spirit as other ascetic mortifications of the flesh, such as, for example, flagellation.

Nor was the general relationship of people and clergy one of cordiality at this period. It is always dangerous to generalize on the Middle Ages; each locality had its own local peculiarities which caused wide divergencies in the relationship of classes. Thus in some few places, at Chartres, at St. Denis, and elsewhere, there seems to have been accord between the people and the clerks. But such was far from being the general case.

Nothing contributed more largely to bring about an estrangement between the people and the Church than the rise of the

communes. Almost every city of France witnessed in the XII century a protracted struggle on the part of the bourgeois to emancipate themselves from the feudal jurisdiction of the abbot or bishop; as an inevitable result there grew up between the two classes an enmity which long outlived the success or suppression of the revolt.

The first attempt to establish a commune occurred at Le Mans as early as 1069. At first the bishop allied himself with the bourgeois against the authority of the count, but he soon afterwards discovered the mistake of this policy and promptly changed sides. Deprived of the aid of the Church, the commune was quickly suppressed. The contagion, however, had spread to Cambrai (1076). Here, since the bishop was the feudal lord of the city, an open war ensued between him and the *bourgeoisie*. As at Le Mans, the Church proved stronger than the people, and in the end the commune was put down. On the other hand, at St. Quentin, where the claims of the bourgeois interfered not with the Church, but only with the local baron, the commune was successfully established after a brief struggle (1080).

Some years later the rich city of Beauvais rose in revolt. Unfortunately the details of this struggle are not clear. However, since it is known that Bishop Ansel recognized the corporation of the bourgeois in 1099, it is probable that the commune was established rather at the expense of the chapter of St. Pierre and of the local baron, than at that of the bishop. There is no doubt of the general indignation this insurrection excited in the bosom of the Church. Ive of Chartres denounced it as a "turbulent conspiracy," and affirmed that the bishop of Beauvais was in no manner obliged to observe the oath he had sworn to the bourgeois, since such compacts are null and void, being contrary to the canons and decisions of the fathers. Thus from the beginning the church anathematized the communal movement, in the name of tradition and of the canon law. "Commune, name new, name detestable!" cried with pious horror the abbot Guibert de Nogent.

In fact, the privileges of the Church were seriously menaced by the development of civic liberty, which she accordingly

gathered all her powers to oppose. However, certain prelates, surprised by the explosion of popular power and by the rapidity of the movement, bowed before accomplished facts, and consented to bind themselves by oath to maintain the victorious *bourgeoisie*. The bishop of Noyon, Baudri, asked the king of France to confirm the charter he had himself granted (1109), under just what compulsion is not known. It seems probable that the citizens of Noyon had allied themselves with the local baron, instead of treating him, as had the citizens of Beauvais, as their chief enemy. To such a degree did the conditions vary in different cities.

In 1111 the town of Laon rose against its bishop. Isolated on their steep rock the inhabitants of this city lived amid constant civil war and class hatred; noble held bourgeois for ransom, bourgeois robbed and pillaged peasant.[1] The king himself was not safe in this strange town. Gaudri, bishop of Laon, was blessed with a character almost as pleasant as that of his people. He treated his townsmen as serfs, thought only of war and hunting, and always appeared in public followed by a negro slave who was his official executioner. To dispose of a baron who annoyed him this Christian prelate did not hesitate to have him assassinated in a church.

Profiting by the absence of Gaudri in England the bourgeois bought from the clergy and nobles the privilege of forming a corporation. When the bishop returned and learned of this transaction, he was furious; but he was appeased by a large sum of money, and even swore to protect the commune. Louis VI, also well paid, confirmed the charter (1111).

The following year the King happened to come to Laon, and Gaudri planned to improve the opportunity afforded by his presence to destroy the commune. The bourgeois discovered the plot, and offered Louis 400 pounds to remain faithful to

[1] In a recent monograph in the *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, for November–December, 1901, entitled "*Documents relatifs aux rapports de l'évêque et de la commune de Laon au moyen âge*," M. Lucien Broche shows that the bourgeois of Laon always struggled against taking the oath of faith and homage to the bishop. This ceremony pricked their pride by recalling their dependence on the bishop, their lord. Numerous contests had arisen on this subject, when in 1239 the commune and the bishop finally submitted the question to the arbitration of the archbishop of Reims.

his promise; but the bishop offered him 700 to break it. The last bid being highest the commune was abolished. At this, the popular indignation not unnaturally ran high. The King found it prudent to slip out of the city before day-break. At sunrise bands of bourgeois armed with swords and axes rushed upon the episcopal palace, and massacred all within. A serf knocked out the brains of the bishop by a blow of his ax. Then the tumult extended, the houses of nobles and clergy were attacked, and the inmates escaped only by disguising themselves and taking flight. Fire and pillage followed; the cathedral church was burned to the ground.

The murder of a bishop could not be left unavenged. The royal army accordingly marched against the revolted city, and took it by storm. Then it was the turn of the nobles and clergy to massacre the bourgeois. Finally the peasants of the neighborhood swarmed into the ruined town, and pillaged the deserted houses. The commune was wiped out in blood (1114). Sixteen years later, however, it was reëstablished. Political circumstances had forced the King and the Church to grant municipal government to the bourgeois under the title of an Institution of Peace (1128). It is not difficult to imagine how cordially the bishop of Laon and his good bourgeois must have loved each other after all this.[1]

The bourgeois of Amiens rose in revolt about the same time (1113). Their commune was established only after four years of bitter warfare, although the bishop backed the townsmen against the count. Louis VI at last turned the balance in favor of the bourgeois. At Corbie (1120), on the contrary, the bourgeois allied themselves with the count and thus wrung a charter from the abbot. At St. Riquier before 1126 an alliance of the same powers was equally successful. To shake off the yoke of their bishop, the people of Soissons seem to have taken advantage of the minority of their count, Renaud III.

[1] Yet the people none the less seem to have aided the reconstruction of the cathedral, by one of those puzzling reversals of popular feeling that so baffle the historian of the Middle Ages. "Excités par le pieux évêque, tous les habitants de la ville et un grand nombre d'étrangers voulurent y prendre part. Les uns allaient extraire les pierres dans les carrières, les autres les transportaient à grand peine jusqu'au sommet de la montagne." — M. de Florival, *Étude historique sur le XIIme siècle.*"

When communes had been once established, the clergy complained bitterly of the consequences. The abbot of St. Riquier called the King to his aid (1120). His bourgeois dare tax the subjects of his abbey! They hinder the abbot from collecting his own revenues, they draw into their association the peasants of the neighboring regions, they hold their meetings in the church, and ring the bells for their own purposes! The bishop of Soissons also complained: not content with making a propaganda in the neighboring country, his commune appropriated the episcopal buildings for its town meetings and even used them as a jail!

Louis VI, the eldest son of the Church, could not but interfere. But it was in vain he opposed himself to the movement. The tide was rising everywhere. In 1130 it was the turn of Abbeville to revolt. In 1139 the great city of Reims, the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom, was affected by the contagion. The archbishops, powerful feudal lords, were little disposed to see their rights encroached upon. Thanks, however, to two exceptional circumstances — a prolonged vacancy of the metropolitan throne, and the active help of Louis VII, — the commune was nevertheless established. Reims, the city of the coronation, had become a commune, and raised its power in the very face of the primate of all Gaul! The universal Church was indignant at such a scandal. St. Bernard denounced the "insolence of the people of Reims"; the Papacy launched all its thunders, and even compelled Louis VII to use force against the bourgeois. The commune soon disappeared beneath the combined strength of its enemies.

In 1146 Louis VII had granted a charter to the inhabitants of Sens. Three years later he revoked it on the petition of the abbot of St.-Pierre-le-Vif. A terrible riot immediately broke out; the bourgeois forced the doors of the abbey, killed the abbot and his nephew. This revolt was cruelly suppressed. The people of Vézelay rivaled in violence even the inhabitants of Laon. Before thinking of a commune, they had massacred their abbot Artaud (1106). The abbots finally succeeded in suppressing their insurrections, which were constantly renewed, only at the very end of the XII century.

At Orléans the uprising of 1137 was unsuccessful; but Poitiers, St. Omer, Lille, Bruges, and Gand obtained their charters peacefully. Thus in the long run the struggle of the communes was a gaining one, and after the middle of the XII century, the corporations of bourgeois were well established throughout the land. Louis VI (1108–37) had been indifferent and vacillating in his treatment of the bourgeois; but Louis VII (1137–80) inclined rather to the popular party, and at last Philippe-Auguste (1180–1223) identified his cause with that of the people. Thus the great enemy of the bourgeois was the Church. It was against the desperate, if unavailing, efforts of the bishops, the abbots, and the chapters that the communes were finally established. The enmity between bourgeois and clerk thus begun, long outlived the settlement of the question of communes.[1]

The very existence of municipal government brought this authority into constant conflict with the jurisdiction of the church. The records of the XII and XIII centuries are full of accounts of broils between ecclesiastic and townsman — broils that sometimes took the form of street riots, sometimes of law suits, more often of both. For example, in 1226 the people of the commune of Newport, near Dunkirk, were in conflict with the canons of Ste. Valburge, Furnes, about a tax on fish. When the representatives of the chapter tried to collect this impost, the people attacked them, killed two, and wounded a third. The bishops of Cambrai, Jean III and Godefroi, excommunicated the commune of that city and suppressed it by force (1206–09). The bourgeois of Soissons attacked the abbey of St. Médard in 1185; the clergy of Sens anathematized five times the chief citizens (1213). The *bourgeoisie* of Beauvais destroyed the house of a servant of the bishop (1119), and were in consequence summoned to appear before the judges. The bishop of Tournai engaged in civil war with his bourgeois (1190–96); the chapter of Laon excommunicated the commune (1213). At St. Omer the bourgeois made such head against their abbot that the pope was obliged to excommunicate the citizens and place the entire city under the interdict; but the nobles sustained the populace and helped them to pillage the

[1] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, II², p. 347 seq.

abbey. On Easter Sunday, 1194, the houses of the canons of Rouen were sacked by the bourgeois, and all the household chattels carried off. In 1207 another riot took place in the same city, which was in consequence put under the interdict. The king, Philippe-Auguste, was obliged to interfere to restore order.[1]

In 1174 the support of Louis VII had enabled the peasants of the Laonnais to organize in a confederation of seventeen villages. Three years later, however, the bishop of Laon, Roger de Rozoi, aided by the local nobility, took his revenge; he trapped the serfs near Comporté and made a horrible butchery. In 1185 Philippe-Auguste, who was at odds with this bishop, appointed himself mediator. He limited the taxes that could be collected by the bishop, and even reëstablished the commune. In 1190, however, when his policy demanded a reconciliation with the clergy before starting on the crusade, the king suppressed the confederation. In the early XIII century, the seventeen villages, still cruelly oppressed, tried to emigrate en masse to the territory of the neighboring Sire of Coucy, but the effort was unsuccessful. Two years later, 1206, when a quarrel broke out between the bishop and the chapter of Laon, the villages induced the chapter to champion their cause. The case was brought before the tribunal of the metropolitan chapter of Reims, where the rights of the villages were sustained. This decision so humiliated the good bishop of Laon that it is said to have caused his death, which occurred soon after.

At Noyon in 1222 a servant of the canons, named Jean Buche, detected in gross immorality, was arrested in the cemetery of the cathedral by order of the municipal magistrates. The canons demanded that the culprit should be given over to their jurisdiction. The bishop, chosen as arbitrator, decided in favor of the canons, but the bourgeois refused to obey this decision, and a riot broke out. The official, who happened to be standing at the door of the cathedral, was maltreated by the mob, and his garments torn. While the canons were saying mass, the crowd broke the doors, burst into the church, and beat the

[1] Lavisse, *op cit.* III[1], 405.

dean of the chapter. At nightfall the cathedral doors were pelted with stones and the watchmen insulted and threatened. The canons dared not go out of their houses into the streets. The affair was finally settled only by intervention of the king.[1]

In 1248 the monks of St. Ouen, Rouen, wishing to rebuild their abbey, had to have it guarded during the night by six "champions," lest the bourgeois should destroy in the evening what the builders had erected during the day.

In 1235 at Reims during the construction of the cathedral, a broil broke out between the people and the ecclesiastics. The stones intended for the works on the cathedral were diverted to strange uses; as the workmen brought them to the town, the people seized them to construct barricades and engines of war. The archbishop Henri de Braisne was besieged in his castle; the canons were obliged to flee from the city and take refuge at Cormicy and Courville. Their exile lasted two years and two months, nor during that time did they dare to show themselves in Reims.[2]

Nothing would be easier than to multiply indefinitely similar instances. The annals of the XII and XIII centuries relate an endless number of such broils. These contemporary records make it perfectly clear that the supposed cordial cooperation of Church and people in the XII and XIII centuries, the brotherly love of those two powers, walking hand in hand, as it were, across the centuries — this ideal picture so charmingly painted by Viollet-le-Duc and other writers — is based on imagination, not on historical fact. The undoubted religious enthusiasm of the people should not mislead us here. This force so strikingly witnessed in the cart cult, in the crusades, in the belief of miracles, was undoubtedly the means by which more than by any other the power of the Church was sustained. The people accepted and believed in religion most implicitly, even at the moment when the ecclesiastics were hated most bitterly. The same populace which murdered, robbed, and maltreated the priests recoiled in horror the moment the interdict deprived them of the mass and threatened their souls with

[1] Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Hist. de la Cath. de Noyon*, p. 34.
[2] Demaison, *Album de la Cath. de Reims*, p. 6.

everlasting torment. The naïveté of this psychology, almost incomprehensible to the modern mind, is nevertheless one of the basic facts of medieval history.

That an individual, therefore, should make the safety of his soul the chief end of his life, and should be willing and anxious to secure this eternal salvation by good works, — by submitting to flagellation, by humiliating himself to drag carts, even by contributing (especially on his death-bed) to the support of holy Mother Church — was by no means incompatible with the same individual cherishing the liveliest hatred of the monks and priests. That this hatred, or at least indifference, should be extended to the great monuments of ecclesiastical power and glory, followed as a logical corollary. In all the hundreds of accounts of the building of abbeys and cathedrals that have come down to us the formula almost never varies: such and such an abbot or bishop or chapter built (*i.e.*, caused to be built) such and such a portion of the church in such and such a year. The cathedral is as distinctly the emblem of the ecclesiastical power as the castle is the emblem of feudal might; one, as little as the other, was the work of the people.

To understand the cathedral, therefore, it is necessary to understand what was this ecclesiastical power in the XII and XIII centuries, this force that ruled the civilized world, that was supported and strengthened by the very people who hated it most, that made and unmade kings, that decreed wars and crusades, that dictated even the smallest details in the life of the individual. For it is no coincidence that the reign of Innocent III, the culmination of ecclesiastical power, is exactly contemporary with the culmination of Gothic architecture.

France was the eldest child of the Church, and ever since the days of Pipin and Clovis the French king had been known as the ally of Rome. Furthermore, in no country of Europe had the Reform of the Church been so thoroughly carried out or so enthusiastically adopted as in XII century France. Louis VI, "the king of clerks," modeled his whole policy with a view rather to the interests of the Church than to those of the monarchy; even Philippe-Auguste, that most unscrupulous of politicians, when it came to a rupture with the See of St. Peter,

hesitated and compromised. Thus the political power of the Church in France in the XII and XIII centuries was great as it has never been elsewhere, or at any other time.

The Church derived power from the faith — or fanaticism — of its very enemies, the lower classes. We have already seen many striking manifestations of the intensity of the popular religion; but the extraordinary scenes which accompanied the First Crusade — essentially a French expedition, — scenes fresh in every memory, are perhaps the most striking manifestation of all. The Second Crusade of 1147 was scarcely less the work of a French king, Louis VII, and of a French monk, St. Bernard. On the Third Crusade, 1189, another French king, Philippe-Auguste, was among the leaders. The Fourth Crusade of 1202, a spectacle little edifying it is true, was primarily a plundering excursion of the French nobility.

Thus all these extraordinary campaigns that sent the flower of Europe to perish in the Holy Land, these campaigns so foolhardy, yet so sublime, so ideal in conception, so worldly in practice, in which were summed up what was best as well as what was worst in the XII century, were all primarily French, all instigated and directed by Frenchmen. French, too, was the far from heroic Albigensian Crusade — or massacre — of 1209–24; and of French origin was the Children's Crusade of 1212, that most pathetic of all historical pages. These people of the XII century seem to have lived in a dream-world of imagination — a world peopled with phantoms now of the most inspiring beauty, now of the most repulsive ugliness. The whole universe was seen through a haze of mysticism which transformed mundane objects and seemed at times to clothe even the most commonplace facts of life with a supernatural radiance. Miracles were reported from one end of the land to the other in such vast numbers that the chronicles of the period are often little more than unending repetitions of miraculous apparitions, cures, and events. The passion for relics was carried to incredible lengths. In fact, the whole nation was carried away by a wave of piety and religious enthusiasm such as the world had never seen before, nor will ever know again.

This piety could only result in increasing enormously the

wealth of the clergy. A jeopardized soul could always be saved, even at the eleventh hour, by death-bed donations to the universal Church, — provided always the donations were sufficiently large. Thus gifts were showered upon the bishoprics and abbeys, not for any love of the priests, nor from any pride in the local cathedral, but only in the hope that the years of Purgatory might by this means be lessened.

This wealth was, as a rule, well husbanded by bishop and abbot, and handed on to the successor increased rather than diminished. Since the reform of the Church, the personnel of the higher clergy, especially in the north of France, had been on the whole extraordinarily high. The ecclesiastical dignitary was usually fairly honest, thrifty, and devoted heart and soul to the interests of Rome and of his own diocese or abbey. With all his vastly increased revenues, he had, moreover, no such expenses or feudal obligations as those which confronted the baron. He must still, it is true, obey the king's summons to war and furnish his quota of troops; but in the reign of Philippe-Auguste public opinion became strong against this usage, and the bishops of the Ile de France seem to have been more and more successful in avoiding military service.

But notwithstanding the immense wealth of the bishops and chapters, the keen rivalry that existed between neighboring dioceses — each trying to out-do the other in the splendor and magnificence of its cathedral — led to the erection of edifices far more costly than the resources of even the medieval Church could bear. The cost of a building like Amiens would fairly stagger even XX century prosperity; and, when the vast number of ecclesiastical edifices erected in the Ile de France between the middle of the XII and the middle of the XIII century is considered, it is not surprising that such lavish building speedily reduced the French Church to a condition of financial ruin. In almost every case the revenues proved insufficient to carry the cathedral to completion. It consequently became necessary to raise funds from among the people. That the faithful contributed to this cause, not at all out of enthusiasm for architecture, is shown by the methods employed to wring money from them. Bull after bull was obtained from the pope grant-

ing indulgences to those who would visit on such and such a day a certain church and contribute towards the expenses of construction. When this means failed, the relics possessed by the cathedral were peddled through the country. Such expeditions visited not only the local diocese, but regularly trespassed upon the domains of neighboring bishops, who not seldom strenuously objected to having their sheep fleeced by a stranger. To obtain funds for the cathedral of Laon relics were carried even so far as into England. Wherever these relics passed, miracles were performed, indulgences granted, and the popular hysteria was worked up to the fever pitch. It has already been remarked how passionately the Middle Ages loved relics. There was no surer short-cut through Purgatory than to contribute towards a church in which the thigh-bone of St. Firmin might be fittingly lodged. Furthermore, the relics were ordinarily carried so far from home that the people had no cause for particular hatred against the bishop or chapter whose cathedral was building. Even rival bishops would occasionally come to one another's aid; in 1131 the pope practically commanded the archbishops of Rouen and Sens to aid the bishop of Noyon whose cathedral had just been burned.

Back of the pride of the bishop and chapter in the cathedral, or of the abbot in the abbey, there was, moreover, always the feeling that the church was the house of God, and a work especially pleasing in His eyes. It was sacrilege to harm the edifice. In the bitterest broils of bourgeois and ecclesiastic, the church building was rarely harmed, and whoever raised hand against it felt that he stood in immediate danger of Hell fire. In the most merciless of wars the churches were generally spared, or if by necessity one was destroyed the king ordinarily undertook to rebuild it from his own resources more sumptuously than before. The sanctity of the house of God was not merely a convenient doctrine of the Church to protect its own property; it was a fundamental part of medieval religion and faith. The church building, however much it might be the symbol of the power of the chapter or bishop, however much it might be the work of the worldly vanity of the abbot, nevertheless possessed a sacred and inviolate character. Just as the religion

of the people was the fundamental fact on which rested the power of the prelate against whom they struggled so desperately, so this same religion of the people was the fundamental fact which made possible the cathedral, the symbol of his glory. In this limited sense Gothic architecture may be said to be a popular art.

The inner history of the Church during the XII century is full of meaning for the history of architecture. The Gregorian reform of the XI century had been only partially successful. The monarchy had still retained practically unimpaired its rights of investiture, against which the Cluniac movement had been chiefly directed; and although the Capetian monarchs subsequently renounced those forms of investiture which the church held illegal, it was of their own good-will, and not under compulsion. The purification of the clergy had also met with but partial success. The order of Cluny, it is true, had been established in several monasteries and chapters, and the personnel of the higher clergy, especially of the bishops, had been improved. But the great mass of the clergy remained sunk in simony and corruption, married and living rather as feudal lords than as servants of the Church.

The reform of the XII century, while a supplement to the Gregorian movement, was in reality distinct from it. Cluny had already fallen from the heights of the XI century; success had brought wealth, and wealth corruption. The order had thus become a prey to the very evils it had been called into existence to combat, and this decadence increased from year to year, until finally in the XIII century the order sank into ignominy.

Hence as a living satire on Cluny was founded the monastery of Cîteaux. St. Bernard (1100–53), abbot of Clairvaux, became the central figure, the real founder of this new Cistercian order, upon whose shoulders fell the mantle of ideal asceticism that was so rapidly slipping from the grasp of Cluny. Clairvaux became henceforward the model abbey. Since the austere Cistercian rule demanded that the monk should come in contact as little as possible with the outside world, the abbeys of this order were preferably built far from cities, in places diffi-

cult of access. Everything of the outside world was feared; books, literature, and science were proscribed. The Cistercian monk guilty of having composed verses was heavily punished. From the Cistercian church was banished pitilessly all that charmed the eyes, all that could distract the soul from contemplation and prayer. Thus the walls were bare; no ornate pavements, no mosaics, no colored glass windows, no mural paintings, no sculptures, even no stone towers were allowed.

Such a severe rule demanded radical changes in the sumptuous type of ecclesiastical edifice that had been developed by the old Benedictine and Cluniac orders. The Cistercian church beside its general plainness and poverty of ornament came to be characterized by a peculiar plan and certain stereotyped dispositions, which make it possible to recognize at a glance a church belonging to this order. There was ordinarily only a single aisle; the transept was very much developed and supplied with square eastern chapels, often as many as four or six in number. Square also (with a very few exceptions) was the east end. Over the crossing rose a *wooden* tower. Externally, as internally, everything was as bare and simple as possible; there was no carving, no sculpture; even flying buttresses were seldom used.

Such an austere edifice, it is evident, offered few opportunities for elaborate architectural adornment. While the Cistercians adopted the improvements discovered elsewhere in the construction of the skeleton structure and in the use of the rib vault, they accounted the art of architecture in general a vanity, to be in consequence avoided. Clairvaux in this was the direct antithesis of Cluny. The Cluniac churches, too, had had their special characteristics, the choir had been flanked by two eastern towers, and between the two western towers an interior narthex had been placed, — but the principal characteristic which had invariably distinguished the Cluniac abbeys had been the wealth and richness of their architectural adornment. The rise of Clairvaux and the fall of Cluny was consequently full of portentous meaning for architectural development. The torch of progress passed from the monks to the chapters; from the regular to the secular clergy. And this all-

important change took place precisely at the opening of the second phase of the transition.

The construction of St. Denis marks at once the highest development and the end of the monastic power over Gothic architecture. At this moment (1144) the ecclesiastical reform was at its height; the old Benedictine monasticism was being transformed by Cistercian asceticism; St. Bernard and the apostles of austerity were on the point of disengaging the regular clergy from their old paths to launch them on a search after new ideals. But Suger, the last of the great Benedictine monks, was still at the height of his power, — Suger the admirable administrator, the model regent, the antithesis of the new spirit, the clerk among whose writings are found only works of administration and history, but not a sermon, not a treatise on morals, not even a theological discourse! A lover of art, a passionate collector of jewels and precious stones, this abbot appreciated beauty to the full and adorned his church with all that pleased and charmed the imagination or the senses. In the times of St. Bernard, Bruno, Robert of Arbuissel, and Stephen of Muret, those austere souls who hated the flesh and despised the material, who sought the savage wilds and cursed civilization, Suger stood the humanist, the courtier, the diplomat, the lover of the beautiful. But he was the last of the old Benedictine school. From his time the ideals of Clairvaux and of St. Bernard dominated French monasticism; the regular clergy scorned the esthetic, and were indifferent to the art of architecture. Not that the Benedictine and Cluniac orders ceased to exist, or even to build extensively. But the best blood was turned to the new reforming orders. Theirs was now the wealth, the power given by public approbation; the old orders lost the vigor and the popularity necessary for great architectural attainment. Their churches merely reproduced the great improvements discovered in the cathedrals.

Even in the XIII century, when the Cistercian order trod the same road of decline that seemed to be the inevitable destiny of all the reforming bodies of the Middle Ages, the tradition of a simple church seems to have been preserved. The monks yielded to every other excess, were conquered by every

other temptation. But where it was held a sin to construct a sumptuous edifice, the money might well be saved for more sensuous enjoyments.

The Cistercians, while the most important, were far from being the only new order to lead the reaction against Cluny. Bruno (1030–1101), a German monk who had lived long at Reims and had there imbibed the French zeal for reform, founded the Carthusian Order as early as 1084. His ideals were similar to those of St. Bernard; the cradle of the new order was placed in the wild solitudes of the Alps. The rule demanded the most rigorous asceticism: almost perpetual silence, poverty, garments of horse-hair, food of bread and milk, and daily labor. Although the Carthusian abbey always included a cloister, the monks did not live, as did the other orders, in a common dormitory. Each had his own individual cell and in this cell he worked, slept, and ate in solitude. This order, like the Cistercians, frowned upon elaborate church buildings, although at a later epoch, especially in Italy, corruption assailed also these monks, and the monasteries of Carthusians came to be erected with a splendor which Cluny itself could not rival.[1]

Many other orders, founded for the most part in the XI century, rose to prominence with the high tide of reform in the middle of the XII century. Such orders came into being at St. Martin of Pontoise (1069), Grandmont (1073), Molesme (1075), Fontevrault (1096), Tiron (1112), and Paraclet (1131). Enjoying greater or less popularity, these rules all alike at first demanded increased austerity. Thus their ideals tended to turn the monk from the thought of the material adornment of the house of God.

In the XIII century a new class of orders sprang up, even more powerful in diverting the monastic world from thoughts of architecture. The mendicant or preaching friars originated in a reaction against the gradually declining orders of the XII century, as these orders themselves had been a reaction against Cluny, and as Cluny had been a reaction against the rule of St. Benedict. Not only individual but collective poverty was im-

[1] *e. g.*, the famous Certosa of Pavia.

posed upon the mendicant brothers, who must live by begging charity. The Dominicans, founded by St. Dominic (1216), were allowed to have monasteries; the Franciscans, however, established 1210–23 by St. Francis of Assissi, possessed no fixed home or abiding place. In spite of the rule, however, in the end the inevitable happened; the beggars became wealthy landed proprietors. They obtained from the pope the right of confession, and thus even entered into serious rivalry with the regular clergy.

One of the most striking ecclesiastical events of the XII century was the rise of the military orders. These orders, which were characteristic manifestations of the religious spirit of the period, were organized primarily to aid in the conquest and protection of the Holy Land, being thus essentially part of the crusading movement. The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, were founded in 1099; the Templars, founded in 1119, numbered only nine members until 1128, when St. Bernard established the popularity of the order. These Templars were in reality warrior-monks; they were submitted to the rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but their ranks were recruited from the noble classes, and the order was created especially with a view to military service. During the XII century only nobles were admitted, except the priests who served as chaplains; but in the XIII century non-nobles commenced to become members. The order acquired enormous power, and was finally suppressed by Philippe-le-Bel.

The Order of the Temple is especially interesting from an architectural standpoint owing to the circumstance that the members considered themselves guardians of the temple at Jerusalem, which they naïvely believed to be the very construction of Solomon. Consequently they constructed their chapels in imitation of this edifice, on a round or polygonal plan.[1] The chapels of the Templars in France are thus remarkable as the only circular churches erected in that country in the transitional and Gothic periods. A capital example, full of interest, is preserved at Laon; it is to be regretted that among all the great

[1] However, in the smaller houses — for example, at Grand-Selve and Frenaux (Oise) — the chapels were of rectangular plan.

establishments of the Templars in France, this alone has come down to our days uninjured.

The reform movement of the XII century spread from the regular to the secular Church largely through the introduction of the rule of St. Augustine. The reformers, led by the pope, were able to reach the dissolute canons and bishops only by means of regularization. Accordingly the chapters were submitted to this rule, which was inspired by the new monastic spirit, but compatible with the necessities of the pastoral office. Ive of Chartres had applied the idea as early as 1078 in the church of St. Quentin of Beauvais, and in the XII century the new order attained the greatest success. Nobles wishing to make a pious donation, instead of building abbeys, founded collegiate churches, the canons being especially charged to pray for the founders and their families. The vogue of these establishments became so great as to excite the jealousy of the regular monks. They believed it necessary to remind the world that after all the monastic life was the ideal religious condition. A polemic ensued, canon and monk vaunted the excellence of their particular calling. But the popularity of the canons regular continued to grow, and new orders came into being at Prémontré and St. Victor (1113). In fact, it is not too much to say that the chapters became the richest and most powerful members of the Church hierarchy in the XIII century. Much more than the bishops, the chapters were responsible for the building of the great cathedrals, which were often executed principally at their initiative and expense. The collegiate church of St. Quentin in size and splendor ranks with the most important abbeys and cathedrals.

Notwithstanding its subsequent popularity, the rule of St. Augustine was not established in the chapters without a struggle. It was one thing to found colleges of reforming canons, it was another to oust the established simoniacal chapters of the cathedrals, and substitute for them priests of the new order. The Church, however, set courageously about the task. The strife was long and severe, and often degenerated into riots, physical violence, and murder, but in the end the party of the reform gained the upper hand in

almost every instance, for it was supported by the religious sentiment of the age.

The chapters reformed, the reform of the episcopacy followed as a matter of course, for at this epoch — although the king and the pope retained rights in the elections and in rare cases interfered, — the choice of bishop lay for all practical purposes with the canons. Whenever a bishop showed himself hostile to the work of reform, moreover, he was promptly held in check by the pope, who in this work was the natural ally of the reformed chapters. Hence the power of the bishops came to be diminished; they found their authority usurped by the chapter, which was becoming by rapid strides the chief ecclesiastical power in the diocese.

Thus by the end of the XII century the work of reform had been thoroughly accomplished. While it would certainly be a mistake to represent conditions in the French Church c. 1200 as ideal — discords, scandals, strifes, riots, even acts of physical violence were of almost daily occurrence among its hostile members — still the ideal of the catholic and universal Church has probably never been more nearly realized than it was in northern France at this epoch. A people profoundly religious, a clergy newly reformed and full of ascetic enthusiasm, an episcopacy devoted to the interests of Rome — in these three conditions is found the lever by which the pope was able to dominate this Church as he has never been able to dominate any other, the power by which he was able to make his word an absolute law from which there was no appeal. The strength of the French Church lay in this strong centralization, in this absolute subordination of the clergy to the catholic power, in this greater loyalty, which overshadowed local jealousies and caused the monk to forget his hatred for the priest, the bishop to join hands with his enemy the canon, in the great common devotion to Rome. No monarchy less strong, less absolute, than the papacy of the epoch of Innocent III could have held together all these discordant elements; nor could even an Innocent III have accomplished such a task, had not the reform left the personnel of the French clergy extraordinarily high. No priesthood before or since has been so thoroughly, so unselfishly sincere; and since a pri-

mary dogma of XII century religion was the duty of advancing the temporal welfare of the Church, this sincerity *ipso facto* implied the liveliest loyalty to Rome. No wonder that the pious and reforming spirits of all Europe looked to France as to a Utopia where religious conditions had reached the happiest possible expression; no wonder the successor of St. Peter proudly pointed to France as the eldest child of the Church; no wonder the bishops and chapters set about erecting architectural memorials to glorify this ecclesiastical power with an enthusiasm that the world has hardly equaled.

In this connection it is interesting to remark that the naissant Gothic architecture, in the transitional period, found its territorial boundaries — not, as is often erroneously stated, in the limits of the Capetian domain — but in the limits of the influence of the French Church.

Even in the earliest times, although it is convenient to refer to the school of the Ile de France, the transitional movement had centered not at Paris, but much farther to the eastward, in the neighborhood of Senlis. It thus comprised only a part of the royal domain, while on the other hand, it included many lands lying outside of the Ile de France, such as certain parts of Picardy. Later, when Gothic architecture came to spread to the other provinces of France and Europe, this extension of its territory took place in a manner so subtle that it is impossible to trace the exact stages by which it progressed. The local styles first showed faint traces of French influence, which grew more and more pronounced until at last the French style was unmistakably established, though always in a more or less modified form. In this manner the limits of the French school, especially during the second phase of the transitional movement, were constantly, if irregularly, increasing, and ever absorbing new areas. The nature of this growth might be illustrated by placing a wet pen on a piece of blotting paper; the resulting ink spot gradually increases, the color traveling often beneath the surface and so imperceptibly that at no moment is it possible to define exactly the affected area, although it is always evident that the spot is increasing in size. In Normandy, as has been seen, the French school was fully established

only at the beginning of the XIII century. In Maine, except for the nave of the cathedral of Le Mans, Gothic appeared even later. The lands to the south of the Ile de France, including the present départements of Yonne, Aube, and Loiret, seem to have become associated with the Gothic school during the second phase of the transition; and even as far south as Blois, the fine transitional church of St. Laumer might as well have been built on the banks of the Oise as of the Loire. Champagne had joined the movement even earlier. In the Centre, however, in the region comprised in the present département of Cher, the strong local school long resisted foreign influence. The first clumsy examples of the rib vault, it is true, may be found in this district as early as the middle of the XII century; but Gothic was first cordially adopted in 1295, when the cathedral of Bourges, one of the marvels of the new style, was commenced in the manner of the Ile de France. This region is unique in that it shows no period of hesitation or mixture of Gothic and Romanesque; after 1295 it followed the architecture of the royal school in as uncompromising a manner as it had previously followed the school of Berry. Now if the historical growth of the French Church organization be traced, it will be found in every instance to have permeated these surrounding regions in the same intangible manner, and at about the same time that, by a study of the monuments, we have found that Gothic architecture spread to the same districts.

In none of these regions immediately adjacent to the Ile de France (except Normandy) did local tradition modify the Gothic forms so sensibly as to give birth to a really separate local school. In the following chapters, therefore, by the term French Gothic we shall include monuments of the present départements of Somme, Aisne, Oise, Seine, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Marne, Aube, Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, Sarthe, Yonne, and Cher.[1] This boundary, it should be frankly recognized, is purely arbitrary. It excludes many purely Gothic buildings like the cathedral of Tours or the abbey of Montier-en-Der; on the other hand, it includes a certain number of churches like the abbey of Vézelay,

[1] Norman Gothic is included in the départements of Calvados, Manche, Seine-Inférieure, Eure, Orne.

it were better to leave out. Still a rigid territorial division is needful, and this, as long as it be understood to be merely approximate, will answer the present purposes.

There is one final question which must be considered before closing this over-long chapter. The Gothic cathedral, it has been seen, was the work of the Church, erected by the chapter as a monument of ecclesiastical vanity. But by whom and how was the actual execution carried out?

For the XIII century, although the question offers certain difficulties, the answer is for the most part clear. The abbot or bishop or chapter entrusted to a lay architect or master builder the drawing of the plans and the supervision of the work. But many archaeologists, — practically all who have studied this subject — believe that in the first half of the XII century things were otherwise. As has been seen, at this period monasticism dominated architecture; consequently it has been generally inferred that the monks themselves were the master builders and even the masons. Viollet-le-Duc found in this supposition the starting-point for his unfortunate idea of the secular cathedral; but the theory has been since followed by many writers who are far safer guides in historical matters. Thus Messrs. Enlart,[1] St. Paul, Ruprich-Robert,[2] Lavisse,[3] Moore,[4] Lenoir,[5] Montalembert,[6] all state this hypothesis as a fact beyond question. Yet it rests upon the slimmest sort of documentary evidence, and can be considered at most no more than a plausible conjecture.

In fact, the amount of documentary evidence that can be adduced on one side or on the other of this question is small. Nothing is more exasperating than the silence of the chroniclers on the subject. The formula is ever the same in all the hundreds and thousands of accounts of the construction of churches that have come down to us. Such and such an abbot began to build such and such a church in such and such a year. Did the abbot build himself with his own hands? Clearly not, since the same words are employed in the XIII century in connection

[1] *Man. d'Arch.* I, 62.
[2] *Arch. Norm.*, p. 248.
[3] *Hist. de France* II², 407.
[4] *Gothic Architecture*, p. 27.
[5] *Arch. Mon.*, p. 36.
[6] *Les Moines d'Occident* VI, p. 242 et seq.

with buildings which it is known were erected by a master builder. Consequently the verb "build" must be understood to mean "caused to be built." But who did the actual building?

The silence of the chroniclers on this point is so complete as to be unnatural. In all the voluminous records of the XII century no hint, no reference has betrayed the secret. Suger wrote two works on the construction of St. Denis; he relates all the details of the construction, the design of the stained glass windows, the quarries from which came the stone, the forests where the timber was obtained; but so carefully does he avoid all mention of this vital point, that his work may be taken as an argument on one side as much as on the other. Was the edifice constructed by monks who in humility refrained from passing their names on to posterity? This explanation might account for any individual case, even for the majority of cases. But it is impossible to believe that in all the XII century there would not have been some monk-artist so proud of his work that he would have allowed a tell-tale "my" to slip into his chronicle. And there was no reason why a chronicler who was not a master builder should have hidden his brother's light under a bushel. It is easier to account for this silence of the chroniclers by the habitual scorn of the ecclesiastic, and indeed of all the higher classes, for the bourgeois and serf. In consequence of this contempt, the clerks were doubtless little interested in the names of the workmen who carried out the construction of their abbey, and considered the memory of such serfs unworthy to transmit to posterity. The important man was the abbot who raised the resources, undertook a general supervision of the entire construction, and hired the artists. Since we know that this — in slightly less degree — was precisely the attitude of the chroniclers in the XIII century, in default of all positive evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that the historians of the XII did not mention lay builders, not because such did not exist, but because they did not consider them worthy of mention. In Gothic art, the work was everything, the artist nothing.

Against this argument it may be urged that it would have been quite the spirit of the times for the monks themselves to

undertake the work of building. In the Middle Ages the monk turned his hand to everything. Not only was he concerned with books and learning, but he also busied himself with all sorts of manual and practical labor. The painters of the XIII century in Italy were monks, and the illuminations of manuscripts testify to the survival throughout the medieval period of the finest artistic sense in the monasteries. Moreover in one case there is actual documentary proof that a monk of the XII century did direct building construction.

In 1110 Geoffroy, abbot of the Trinity at Vendôme, lent to Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, who was then reconstructing his cathedral, a monk named Jean, since the latter had the reputation of being an excellent master builder. Hildebert, in fact, was so pleased with his services that he was unwilling to send him back when the stipulated time was up. Geoffroy demanded his architect in vain; the bishop of Le Mans paid no attention to his remonstrances, and Jean remained with Hildebert in spite of the excommunication pronounced against him.[1]

This incident, and one or two others of similar character, the strongest evidence in favor of the theory that the XII century builders were monks, prove indeed that certain monks in the first half of the XII century were master builders. They do not prove that all master builders were monks. In the XIII century, in the full sway of the lay builders there is no reason to believe that monks may not occasionally have been architects, as they at times practised almost any profession. In England Alan of Walsingham is a conspicuous instance of an ecclesiastic who was also a master builder even in the late Gothic period.

With this text, moreover, should be placed another, which is so well known that I am surprised at never having seen it cited in this connection, a text which dates from the first half of the XI century and occurs in a description of Airard's reconstruction of St. Remi in Reims: "Therefore having summoned men who were said to be skilled in architecture . . . he com-

[1] Geoffridi abbatis Vindocinencis, *Ep.*, lib. III, ep. XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXI, cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis. M. Enlart (*Man. d'Arch.* I, 62) mentions one or two other instances of monk master builders.

menced to build." *Quapropter viris qui architecturae periti ferebantur ascitis . . . fabricam . . . erigere coepit.* The use of the word *viris*, men, instead of some word like monks or lay brothers seems to prove conclusively that these builders were laymen. A little further on in the same manuscript is found a similar passage — "This building he almost destroyed, but left certain foundations, which the *architects* thought would be useful for the future building" — "*Quo poene diruto et fundmentis quibusdam relictis, quae architectis visa sunt necessaria fore futuris aedificiis, divinam domum coepit.*"[1] If in the XI century and in the XIII there were lay architects, there is no reason to suppose that there were none in the XII century.

It has been argued that inasmuch as it is known that the guild of masons was organized in the XII century, it may be inferred that the secular trade originated at this same time. There is, however, not the slightest reason to suppose that the trade may not have long antedated the corporation. No one denies, for example, that butchers, bakers, and shoe-makers existed before Louis VII granted them charters, nor would any one think of ascribing these occupations exclusively to monks. Furthermore, if all the architects were ecclesiastics, who constructed the lay buildings of the XII century — the castles, the walls, the fortifications, the houses? — And who constructed the small country churches of the Ile de France where most of the great architectural discoveries of the XII century originated? And how were the laymen suddenly educated to take up this great work? How was it possible in a moment to call into being enough skilled masons and architects to cover all France with the vast cathedrals and churches of the early Gothic period? And why did the monks all at once cease to play the role of master builders? Until all these difficulties are explained, we are forced to assume that the building trades in the XII century, while doubtless less developed, were still not radically different in nature from those which we know existed in the XIII century.

In the Gothic period the relationship of master builder — the use of the word "architect" in the passage of Anselm cited

[1] For these texts in full see List of Monuments, p. 206.

above is altogether exceptional in medieval usage, and best avoided — to bishop or chapter was roughly parallel to that of the modern architect to his client. The master builder was decidedly a man of profession, who often traveled great distances in order to obtain important commissions. Thus even as early as 1174, William of Sens journeyed to England to apply for the work of rebuilding the cathedral of Canterbury, which had just been destroyed by fire. Villard de Honnecourt, a master builder of the second half of the XIII century, whose album of sketches has come down to us, went to Hungary to take charge of the building of a church. This same Villard de Honnecourt also seems to have traveled much for purely educational purposes, since his album contains sketches made at such widely separated centers as Laon, Reims, Chartres, and Lausanne. The sketches are usually accompanied by comments scrawled in the margin; thus opposite the towers of Laon which he especially admired, and which he carefully drew in plan and perspective, he added a note to the effect that he had traveled far and seen many towers, but none like those of Laon. The window tracery of Reims also struck his fancy and he jotted down that it was his intention to reproduce the design in the cathedral of Cambrai, which he was building at the time. Thus it is evident that the master builders moved about freely from place to place for education as well as for business, and readily undertook even long journeys to obtain commissions.

When a new construction of importance had been determined upon, the bishop or chapter or abbot, as the case might be, let the fact be known. Usually several applicants for the position of master builder would present themselves. From these was selected the one who made the most favorable impression — either as promising to carry out the work more economically, or as being the best qualified by previous training and experience. Other considerations, such as the pay demanded, or how much of the old edifice the various applicants promised to preserve, also influenced the selection.

After the successful candidate had been chosen, he entered into agreement with the ecclesiastical powers, and for a definite

wage undertook to carry out the stipulated construction.[1] Only in exceptional cases was there anything approaching a contract; as a general rule in the XIII century the master builder was paid a regular salary just as were the men who worked under him.

The services he must render in return for this wage were various. First of all he must make the drawings; for the modern impression that the medieval building was erected without drawn plans is entirely a flight of the imagination. The Gothic cathedral, in which the last stone of the vault was foreseen from the first stone of the foundations, could not possibly have been erected without the use of plans. Indeed it is probable that no medieval buildings were built in the haphazard way certain present-day writers love to picture, and that the use of architectural drawings survived, an unbroken tradition, from Antiquity to the Renaissance. There is extant a ground plan of the monastery of S. Gallo, dating from the IX century; and the album of Villard de Honnecourt, although a collection of traveler's sketches, rather than a series of architectural drawings, still serves to give an excellent idea of the kind of drawings made for a medieval cathedral.[2] These, we may be sure, were thoroughly unlike our modern architectural drawings, where more thought is given to the rendering than to the design, to the presentation than to the thought; where all the resources of another art are employed to hide the imperfections of the architecture. The medieval plans were plain, straightforward line drawings, made for use, not for display; doubtless sufficiently accurate for their purpose, but largely undetailed. The building was conceived as an entity, as an existing reality, in the master

[1] There were often suits and difficulties on this score. See for example the Inventaire of Vernon cited by De la Balle: "Item en une boïte ronde, signée xxj est un procès devant l'abbé de St. Magloire, men entre le chapitre de Vernon et Me Jean Antabour, maçon, maistre des oeuvres pour le Roy, à cause du cuer de l'église dont lors fut marché fait avec le dit maistre Jehan d'abattre le vielle maçonnerie des voustes du choeur et rediffier; lesquelles choses sont plus au large contenues en dit procès, et ne fut pas la dite ouvrage faite ainsy que le marché le contenait et peut estre gardé pour autre avis sur la perfection de l'ouvrage encommencé si on la voulait parfaire, et fut iceluy procès mis et discuté devant le dit abé de Saint Magloire, comme fuge donné à l'église de Vernon par vertu de la bulle cy devant enregistrée et coltée en la boïtte cy devant xvij. Lequel procès fut mis devant le dit abé l'an 1380.

[2] There are extant also several other architectural drawings of the XIII century. A list of these is given by M. Enlart, *Man. d'Arch.* I, 65.

builder's brain; the plan was merely a sketch to assist in the execution. (Ill. 216.)

Beside the drawings it is altogether probable that the master builders prepared models of their buildings. Such models were common in classical times. Dr. Bendorf[1] publishes several Greek coins and reliefs on which are represented such building models, held in the hands of various personages, doubtless as votive offerings, and an actual example of an ancient building model has lately come to light in Ephesus. Since, therefore, building models were employed in Antiquity and in the Renaissance, there seems no reason to doubt that they were used also in the Middle Ages. Indeed, Mr. Frothingham[2] has just discovered what he believes to be the original model for the church of St. Maclou, Rouen; if this model should prove to be genuine it would establish the fact that building models were employed at least in the flamboyant period.

The duties of the master builder, far from ending with the preparation of drawings and models, demanded that he should supervise the entire construction to the most minute detail. He accordingly went to live in the town where his work was situated, and never deserted his charge until the work was finished, or, as often happened, his own life ended first.[3] One building thus became his life work; on this one production was concentrated all his energy, all his thoughts, all his ability. Such singleness of purpose must have meant a whole-souled devotion to art such as we of the XX century can hardly imagine.

It was only human nature that this lofty ideal should not always be realized; and that master builders at times fell from grace is revealed by an interesting passage in the Chronicle of Bec: "Therefore when the foundations had been laid deep, the abbot himself surrounded by his monks laid the first stone of the foundations on the first day of Lent; and Ingebram, master builder of Notre Dame of Rouen, directed and aided in the construction. And to his superintendence the abbot entrusted

[1] *Jh. Oesterr. Arch.* I, V, 1902, pp. 175–195.

[2] *Architectural Record*, August, 1907.

[3] When the edifice was small, and after c. 1250, the master builder frequently did not reside, but merely visited the construction at stipulated intervals.

the beginning and care of that work, and for the first year Ingebram worked hard at the building, and constructed it with great success, altering the façade and increasing the length of the nave and wonderfully adorning it with two broad towers; but after a year and a half he commenced to absent himself occasionally, neglecting the work and not finishing it as he had promised. When the abbot saw and understood this, he took wise council, and, when now a year and eight months had passed, he removed Ingebram from the sacred place, and handed the work over to the master builder Walter of Melun, who finished it in the third year." [1]

This passage shows that the relation of master builder and client was a very close one — a fact also made evident in Gervase's account of the rebuilding of Canterbury. The responsibility of the abbot or bishop did not end when the master builder was engaged. On the contrary, he watched carefully every detail, saw to providing building materials, and frequently interfered even in purely architectural and artistic matters. At St. Denis, Suger, the abbot, directed where and how work should be begun, decided from what quarries stone should be taken, devised how to procure suitable columns, and hunted in the forests for timber. He even superintended the details of the design of the stained glass windows.

This strict control exercised by the ecclesiastical authorities explains the eminently scholastic character of the Gothic church. The master builder and the clerk walked hand in hand. The function of the former was not to dictate, to impose his artistic conception on the priest; he was simply an expert, a man with practical experience called in to execute the desired work in the best manner possible, to oversee the workmen, and to under-

[1] Igitur jactis in altum fundamentis, ipse manibus suis primum lapidem circumstante conventu suo super fundamentum posuit, prima die lunae quadragesimae procurante et coöperante Ingebramno magistro operis Beatae Mariae Rothom. Cujus consilio se commisit ad illud opus inchoandum et procurandum, idem vero Ingebrannus viriliter agens opus inceptum primo anno cum magna virtute aedificavit, et frontem ecclesiae et navem in longitudinem auxit, et duabus amplissimis turribus mirefice adornavit; peracto autem anno et semi, retraxit se aliquantulum opus retardando et non, ut promiserat, perficiendo. Quo viso et comperto abbas, sapienti usus consilio, jam uno anno et octo mensibus expletis, amoto Ingebramno foro sancto, tradidit illud opus ad perficiendum magistro Walterio de Mellente qui tertio anno adduxit. — Beati Lanfranci, *Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1648.

take those matters for which the bishop or abbot lacked the requisite technical knowledge. How close this union of client and master builder was, the thoroughly ecclesiastical character of the cathedral itself is the best witness. That disagreements, disputes, and misunderstandings of various kinds should arise was only natural, but in all such altercations the ecclesiastical authorities always retained the upper hand. It is amusing to read in Gervase what infinite tact William of Sens was forced to employ to persuade the reluctant monks that it was necessary to destroy the charred fragments of the glorious choir of Conrad.[1]

Also the relationship of the master builder to the men under him was far closer than that existing between the modern architect and the laborers. The medieval master builder not only superintended everything connected with the building — the quarrying of the stone, the stereotomy, the construction of scaffolds and centerings — but he seems also to have labored much with his own hands. Willliam of Sens, called from France to direct the construction of the cathedral of Canterbury, was seriously injured by falling from the scaffold; and the entire tone of Gervase's account of the activities of this master builder gives the impression that he actually performed with his own hands much manual labor. However, that master builders who confined their activity to merely directing the construction from afar were not unknown, especially in the latter part of the Middle Ages, seems to be shown by two texts. The first, a curious mixture of bad Latin and old French, is from a sermon of Nicolas of Berne [2] and may thus be translated: "The master builders with rule and compass in hand, say to others, 'Cut this here for me,' and do not work themselves, and yet they receive higher pay, like many modern prelates." The second is even more explicit: "Sqme work by word alone. For take notice. In great buildings there is usually a single master builder who directs the construction by word alone,

[1] For this text see List of Monuments under Canterbury in Vol. III.

[2] Published in the *Romania* of 1889, p. 289. Magistri cementarium virgam et cyrothecas in manibus habentes, aliis dicunt: Par ci le me taille, et nihil laborant; et tamen majorem mercedem accipiunt, quod faciunt multi moderni prelati.

and seldom or never does manual labor, but nevertheless he receives higher pay than the others. So there are many in the Church who possess fat benefices, but God knows what good they do; they work by their tongue alone, saying 'thus you ought to do,' but themselves do not so at all." [1]

This last text, it should be noticed, is of the XIV century, and the increased dignity for the office of master builder that it implies is part of a distinct evolution of which we catch glimpses now and then across the darkness of the centuries. In the early part of the XII century the master builder seems to have been merely a workman not distinguished from his fellows by the chroniclers. At the end of the same century William of Sens had risen to a certain amount of importance, but was still distinctly an artisan. In the XIII century Villard de Honnecourt was an educated man; he traveled over most of Europe and was able to write. The master builder had ceased to be a laborer and had become a man of profession. From this moment he stepped more and more into prominence; he occupied an ever-increasing space in literary records, and in the flamboyant period very frequently signed his work by an inscription placed in a conspicuous position upon the edifice. In the period of the Renaissance the evolution of the modern architect was completed.

Nothing could be more interesting than to know to just what extent the master builder of the XIII century supervised the carving of the sculpture and floral ornament. Did he merely turn over to separate artisans the spaces to be adorned with sculptured ornament, and allow these artists to execute designs of their own fancy? The assertion has been many times repeated by modern writers. I should, however, hesitate to affirm it. Although the evidence that has come down to us of this subject is scarcely sufficient to permit a positive judgment, the sketch book of Villard de Honnecourt certainly seems no less occupied with studies for statues and ornamental sculp-

[1] Operantur aliqui solo verbo. Nota. In istis magnis aedificiis solet esse unus magister principalis qui solum ordinat ipso verbo, raro aut nunquam apponit manum et tamen accepit majora stipendia aliis. Sic multi sunt in ecclesia qui habent pinguia beneficia et Deus scit quantum faciant de bono; operantur in ea solum lingua dicentes, "Sic debetis facere" et ipsi nihil horum faciunt. — *Vib. Nat.* fo. 30, col. 2, no. 16490.

ture than with mechanical engines and architecture proper. This fact certainly implies that in the thought of the Middle Ages the arts were not separated. The strict unity of architecture, statuary, and ornament so noticeable in the early buildings rather confirms this impression.[1] But to decide definitely this question we should have to know much more than it is probable that we ever can know about the workmen of the Middle Ages, and their methods.

For the medieval laborer has left few traces on the page of history. Who were these masons? Were they local workmen or, like the master builders, did they move about from place to place? Were there several degrees and qualities among them, one mixing mortar, another carrying stone, a third carving capitals, a fourth executing sculpture? Unless some long forgotten text, hidden among the musty chronicles, be discovered to reveal these secrets, however much we may conjecture, we can never know the inner workings of the construction of the Gothic cathedral.

A chance fact that has come down to us here and there serves only to make more confusing the maze that would mean so much, could it only be unraveled. It is known, for example, that the masons, like the tanners, the bakers, or the butchers were united in guilds or corporations.[2] Unfortunately, however, this particular guild seems to have left little trace of its nature and peculiarities. The usual character of the medieval guild is familiar enough — a body of artisans who possessed the monopoly of trade in a particular town,[3] banded together to

[1] This thought has been finely expressed by Herr Vöge: — Was sich jedoch aus der kunstlerichen Kritik dieser [Chartreren] Skulpturen unmittelbar abnehmen lässt, ist nicht die mönchische Herkunft, sondern die unbedingte Unterordnung der Künstler unter die Architektur. Wenn die Werkmeister, die hier nacheinander die plastischen Arbeiten für das Portal geleitet haben, wenn der Chartrerer Hauptmeister und der "Meister der beiden Madonnen" nicht geradezu zu identificieren sind mit den Baumeistern die zu der selben Zeit an der Kathedrale thätig waren, so standen sie jedenfalls unter ihrer unmittelbaren Leitung. Dass sich die Skulpturen als eine abgeschlossene Kaste von Künstlern aus der Menge der übrigen Werkleute heraushoben, dafür fehlt, wie wir sahen, jeder Anhalt. Die technische Leitung der Bauten lag hier aber allem Anschien nach in der Hand von Laienbaumeistern denn wir finden bereits in der ältesten Redaktion des Chartrerer Necrologiums mehrere Künstler der Kathedrale bei Namen genannt." — p. 282.

[2] The little which is known of the guild of masons has been ably summarized by M. Enlart, *Man. d'Arch.* I, 68.

[3] Uniformity did not exist in the Middle Ages in the organization of labor. It is usually

advance their common interests. The guild was headed by a chief officer, usually elected by vote, whose duty it was to protect the interests of the association. These corporations were often "close" and "hereditary"; that is to say, no one might practise the given trade unless he belonged to the corporation, and none could belong to the corporation unless his father had belonged before him, and unless he himself had served a long period of apprenticeship. The members of the guild lived in a separate quarter or street, and formed, in fact, a community by themselves.

It seems as if the guild of the masons could not have conformed very closely to this general type. This guild, it is known, was "free" — that is, no fee was demanded of those who entered the trade. But with the exception of the legitimate sons of masters, each novice had to serve an apprenticeship of six years, and no master was allowed to have more than one apprentice. The great number of skilled workmen required to construct a cathedral could hardly have found sufficient work to support them in the city when works on the church were not in progress. It is therefore probable that, like the master builders, they moved about from place to place, probably with their wives and families. But did they move in mass, in great bands? The fact of the corporation seems to imply it, for it is difficult to see how a guild could exist, if the members were constantly shifting from one city to another. And in what relationship could the master builder have stood to these corporations? Was he merely the chief man of the band elected by his fellows? What is known of the master builders seems to contradict such an hypothesis.

But it is the part of wisdom to trim sail at this point and to venture no farther upon that sea of conjectures which the mysteries of this period open up to us. For once launched upon these unknown waters — especially if the helmsmen be of a senti-

imagined that all the trades were formed into "close" corporations, that is to say into privileged companies having the absolute monopoly of manufacture and sale. This is an error even for the XV century; much more so for the XII or XIII. The organization of a close corporation did not by any means always imply the suppression of independent artisans. The guilds, moreover, were often not hereditary until the XV century, although sons might follow their fathers' calling. — Lavisse, *Hist. de France* IV,² pp. 132, 136, 137.

mental turn of mind, — there is no telling on what imaginative shores we may not bring up. Hidden away beneath the dust and mould of centuries, there doubtless yet survives many a medieval manuscript unknown and unpublished. Some day there may be brought to light one of these that will reveal much that is now dark in the methods and customs of the medieval builders. Until such time we can only wait — solaced, perhaps, by the negative comfort that this is far from being the only mystery enclosed beneath the silent vaults of the medieval cathedral. These venerable monuments indeed are full of mysteries — mysteries so deep and incomprehensible that their very existence has been unsuspected. Every year the world is surprised when the researches of some scholar bring to light some new perfection, some unexpected beauty; and however much these piles are studied, however carefully they are scrutinized, there seems always to remain an inexhaustible supply of new beauties undiscovered. And even should the last and most minute of the detailed perfections — some day in the very far future — be disclosed, yet, after all, the chief mystery, the miracle of miracles — the Gothic cathedral itself — would still remain to baffle men; for this mystery, in all its complexity, in all its symbolism, in all its manifold beauty, the human mind is hardly large enough or broad enough to master.

MONUMENTS OF THE TRANSITION

First Class Monuments

ST. DENIS, Seine. *Abbaye.* (Ill. 169, 191, 246.) This, the most important of all transitional monuments, is surpassed in historical, archaeological, and artistic interest by few churches of Europe. Founded by Dagobert (628–638), St. Denis has ever been the royal abbey of France, enriched by the munificence, and protected by the favor, of her kings, who almost without exception here found their burial place. There was a tradition that the basilica which Suger rebuilt in the XII century was the very church erected by Dagobert, and this pious legend Suger, with the characteristic diplomacy of the Church, did not correct, although several of the numerous texts which prove that the edifice was reconstructed at the end of the VIII century must have been before the eyes of the venerable abbot. Thus a couplet of Alcuin records: "This beloved house of God was renewed with great splendor, as thou seest, reader,

in his [Fulrad's († 784)] time".[1] Another text refers to " . . . the church of St. Denis where that precious master with his disciples rests in body, and over which rules the abbot Fulrad, — a church which, by the aid of Christ, we [Charlemagne] built anew, and ordered to be dedicated with great splendor."[2] A third states that: "When the basilica of the saints, which had been begun by King Pippin after the first church was detroyed, had been rebuilt in greater splendor by Charlemagne his successor . . . and when the tower had been finished, the bells, as is customary, were hung."[3] This church of c. 780 with its bell towers[4] doubtless stood until the middle of the XII century, when Suger determined to erect a new edifice. That abbot himself has left us no less than two works relating in great detail the story of this reconstruction; of these it is possible to quote here only a few of the more significant passages: — "The glorious and famous king of the Franks, Dagobert, . . . with remarkable generosity ordered that the church of the saints be built with regal munificence, and he not only made splendid the building with a marvelous variety of marble columns, but he also enriched it with bountiful treasures of the purest gold and silver, and caused to be hung on the walls and columns and arches tapestries woven with gold and adorned with many sorts of jewels. This church, as far as its ornaments went, seemed to excel all others, and in every way to shine with incomparable radiance, and to surpass in gorgeous decoration the beauty of the whole world; and yet in this one thing alone was lacking, that it did not have the large dimensions needful. Not that the devotion or good will of the founder was in any way blameworthy, for doubtless at that early time no church had yet been built greater, or even as great. . . . Therefore, with the help of God, we energetically set to work in the front part of the church, on the north side by the central doorway of the main portal, whose span was narrowed on both sides by twin towers, for these towers, not high nor especially beautiful, threatened ruin; and here we laid very firm foundations for a new entrance and new twin towers. . . . Meanwhile, we became anxious about the harmony of the edifice, fearing that a lack of unity between the old and the new work might be apparent. Therefore we took thought, and devised, and searched through different regions of remote countries, seeking columns of marble or something to take their place. When we found nothing, one resource only seemed left to us in our perplexity, and that was to have columns sent to us from the city (for at Rome in the Palace of Diocletian and in the other baths we had often seen wonderful columns)

[1] Haec domus alma dei magno est renovata decore,
Ut cernis, lector, tempore quippe suo. — Alcuini, *Carm.*, 92.
See also Fardulfi, *Carmina* II, 4.

[2] . . . ad ecclesiam s. Dionisii ubi ipse praeciosus Dominus cum sociis suis corpore quiescunt et venerabilis vir Fulradus abbas praecesse videtur, et nos, Christo propitio, a novo aedificavimus opere, et modo cum magno decore iussimus dedicari. — Karl d. Gr. Urk. für St. Denis, 775, Febr. 25, M. 175, cit. Schlosser, 211.

[3] Cum basilicam sanctorum (diruta priore, quae coepta Pippino rege) augustius a Karolo regni successore consummata est, opifices architectarentur, unus clavorum, quibus tecto tabulae adfigebantur cecedit. . . . Basilicae fabrica completa, impositaque turri, in qua signa, ut moris est, penderent. . . . — *Miracula S. Dionysii*, c. 14, 15, cit. Schlosser, 211.

[4] There were in fact two towers flanking the west façade, as the account of Suger proves. See below, p. 198.

by ship through the Mediterranean Sea and by way of England and the tortuous windings of the Seine; for thus we thought to obtain them at the expense of our friends but by the labor of our enemies the Saracens. . . . [However, by a miracle a quarry was discovered near at hand, as is described in a passage here omitted.] . . . When the work had thus been practically finished, and the new and old buildings joined into one, then we laid aside the great fear we had long entertained on account of the threatened ruin of the old construction, and we joyfully repaired the cracks which had appeared in the capitals and bases of the columns. After that we consulted the local carpenters and those of Paris about finding beams [for the roof], but all replied — as they thought, truthfully — that large enough beams could not be found in our country owing to the lack of forests, but that they must be brought from Auxerre. . . . [Nevertheless, by another miracle, twelve trees of sufficient size were found.] . . . Constantly encouraged in our labor by such and so manifest tokens of divine favor, we energetically pressed on to the completion of the work, until at last the new structure was ready for the solemn consecration which took place as I have described above. . . . The date of this consecration . . . is commemorated by an inscription, that may still be read over the portal (unless it has become effaced) — an inscription whose letters we gilded in the honor of God and the saints: — 'It was in the year one thousand one hundred and forty of the Word, when this was consecrated.' After that . . . consecration, partly because our zeal was kindled by its own happy accomplishments, partly because of our love for the saints who had so long been oppressed by the unbearably small size of the church, we determined to abandon the work I have just described; to defer the completion of the towers and upper parts; to proceed instead to enlarge, according to the best of our ability, the main body of the church, in which, though so small, divine Providence had gathered so much nobility — so many mighty kings and pious abbots; and to carry out this reconstruction in a manner as logical and beautiful as could be done. And we communicated this thought to our very devoted brothers, 'whose hearts straightway burned with Jesus while he talked to them by the way,'[1] and after deliberation with them, by the inspiration of God, we decided that, because of that dedication which, as the blessed scriptures bear witness, God has decreed shall take place when a church has been enlarged — even though it had formerly been consecrated, — we should remove for a time the relics from the ancient choir and begin to ennoble with the beauty of length and breadth the church that, under the pressure of such urgent necessity, we had begun to build anew. And after deliberation it was agreed that that higher part that stood above the apse and contained the bodies of our masters, the saints, should be renewed as far as the upper part of the vault of the crypt on which it stood. . . . It was planned with the greatest nicety by means of arithmetical and geometrical instruments to make the length of the arches of the main arcade — that is, the distance between the bases of the great piers (these piers rested on the piers of the crypt) — the same in the new addition, as in the ancient nave of the church, so that there might be no unpleasant contrast between the larger bays of the older portions of the edifice and the smaller bays of the new; however, we introduced a beautiful and

[1] Luke xxiv. 32.

praiseworthy innovation in the circle of chapels, *i.e.*, the ambulatory, which at present causes the whole interior, bathed in the wonderful and graduated light shed by the holy windows, to shine in beauty. . . . Fearing lest God should justly complain of us 'thine eyes did see my substance being yet imperfect,'[1] we hurried the work on, at great expense, employing summer and winter a large number of workmen, and at length, by divine aid, we finished it. . . . Nor did we think that we ought to remain silent in regard to the following fact. When the walls of the new addition had been carried up to their full height, — that is to the level of the capitals of the vaulting shafts — but while the ribs were still standing by themselves and had not yet been reinforced by the construction of the vault, a terrible and unendurable tempest arose, with dark masses of clouds and floods of rain and a sudden, most powerful rush of wind. And this storm increased in violence so that it blew down stout houses and even stone towers and wooden battlements. During this tempest, which occurred on the anniversary of the glorious king Dagobert, Ganfred, the venerable bishop of Chartres, was celebrating a high mass for the repose of that monarch's soul at the principal altar of the abbey, when there came such a force of opposing winds dashing against the arches, which were in no way propped up, nor supported by any scaffolding, that shaking miserably and swaying backwards and forwards they menaced sudden and disastrous ruin. But when the bishop perceived that the walls were in danger of falling he many times extended his hand in benediction towards that part of the church, and courageously raised his arm against the blast, making the sign of St. Simeon, since manifestly no firmness of his own, but only the mercy of God and the merit of the saints could avert the impending ruin. And lo! although much damage was done to many neighboring buildings, placed, it was believed, in the safest places, but not protected by divine favor, no mischief befell the new arches of the abbey trembling at the height of the sun. At length the end of our arduous labor made fitting a new consecration of the church . . . and . . . we decided that this should take place upon the second Sunday of June, which fell upon the 11th day of the month, [1144]."[2]

[1] Psalms cxxxix, 16.

[2] Gloriosus et famosus rex Francorum Dagobertus . . . basilicam sanctorum regia munificentia fabricatum iri affectu mirabili imperavit. Quam cum mirifica marmorearum columnarum varietate componens, copiosis purissimi auri et argenti thesauris inaestimabiliter locupletasset, ipsiusque parietibus et columnis et arcubus auro tectas vestes, margaritarum varietatibus multipliciter exornatas, suspendi fecisset, quatinus aliarum ecclesiarum ornamentis praecellere videretur, et omni modis incomparabili nitore vernans, et omni terra pulchritudine compta inaestimabili decore splendesceret, hoc solum ei defuit, quod quam oporteret magnitudinem non admisit. Non quod aliquid ejus devotioni aut voluntati deesset, sed quod forsitan tunc temporis in primitiva ecclesia nulla adhuc aut major aut aequalis existeret. . . . Quia igitur in anteriori parte, ab aquilone, principali ingressu principalium valvarum, porticus arctus, hinc et inde gemellis, nec altis, nec aptis multum, sed minantibus ruinam, turribus angebatur, ea in parte initio directae testitudinis et geminarum turrium robusto valde fundamento materiali . . . laborare strenue Deo coöperante incoepimus. . . . In agendis siquidem hujus modi, aprime de convenientia et cohaerentia antiqui et novi operis sollicitus unde marmoreas aut marmoreis aequipollentes haberemus columnas, cogitando, speculando, investigando per diversas partium remotarum regiones, cum nullam offenderemus, hoc solum mente laborantibus et animo supererat, ut ab urbe (Romae enim in palatio Diocletiani et aliis termes [lege, thermis] saepe

Equally significant is the account of the building of St. Denis that Suger has left us in his works on his administration. I translate some of the more important passages beginning with Section XXV: — "Now . . . on festivals, such as those of St.

mirabiles conspexeramus) ut per mare Mediterraneum, tuta classe, exinde per Anglicum et per tortuosam fluvii Sequanae reflexionem, eas magno sumptu amicorum, inimicorum etiam Sarracenorum proximorum conductu haberemus. . . . Peracto siquidem magna et parte opere, et compactis novi et antiqui aedificii tabulatis, magnoque deposito quem diu habueramus timore, propter illas patulas antiquarum maceriarum rimas, magnorum capitellorum et basium columnas deportantium disruptionem exhilarati, deaptare sollicitabamur. Cumque pro trabium inventione tam nostros quam Parisienses lignorum artifices consuluissemus, responsum nobis est pro eorum existimatione verum, in finibus istis propter silvarum inopiam minime inveniri posse, vel ab Autissiodorensi pago necessari devehi oportere. . . . Tantis itaque et tam manifestis tantorum operum intersigniis constanter animati, ad praefati perfectionem aedificii instanter properantes, quomodo et quibus personis et quod valde solemniter Deo omnipotenti consecraretur . . . decantabamus. . . . De termino vero haec est veritatis consistentia, sicut legitur, si tamen non obscuretur, in aureo super portas quas ad honorem Dei et sanctorum deauratas fieri fecimus, epitaphio:

Annus millesimus centenus et quadragenus
Annus erat verbi, quando sacrata fuit.

Igitur post illam . . . consecrationem, nostra qua tam ex ipsa sui prosperitate animabatur devotio, quam ipsa cura sanctorum quos tanto tempore tam intolerabiliter opprimebat coarctatio, votum nostrum illo convertit: ut praefato vacantes operi, turriumque differendo prosecutionem in superiori parte, augmentationi matris ecclesiae operam et impensam pro toto posse, pro gratiarum actione, eo quod tantillo tantorum regum et abbatum nobilitati succedenti tantum opus divina dignatio reservasset, quam decentius, quam gloriosus rationabiliter effici possit fieri inniteremur. Communicato siquidem cum fratis nostris bene devotis consilio quorum "cor ardens de Jesu dum loqueretur eis in via" hoc Deo inspirante deliberando elegimus, ut propter eam quam divina operatio, sicut veneranda scripta testantur, propria et manuali extensione ecclesiae consecrationi antiquae imposuit benedictionem, ipsis sacratis lapidibus tanquam reliquiis deferremus, illam quae tanta exigente necessitate novitas inchoaretur, longitudinis et latitudinis pulchritudine inniteremur nobilitare. Consultati siquidem decretum est illam altiori inaequalem, quae super absidem sanctorum dominorum nostrorum corpora retinentem operiebat, renovari voltam usque ad superficiem criptae cui adhaerebat. . . . Provisum est sagiciter ut superioribus columnis et arcubus mediis qui in inferioribus in cripta fundatis superponerentur, geometricis et aritmeticis instrumentis medium antiquae testitudinis ecclesiae augmenti novi medio aequaretur, nec minus antiquarum quantitas aliarum novarum quantitati adaptaretur; excepto illo urbano et approbato in circuitu oratorium incremento, quo tota sacratissimarum vitrearum luce miribili et continua interiorem perlustrante pulchritudinem eniteret . . . Insistentes igitur per triennium multo sumptu, populoso operariorum conventu, aestate et hieme, operis perfectioni, ne nobis conqueri Deo "Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui" jure oporteret, admodum ipso coöperante proficiebamus. . . . Nec illud etiam silere dignum duximus, quod dum praefatum novi augmenti opus capitellis et arcubus superioribus et ad altitudinis cacumen produceretur, cum necdum principales arcus singulariter veluti voltarum cumulo cohaererent, terribilis et pene tolerabilis obnubilatione nubium inundatione imbrium, impetu validissimo ventorum subito tempestatis exorta est procella; quae usque adeo invaluit ut non solum valiidas domos, sed etiam lapideas turres et ligneas tristegas concusserit. Ea tempestate, quadam die anniversario gloriosi Dagoberti regis, cum venerabilis Carnotensis episcopus Ganfredus missas gratiarum pro anima ejusdem in conventu ad altare principale festive celebraret, tantus oppositorum ventorum impetus praefatos arcus nullo suffultos podio, nullis renitentes suffragiis impingebat, ut miserabiliter tremuli, et quasi hinc et inde fluctuantes subito pestiferam

Denis or of Lendit [1] and many others, the inadequacy of our church was very apparent, for owing to the small size of the building the women in order to reach the altar were forced to walk upon the heads of the men as upon a pavement, all of which caused great inconvenience and a loud uproar. Therefore I undertook to enlarge the abbey, notwithstanding that it was a noble structure consecrated by the divine hand; but before doing so I sought the advice of wise men and the prayers of many monks, being fearful lest haply such an act might be displeasing to God and the holy martyrs. . . . We commenced work at the entrance portals, tearing down a certain addition which had been erected with funds donated by Charlemagne on an appropriate occasion, and, as shall appear hereafter, we continued to labor incessantly at enlarging the principal gable, the triple entrance portal, and the high stout towers. . . . And we summoned skilled modelers and sculptors, who erected the central doors in which were sculptured the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension; and these statues we caused to be gilded at great expense, as was suitable for a monumental entrance. And we hung new doors in the right hand portal, but in the left hand portal we retained the old doors underneath the mosaic, which contrary to custom, we had made anew and placed in the tympanum of the arch. Furthermore we caused the tower and the upper part of the gable to be ornamented in many colors, partly for decoration, and partly because this was useful and fitting; and that the year of the consecration might not be forgotten, we inscribed the following legend over the portal in letters gilded with copper: — 'For the adornment of the church which nourished and educated him, Suger labored. One of thy monks, and a follower of thee, St. Denis, he prays that thou ask for him a share in Paradise. It was the year of the word one thousand, one hundred and forty, when this was consecrated.' In the same year, encouraged by so holy and successful a labor, we began to enlarge the farther part of the house of the Lord (*i.e.*, the choir) in which it had often been necessary to celebrate in secret the sacraments of our Judge and Redeemer, that these might not be profaned by the disturbance of the multitude. . . . How efficaciously the hand of God rules in such matters, is certainly proved by the fact that such a glorious work as this entire magnificent building was completed in three years and three months from the crypt below to the topmost summit of the vault, together with its great variety of arches and columns. . . . When it had been finished the inscription recording the former consecration was changed in one word only, and the couplet was made to conclude thus: — 'It was the year of the word one thousand one hundred and forty-four, when this was consecrated.'" . . . After this, when, according to the per-

minarentur ruinam. Quorum quidem operturarumque impulsionem cum espiscopus expavesceret, saepe manum benedictionis in ea parte extendebat, et brachum sancti senis Simeonis signando instanter opponebat, ut manifeste nulla sui constantia, sed sola Dei pietate et Sanctorum merito ruinam evadere appareret. Sicque cum multis in locis firmissimis, ut putabatur, aedificiis multa ruinarum incommoda intulisset, virtute repulsa divina, titubantibus in alto solis et recentibus arcubus nihil proferre praevalnit incommodi. . . . Urgebat deinceps novae fieri consecrationem ecclesiae tam operis laboriosa consummatio quam nostra . . . et . . . diem agendi secunda junii dominica, videlicet III idus . . . consulte assignavimus. — Sugerii, *De Consecratione* II–VI, passim.

[1] A fair held at St. Denis on the 11th of June.

suasion of some, we should have turned our energy to finishing the tower of the west façade, whose lower portions had been already completed, the will of God (as we think) induced us instead to begin to rebuild and make harmonious with the new work on either side the middle part of the church, which is called the nave. Nevertheless, we preserved a certain portion of the ancient walls, — those parts on which the highest priest, the Lord Jesus Christ, placed his hand, according to the witness of writers of old; and thus, while reverencing the ancient construction, we made the old work harmonious with the new. . . .[1] Of the church immortalized by the descriptions of

[1] XXV. Verum, cum jam hoc ipsam multo sumptu compleretur, inspirante divino mutu, propter eam quam saepe diebus festis, videlicet in festo beati Dionysii et in Indicto, et in aliis quam plurimis, et videbamus et sentiebamus importunitatem (exigebat enim loci angustia ut mulieres super capita virorum, tamquam super pavimentum, ad altare dolore multo et clamoso tumultu currerent), ad augmentandum et amplificandum nobile manuque divina consecratum monasterium, virorum sapientium consilio, religiosorum multorum precibus, ne Deo sanctisque Martyribus displicerat, adjutus, hoc ipsum incipere aggrediebar. . . . Accessimus igitur ad priorem valvarum introitum et deponentes augmentum quoddam, quod a Karolo Magno factum perhibebatur honesta satis occasione . . . ibidem manum apposuimus et quemadmodum apparet, et in amplificatione corporis ecclesiae, et introitus et valvarum triplicatione, turrium altarum et honestarum erectione instanter desudavimus. XXVII. Valvas siquidem principales, accitis fusoribus et electis sculptoribus, in quibus passio Salvatoris et resurrectio vel ascensio continetur, multis expensis, multo sumptu in earum deauratione, ut nobili porticui conveniebat, ereximus. Necon et alias in dextera parte novas, in sinistra vero antiquas sub musivo, quod et novum contra usum hic fieri et in arcu portae imprimi elaboravimus. Turrim etiam et superiora frontis propugnacula, tam ad ecclesiae decorem quam et utilitatem si opportunitas exigeret, variari condiximus; litteris etiam cupro deauratis consecrationis annum intitulari, ne oblivioni traderetur praecepimus hoc modo:

Ad decus ecclesiae, quae fovit et extulit illum,
Sugerius studuit ad decus ecclesiae.
Deque tuo tibi participans, martyr Dionysi,
Orat ut exores fore participem Paradisi.
Annus millenus et centenus quadragenus
Annus erat verbi, quando sacrata fuit.

XXVIII. Eodem vero anno, tam sancto et tam fausto opere exhilarati, ad inchoandam in superiori parte divinae propitiationis cameram, in qua jugis et frequens redemptionis nostrae hostia absque turbarum molestia secreto immolari debeat, acceleravimus. . . . Quod quidem gloriosum opus quantum divina manus in talibus operosa protexerit, certum est etiam argumentum, quod in tribus annis et tribus mensibus totum illud magnificum opus, et in inferiore cripta et in superiore voltarum sublimitate, tot arcuum et columnarum distinctione variatum, etiam operturae integrum supplementum admiserit. Unde etiam epitaphium prioris consecrationis una sola sublata dictione, hujus etiam annalem terminum concludit hoc modo:

Annus millenus et centenus quadragenus
Quartus erat Verbi quando sacrata fuit.

. . . Quo facto cum quorumdam persuasione ad turrim anterioris partis prosecutionem studium nostrum contulissemus, jam in altera parte peracta, divina, sicut credimus, voluntas ad hoc ipsum nos retraxit, ut mediam ecclesiae testitudinem, quam dicunt navim, innovare et utrique innovato operi conformare et coaequare aggrederemur; reservata tamen quantacumque portione de parietibus antiquis, quibis summus pontifex Dominus Jesus Christus testimonio antiquorum scriptorum manum apposuerat, ut et antiquae consecrationis reverentia, et moderno operi juxta tenorem coeptum congrua cohaerentia servaretur. . . . XXXIV. Chorum etiam fratrum,

Suger, there survive only the façade and the ambulatory, — the latter contains the earliest known example of broken rib vaults, — the remainder of the edifice having been destroyed when the upper portions of the choir and the nave were rebuilt c. 1231. This reconstruction of the XIII century, if it is responsible for the loss of the priceless work of Suger, has still left us one of the sublime masterworks of Gothic art. The glazed triforium is perhaps the earliest extant example of such a construction; the beautiful window tracery is almost rayonnant in style; all the details are of exquisite perfection. The ancient north tower was torn down in 1843. (Von Bezold.)

SENS, Yonne. *Église Métropolitaine St. Étienne.* (Ill. 168, 179, 192.) The documentary evidence for the date of this cathedral is slight. It is known that in 1124 the archbishop Henri-le-Sanglier commenced a reconstruction of the edifice;[1] that the nave must have been tenantable in 1140, since the council which condemned Abelard here met; that in 1163 the pope Alexander III consecrated the altar;[2] and that in 1184 the city was ravaged by a fire, which, however, there is no particular reason to suppose damaged the cathedral. From this scanty information it would be natural to conclude that the rebuilding begun in 1124 was far advanced by 1140, and finished about 1163; but a passage in Gallia Christiana[3] flatly contradicts this, stating that works were begun in 1140. Internal evidence strongly supports the latter authority, for the lower portions of the monument are clearly about contemporary with St. Denis, as has been recognized by Viollet-le-Duc, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Herr von Bezold, and many other archaeologists. The vaults, the clearstory, and the western façade, however, seem to have been reconstructed later, about the middle of the XIII century, doubtless in consequence of a fire, some traces of which are still visible. The original edifice consisted of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, a chevet, an ambulatory, and a single eastern lady chapel — the last a distinctly Burgundian feature. Whether transepts existed in the XII century is doubtful. On the one hand the existing transepts, flamboyant in style, are doubtless of the XV century, furthermore, according to M. Vaudin-Bataille,[4] excavations of 1866 brought to light the foundations of an intermediate pier placed upon their axis — a fact which would seem to prove that the present transepts replace a double bay of the original nave. This evidence is supported by the design of the piers of the crossing, which is identical with that of the regular alternate piers. On the other hand, if this view is accepted, a difficulty arises in regard to the transeptal chapels, one of which (the northern) dates from the XIII century, since it is not clear how these could have been adjusted to a plan without transepts. The system of the nave is alternate throughout, the heavy supports consisting of piers with five continuous shafts, the intermediate

quo valde gravabantur, qui assidue ecclesiae insistebant servitio, frigiditate marmoris et cupri aliquantis per infirmum, in hanc quae nunc apparet formam, laboribus eorum compatientes, mutavimus, et propter conventus augmentationem, Deo auxiliante, augmentare elaboravimus. — Sugerii, *De Rebus in sua Administratione gestis* XXV–XXXIV, passim.

[1] Henricus incipit renovare ecclesiam sancti Stephani. — *Chronique de Clarius*, wrongly entitled *Chronique d'Odoranne*, MS. in the Bibliothèque Richelieu, cit. Vaudin-Bataille, *Cath. de Sens*, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, cit. Vaudin-Bataille, p. 1.

[3] XII, 47.

[4] *Cath. de Sens*, p. 11.

supports, of columns coupled in the longitudinal sense, carrying a single shaft upon their abaci. The vaults are sexpartite; the stilted wall rib is furnished with a double set of capitals. In the chevet, where difficulties arose in raising the vault in the XIII century, the wall rib has as many as three sets of capitals, and is strangely distorted. Most interesting are the vaults of the ambulatory; the ribs are broken, as at St. Denis, but the execution is far more crude: on the outside wall no provision is made to carry the diagonal ribs, which rest on corbels placed just above the main capitals: the wall ribs have a segmental form, their capitals being placed lower than those of the transverse ribs. All the aisle vaults are highly domed. In the western portions of the church, the details — capitals, etc., — added in the reconstruction of the XIII century, are of remarkable delicacy and beauty, even for Gothic work. The flying buttresses of this cathedral are somewhat puzzling: obviously, they cannot be as early as 1140, nor do they seem sufficiently advanced in style to belong to the reconstruction of the XIII century. Since, however, they were copied at Canterbury in 1174, it is reasonable to suppose they were erected shortly before that time, perhaps c. 1160. (Vaudin-Bataille.)

NOYON, Oise. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 176, 180, 204, 210, 211, 252.) The cathedral of Noyon was burned in 1131, as is known from two ancient sources. The first, a passage in the "Chronicle of Sigebert" written by a monk of Ourscamp in the second half of the XII century, records that "the episcopal church of St. Mary was burned in 1131 with nearly all the city of Noyon; — a deserved misfortune, it is said, because many of the inhabitants had derided Pope Innocent with mocking words."[1] The second source is two letters written by Innocent II on the 27th of June, 1131, one to Henri, archbishop of Sens, and the other to Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, urging these prelates to come to the aid of Simon of Vermandois, bishop of Noyon, and send him funds to raise from its ruins his cathedral church. I translate the most important passage of the first letter: "What recently occurred at Noyon for the purging of sin, when the episcopal and mother church, together with the episcopal palace was burned with fire, we believe is not unknown to you. Since, therefore, in so great a calamity we ought to sympathize and to minister aid with a brotherly sense of pity, in the name of God, we exhort you and your diocese, and we enjoin upon you for the remission of your sins, that you send aid to the said church from the resources granted you by God, that the same may be repaired for the honor and the service of Christ."[2] Thus there can be no question that the church

[1] An. dni. 1131. Ecclesia pene sancte Marie in ēpio totaq. pene ciuitas Noviomensis incendio cōflagrauit iusto (ut fert) infortunio; quia summū pontificē Innocentīū verbjs irrisorijs multi illorū exhonorauerunt. — Sigeb., *Chron.*, 116, cit. Inkersley.

[2] Certerum quid apud Novionum peecatis exigentibus nuper contigerit quomodo episcopalis et mater ecclesia cum domibus episcopalibus, incendio sunt crematae, delictionem vestram credimus non latere. Quia igitur tante calamitati misericorditer compati et pietatis affectu fraterna suffragia ministrare debemus, universitatem vestram per presentia scripta exhortamur in Domino atque in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, ut ad praefatam ecclesiam ad honorem et servitium Domini reparandum de facultatibus vobis a Deo collatis solatia transmittatis. — Arch. de l'Oise, G. 1984, fol. 54 vo. cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Hist. de la Cath. de Noyon*, p. 16. See for the second letter Le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église cathédrale de Noyon*, p. 852.

was destroyed in 1131. It is, however, by no means so clear that the reconstruction was immediately begun, for the choir does not seem to have been consecrated until 1157 — at least the relics were brought back into the church at this date[1] — and, to judge from the style, no considerable part of the existing edifice can be earlier than c. 1150. Was the cathedral destroyed a second time in 1152 by the fire which ravaged the city in that year?[2] M. St. Paul thinks that such an hypothesis is unnecessary: he believes that the choir was begun about 1135: that works were energetically carried forward so that the eastern portions of the edifice were finished c. 1140; but that meanwhile a more ambitious plan of rebuilding had been determined upon; and that this necessitated the reconstruction of the entire chevet c. 1150. He finds "notable fragments" of the earlier choir still existing; — "fragments of a very advanced Romanesque style which could not be earlier than the fire [of 1131]." At all events, aside from this scanty débris of an earlier construction, whatever it may have been, the existing chevet is unquestionably a work from c. 1150–57. To judge from internal evidence the southern and then the northern transept must have been next attacked, the latter, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, being completed c. 1170. The two eastern bays of the nave, which were doubltess constructed immediately afterwards, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis is doubtless correct in assigning to c. 1174. Since there is a marked difference of style between the second bay and the western portions of the nave, it is reasonable to believe that works were interrupted at this point until about 1180. After this date, however, they must have been pushed with vigor, for a charter of 1185[3] records that the bishop made an elaborate contract for having the church cleaned from pavement to vault. Yet the westernmost bay of the nave, the porch, and the great southern tower were completed only in 1221, although even in these constructions of the XIII century, the round arch was retained in the galleries and lower parts. In 1240 the chapter-house and cloister were begun. Towards the end of the XIII century a great disaster befell the church: "In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1293 in the month of July and on Monday the 20th day of the month at four o'clock in the morning there began a fire in the town of Noyon, and from the said morning until the afternoon of the following Tuesday, the church of Notre Dame of Noyon and the other churches and whatever was within the walls of the city all were burnt and reduced almost to ashes, except the house of the Templars and the little church of the apostle St. Peter."[4] William of Naugis gives a slightly different account of this fire: "In the month of July [1293] Noyon, a city of Gaul, was entirely burned with fire except the abbeys of St. Eloi and St. Barthol-

[1] Le Vasseur, *op. cit.*, p. 815; Gallia Christiana X, Instru. col. 383.

[2] Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Hist. de la Cath. de Noyon*, p. 22.

[3] Arch. de l'Oise, G. 1984, fol. 195 vo.

[4] Anno incarnationis Domini M° CC° XC° III° mense Julio, XIII Calendas Augusti, feria secunda, in aurore coepit ignis in civitate Noviomensi, et a dicta aurora usque in meridiem feriae tertiae sequentis, ecclesia Beatae Mariae Noviomensis et aliae ecclesiae et quidquid infra muros civitatis continebatur omnia combusta sunt et quasi in pulverem reducta, exceptis domibus templariorum et excepta parvula ecclesia Beati Petri apostoli. — Mss. now lost but copied by Le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église Cath. de Noyon*, p. 841, and cited by Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Hist. de la Cath. de Noyon.*

omew."[1] However, a letter of Bonifice VIII, written in 1294, proves that only a part of the cathedral was burned, together with the cloister, the chapter-house, and the furniture.[2] The works of reparation necessitated by this fire were not finished until 1320: the vaults of the nave and of the transepts were rebuilt on a quadripartite plan; the three portals were reconstructed; and the northern tower completed. In 1460 the flying buttresses of the choir were rebuilt in the Renaissance style. About the same time the westernmost piers of the choir were made over; the old sexpartite, was replaced by the present quadripartite, vault; and the profiles of many of the aisle responds were altered. Noyon, as originally constructed, was entirely covered with sexpartite vaults resting on an alternate system. Three shafts are engaged on each pier: in the intermediate supports these shafts are supported on the abaci of the capitals; in the alternate, they rise from the ground. In the nave a lofty gallery is surmounted by a triforium and a clearstory; but in the transepts (which have no side aisles) these dispositions are reversed, a low passageway in the thickness of the wall being surmounted by lofty windows. Most remarkable are the semicircular apses in which the transepts terminate — a motive of great charm borrowed perhaps from Germany. The ribs of the ambulatory vault are broken. Although the flying buttresses of the nave have unfortunately been rebuilt and those of the chevet replaced by the present Renaissance constructions, the ancient struts reinforcing the gallery vaults of the choir survive, and offer one of the earliest extant examples of fully developed flying buttresses. Of great originality and beauty are the western transepts and the bold exterior narthex so characteristic of this cathedral. Indeed, were the sexpartite vaults still intact, and the windows glowing with stained glass Noyon would be esthetically one of the most satisfactory achievements of transitional architecture. If it misses the grandeur of Paris, and the soaring majesty of Amiens, it still possesses a fairy-like delicacy of design, a daintiness that is unequaled. The exquisite capitals crowning the slender monoliths in the intermediate piers; the perfect proportions; the logical adjustment of the system to the vault (as originally planned) — all proclaim that at last the time of experiment is over, and the era of triumph for Gothic architecture begun. A delightful refinement of design occurs in the western bays of the nave, where the intermediate pier is raised on a base higher than the alternate piers. Similarly the arches of the main arcade are given an almost Saracenic grace and lightness by bending out their archivolts into a slightly horseshoe form. It was a bold, but wholly successful, expedient to omit all mouldings upon these archivolts. (Lefèvre-Pontalis; Vitet.)

CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE, Marne. *Notre Dame.* (Ill. 182, 242.) Our documentary knowledge of this church is confined to two brief notices in Gallia Christiana: one states that a reconstruction was begun in 1157;[3] the other that the church

[1] Mense Julio, Noviomum, Galliae civitas, tota igne conflagrata est, praeter sancti Eligii et sancti Bartholomaei abbatias. — Édition Giraud, Société de l'Histoire de France I, p. 283, cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Hist. de la Cath. de Noyon*, p. 39.

[2] Quod quadam pars Noviomensis ecclesiae cum claustro et capitulo ac ornamentis fuerat casu miserabili concremata. — cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[3] Ecclesia Catalaunensis. Episcoporum series LVI. Boso. Anno vero 1167 reaedificata est ecclesia beatae Mariae de Vallibus. — *Gall. Chris.* IX, col. 882.

was consecrated in 1183.[1] However, Herr von Bezold holds that Notre Dame is not a homogeneous edifice, but that the choir originally ended in an apse which was later replaced by the present ambulatory, — an hypothesis certainly justified by the internal evidence. The vault of the ambulatory is most interesting: two columns are placed before the radiating chapels in such a manner that the space between each pair of main transverse ribs is divided into three parts by lesser transverse ribs running from the inner columns to these extra columns in the opening of the chapels. The central space, which is square, is covered with a simple rib vault; the outer triangular spaces are groin-vaulted. An analogous disposition occurs in the ambulatory of St. Remi of Reims, the only difference being that the columns in the opening of the chapels are placed at St. Remi on a line which is the continuation of the circle of the outside wall of the ambulatory, while at Châlons they are placed on a straight line drawn across the mouth of the chapel. That is, the plan of the ambulatory at Châlons is conceived as being polygonal instead of circular, as at St. Remi. In consequence the columns are necessarily placed further apart, the central rib-vaulted compartment becomes more perfectly rectangular, the central arch opening into the chapel becomes unmistakably wider than the two which flank it, and the double curvature of the wall ribs is avoided. The nave of Notre Dame consists of two distinct strata of construction. To the oldest belong the transept ends, a window in the south aisle, the towers, and the main arcades up to the triforium level except the pointed arches and their archivolts, which have been rebuilt. This church dating perhaps from c. 1145 was characterized by two side aisles covered with wood or possibly with groin vaults, a timber-roofed nave, piers alternately heavy and light, and shafts, one engaged on every support. At present these shafts have puzzling capitals which are placed just above the level of the triforium string, and which seem to belong to the original construction. Above rises the building of 1157–83 — a high gallery (retaining parts of the old construction), a triforium, a clearstory, and quadripartite vaults without wall ribs resting upon a system of three shafts. The clearstory, consisting of coupled lancets, forms a single composition with the triforium as at St. Remi; the triforium is lighted by groups of three lancets. Sexpartite vaults surmount the transepts, the intermediate transverse arch resting on a corbel. Externally, the apse is flanked by two towers which, like those of the west façade, belong to the earlier building. The single flying buttresses are similar to those of St. Remi, but perhaps a little less clumsy. Unlike St. Remi, however, the central lancet of the triforium gallery does not break through the cornice. The northwestern spire is modern. (Von Bezold.)

St. Alpine, constructed originally, it is said, in 1136, was rebuilt in the last half of the XII century, on a design which closely imitates that of Notre Dame. The system is alternate, and only the heavier piers were originally supplied with vaulting shafts.[2] The clearstory with its small windows is very low, but the capitals of the

[1] Ecclesia Catalaunensis. LVII. Guido III de Joinville. Anno 1183 benedixit ecclesiam beatae Mariae in Vallibus. *Ibid.*, cit. Inkersley.

[2] At Notre Dame the capitals of the shafts engaged on the intermediate piers have been in every case made over, while the alternate ones are in every case original. This fact would seem

shafts are placed far below it. Moreover these shafts, being engaged only on the alternate piers, are very far apart, and hence were probably intended to support only transverse arches, although the present vault springs from the same level. Altogether this church so little known throws most interesting light not only upon the neighboring church of Notre Dame, but upon the entire transitional movement.

St. Jean, with the exception of the Romanesque nave, the chapel of the XV century and the tower of the XVI century, is said to date from the XII and XIV centuries.

Monuments of the Second Class

ST. LEU D'ESSERENT, Oise. *Abbaye* belonged to the monks of Cluny. There is no documentary evidence for the date of the church, which, however, must have been erected in the last half of the XII century. The oldest portion is undoubtedly the narthex between the two western towers, only one of which has ever been finished. Since the transverse ribs of this porch are loaded to raise the surface of the vaults, and give them a more acutely pointed form — a strange expedient, which finds, I believe, analogy only at Bury — this part of the edifice must be assigned to c. 1150. The choir comes next in point of age, and doubtless dates from c. 1180; it is supplied with an ambulatory — apparently about contemporary — and is flanked by two towers, both, unlike the western tower, without spire. The chevet is vaulted with a radiating rib vault of the type used at Noyon. To the westward of the chevet is a bay characterized by very heavy piers, which support two lateral towers. This bay is covered with a quadripartite vault, but the following two bays are united under a single sexpartite vault. Here ends the choir; as at Mantes, Sens, and Senlis there are no transepts. The nave consists of six bays covered with quadripartite rib vaults; it is evidently later (c. 1205) than the choir, for the clearstory windows are filled with plate tracery, while those of the choir are lancets. The general design of the interior is notable for the absence of a triforium — an omission the more remarkable that there is a well-developed gallery. Externally the flying buttresses, although placed too low to secure the greatest efficiency, are supplied with double struts throughout. In the choir they have no gables, but in the nave this feature is added. (Woillez; Von Bezold.)

SENLIS, Oise. *Église Cathédrale* (Ill. 181, 189) is said to have been erected slowly between the years 1155 and 1191.[1] Although the edifice was entirely reconstructed above the triforium level and a bay of the nave was torn down to make room for transepts — which did not exist in the original edifice — when the vaults were raised in the flamboyant period, the primitive dispositions may still be made out. Since the system was alternate, — the heavier supports were piers, the lighter columns — the vaults must have been sexpartite. The intermediate system consisted of three shafts carried on the abaci of the capitals; the five shafts of the alternate system were continuous. It is certain that there was a high gallery; but whether or not a triforium existed above this is doubtful. Externally the southwestern spire is one of

significant, but after a careful examination on the spot I failed to detect any indication of a break in the masonry such as to warrant the assertion that the intermediate piers had originally no shafts.

[1] Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.*, p. 88, citing *Gallia Christiana* X, Instrumenta, col. 224.

the supreme achievements of Gothic architecture, while the sculptures of the west portal are of exquisite beauty. (Von Bezold; Moore, 92.)

REIMS, Marne. *St. Remi.* (Ill. 183.) Airard commenced to rebuild the abbey church of St. Remi in 1005. "Therefore he summoned men who were said to be skilled in architecture and he commenced to lay in dressed blocks the foundations of the future temple. This church was a more grandiose and ambitious construction than any which is recorded as ever having been attempted in the kingdom of Gaul, and consequently for Airard and the men of his time impossible of execution. Thus when, after he had administered for nearly twenty-eight years his pastoral office, he was overtaken by old age and died [1033], he left unfinished the work which he had begun."[1] But his successor, Thierry, "who purposed to accomplish as many projects as possible for the good of his monastery, took thought of the reconstruction of the church, which his predecessor [Airard] had begun, how he might place upon it the hand of completion. But, since the work had been commenced in too difficult and impracticable manner, and since in his own judgment (when he debated whether he should finish what had been undertaken) it seemed better to abandon what had already been constructed by Airard, therefore he followed the advice of those who were accounted wiser among his own monks and of the elders of the diocese of Reims, and reluctantly proceeded to destroy the work which had been begun. This, accordingly, he tore down almost entirely, leaving only certain foundations which it seemed to the architects could be advantageously used for the new building; and he began to rebuild the house of God on a plan less pretentious it is true, but not without dignity as the church itself bears witness to those who have seen it. And this reconstruction was happily begun in the fifth year of his office [1038]. . . . Several of the kindly family of the Church promptly came to the aid of the abbot, and furnished his carts and oxen with loads worthy for so great work as had been begun; and thus the foundations were placed in those parts where they did not already exist, the columns taken from the construction of Airard were carefully set up, above them the arches were diligently erected, and the building commenced to take form beneath the hands of the workmen. Now when the [outside] walls of the side aisle had been completed, and the clearstory of the inner temple [*i.e.*, the nave] had been raised above them, the old church, dedicated in ancient times (it is said) by the archbishop Hincmar, was torn down to the ground, and a mean temporary covering was erected over the choir of the brothers, that they might chant the praises of God free from the disturbance of wind and rain. And over the tomb of St. Remi was built a crypt, small indeed and all unworthy of the holy body, but still beautiful and supported on columns and arches. . . . Subsequently [1041] Thierry died and Herimar was elected by the almost unanimous voice of all the brothers to succeed him; and Herimar was ordained by the worthy Wido, archbishop of Reims. The new

[1] Quapropter viris qui architecturae periti ferebantur asciti, futuri templi fabricam ex quadris lapidibus erigere coepit a fundamentis, multo quidem operosiorem illis, quas praenotatum est in Gallico regno renovatas, et ambitiosiorem: ideoque sibi et illius aevi hominibus inconsummabilem. Nam ubi per viginti et octo fere annos pastorale officium administravit, senio confectus, coeptoque operi finem non imponens vita decessit. — Anselmi, *Itin. Leonis* IX.

abbot did not suffer the memorable work begun by his predecessor to remain long interrupted, but he resumed the construction of the right transept, which had already been considerably advanced, and then attacked the left transept, of which up to this time only the foundations and a stairway leading to the upper stories had been erected. Moreover he caused the crypt which (as has been told above) had been built over the tomb of St. Remi and which by its small size seemed out of keeping with the loftier work, to be torn down, and he caused another more worthy to be built. Finally timber was brought from the wood near the monastery of Orbais, the roof of the temple was erected, and thus the entire building appeared most seemly in all its parts."[1] The consecration was celebrated with much pomp in 1049, as Anselm goes on to describe in detail. But a misfortune soon overtook the monastery: "In the year 1098 and in the time of Burchard, the monastery of St. Remi was injured by fire, and was restored in the year 1100 by Duke Guy, as the following inscription proves: — 'Because our new church, which had been consecrated not long before by Pope Leo, was saved from the fire which burned a great part of our monastery in the year 1098, and because the monastery was restored at the expense of Duke Guy, our abbot has placed this statue of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel of the novices, in the year 1100.'"[2]

[1] Qui [Theodoricus] quam plurima ecclesiasticae utilitati profutura decerneret disponere, deliberavit reparationi ecclesiae suae quam suus praedecessor inceperat, manum perfectionis imponere. Verum, quia grave nimis et inexplebile sibi illud erat incoeptum, deliberatio quoque sua, si id intenderet implere, videbatur non habitura effectum, quocirca eorum qui inter sibi commissos prudentiores habebantur et seniorum Remensis provinciae consilio usus, difficulter aggressus est inchoatum diruere opus; quo poene diruto et fundamentis quibusdam relictis, quae architectis visa sunt necessaria fore futuris aedificiis, divinam domun coepit faciliori quidam structura, sed non indecentiore construere ut aspectum adhibentibus facile est cernere. Qua incoepta feliciter anno quinto suae ordinationis accensi sunt plures catholici. . . . Nonnulli etiam de ecclesiastica familia suum auxilium prompter impenderunt benevolentia, suisque plaustris et bobus tantis incoeptis competentia advexerunt onera; sicque fundamentis, in quibus locis non erant, locatis, et columnis ex destructo priori aedificio competenter dispositis, arcus super eas diligenter voluti consurgere, et basilicae fabrica inter manus artificum coepit clarescere. Tunc jam vestibulorum parietis undique erectis, et interioris templi fastigiis altius elevatis, vetusta ecclesia ab Hincmaro archiepiscopo, ut dictum est, antiquitus dedicata, est eversa funditus, et vilis interim tecti coöpertoriolum fabricatum super chorum fratrum, ubi absque inquietudine ventorum et pluviarum divinis possent vocare laudibus. Supra vero sepulchram B. Remigii crypta constructa est, licet parva, ideoque tota sancto corpori incongrua, pulchre tamen, columnis et arcubus fulta. . . . Hic ergo [Herimarus] loco defuncti patris subrogatus, fratrum poene omnium unanimi sententia, ordinatu memorati Widonis Remorum archipraesulis, non diu passus est interruptum pendere memorabila coeptum sui antecessoris; sed primo quidem dextram basilicae crucem, maxima ex parte jam inchoatam, et sinistram, nihil adhuc praeter fundamenta habentem, cum cocleis, quibus ad superiora esset ascensus, fecit aedificari. Cryptam autem, quae super B. Remigii sepulchram constructa fuerat, quia ut superius relatum est, quae parvitate sua alterius operis incongrua videbatur, dirui et aliam ementiorem fecit restitui. Deinde trabibus de saltu juxta Orbacis monasterium sito advectis, fastigia ejusdem consequuntur templi, sicque decentissima domus tota apparuit in partibus suis. — Anselmi [fl. c. 1060], *Itinerarium Leonis*. Published in Bollandes, vol. October 1st, and cited by Poussin, p. 105. A summary of this account is given by Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, lib. LIX, tome IV, p. 503.

[2] Anno Ch. 1098. Burchardi tempore, et quidem hoc ipso anno, incendio deformatum fuit S. Remigii monasterium, quod Guido Trimoliensis anno M C suis impensis instauravit, ut se-

From this it seems clear that the church was not seriously damaged in 1098, nor did the building of 1049 undergo serious modification before the last half of the XII century. Pierre de Celles, abbot from 1162–81, writing c. 1170, has left us some account of the reconstruction which then took place: — "Wishing to build anew the choir of our monastery, with the help of God we put our hand courageously to the work, and we undertook to make our church, which had lacked a fitting chevet, noble in its head as well as in its belly." [1] His successor, Simon, ordained in 1182 by William I, archbishop of Reims, did much building, and freed his monastery from various burdens. He died July 24th, 1198, and was buried in the nave of the church. The last verses of his enigmatical epitaph run as follows: "he built the church, he ruled the monks, he distributed what was to be given, he baptized the chosen, he earned salvation." [2] A passage in Dom Marlot,[3] however, makes it probable that Simon had nothing to do with the reconstruction of the choir, which was doubtless completed before he came to office, so that his building activities must have been confined to the two westernmost bays of the nave. There is only one text bearing upon the later history of the structure, and that is of a much later time: — "Robert of Lenoncourt . . . finished the south façade of St. Remi in 1506, and gave to that church silver vessels and sacred utensils." [4] From this selection of the unusually numerous texts bearing upon the history of St. Remi, it is evident that the edifice begun in 1005 was never finished but torn down and recommenced on a more modest scale in 1038; that this building was completed and consecrated in 1049; that the choir was rebuilt in 1170–81; and that the south transept was rebuilt in 1506. On the internal evidence of the monument itself, it is equally evident that most of the façade, the two western bays of the nave, and the nave vaults (now replaced by a wooden imitation) are about contemporary with the choir, and may be considered the work of Simon (1182–98). Thus

quens inscriptio docet: — "Anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo, cum incendio consumptum fuisset magna ex parte monasterium nostrum, ob servatam ecclesiam nostram novam, quae non multo ante dedicata fuerat a domino papa Leone, et restauratum monasterium sumptibus ducis Guidonis, dominus abbas noster hanc Deiparae virginis effigiem in oratorio novitiorum posuit anno millesimo centesimo." — Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, lib. LXIX, tome V, p. 397; *Gall. Chris.* IX, col. 227–234, cit. Inkersley.

[1] Caput monasterii renovare volentes, cum Dei adjutorio manum ad fortia mittimus, nobilem ecclesiam nostram tam in fronte quam in ventre, qui caput secundum se decrat, fabricandam suscepimus. — Pierre de Celles IX, Epis. 4. It seems to be on the basis of this passage that the authors of *Gallia Christiana* have founded the account which may be found in Vol. IX, col. 23 of that work. One detail is however added: "he restored the exterior gables where are the bells" — *et fastigium exterius, ubi sunt campanilia, renovavit.*

[2] Syllabus Abbatum XXXIII. Simon, benedictus anno 1182 a Guillelmo I Archiepiscopo et Cardinale, multa aedificavit, monasteriumque suum variis exemit oneribus. Obiit IX Cal. Aug. anno 1198 tumulatusque est in navi ecclesiae cum epitaphio cujus sunt ultimi versus:

Erexit, rexit, dispersit, respersit, emit
Ecclesiam, monachos, danda, cavenda, Deum.
— *Gall. Chris.*, vol. IX, col. 236, cit. Inkersley.

[3] II, 456, cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

[4] LXXX. Robertus III de Lenoncourt. . . . His adde quod frontem ecclesiae S. Remigii meridionalem complevit anno 1506, basilicamque illam tam vasis argenteis quam sacra supellectile ditavit. — *Gall. Chris.* IX, col. 147, cit. Inkersley, 119.

St. Remi is a surely dated and important example of the style of three crucial periods of architectural history: the Romanesque of the first half of the XI century, the transition, and the flamboyant style. Of the building begun in 1005 some traces remain; notably the west side of the north transept is unquestionably part of this edifice, for it is obviously more primitive in style than the east side of the same transept, which must have formed part of the reconstruction of 1038. The basilica projected in 1005 was intended to have double side aisles, very deep transepts, and a nave of the same length as the present one. The interior design consisted of a series of rather narrow bays, separated by enormously heavy columns. The archivolts both of the main arcade and of the triforium gallery were of a single unmoulded order. The capitals (most of which were never carved) were of a Corinthianesque type with acanthus-leaves and volutes scratched on the surface. The reconstruction of 1036 made many changes, of which the most noticeable were the suppression of the outer side aisles, the doubling of the archivolts, the replacing of the old columns by compound piers, and the widening of the bays. The present subdivision of the gallery openings is an addition of 1170; in 1049 there was doubtless a single unmoulded arch of one order in each bay. The clearstory of Thierry was small, and the galleries, like the nave, were roofed in wood. When the nave was covered with quadripartite rib vaults in 1182–98, the present system was grafted on to the ancient Romanesque structure. The peculiar design that at present characterizes the two western bays of the nave is probably due to the fact that the space left between the last bay of the work of 1049 and the towers (whose lower parts perhaps date from 1005) was wider than a single bay of the nave, but not as wide as two. In the reconstruction of 1170, therefore, the system of these bays was made sexpartite. Except for the omission of the wall rib, this is logically carried out. For the rest, the design is similar to that of the choir except that the double clearstory which characterizes the rest of the nave is retained. The choir is one of the loveliest examples of transitional architecture. Of the double aisles of the ambulatory, only the inner one is carried around the chevet. The ambulatory vaults are like those of Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (p. 203), save that the plan of the chevet is circular instead of polygonal; each bay is divided into three compartments, one rectangular, two triangular, by columns placed in the openings of the radiating chapels. The design of the main choir is in four stories, but the predominance of horizontal lines is avoided by combining the lofty gallery and the triforium with the three lancets of the clearstory by means of continuous mouldings. Five shafts rising from the abaci of the capitals support the quadripartite vaults. The flying buttresses are primitive in style, but M. Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that they must be later than the original structure in as much as they cut across certain string-courses. This proof seems conclusive; yet since the buttresses are obviously primitive in style, and since it is difficult to understand how the vaults could have stood for even a few years without some such abutment, these features must have been added soon after 1181. A peculiarity of the exterior decoration of this church is the fluting of the columns. (Poussin; Bazin.)

St. Jacques is said to date from 1183, except the choir which is a construction of 1548. (Guide Joanne.)

BELLEFONTAINE, Oise. *Prieuré* is of great importance as the sole monument of the first half of the XII century in the diocese of Soissons, for which there is documentary evidence of date. "For we grant permission to the same brothers to build there [at Bellefontaine] a chapel. . . . Done in the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1125, the third indiction, in the reign of Louis [VI], king of the Franks."[1] M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assumes that the building which this charter authorizes was commenced immediately and completed by 1130 — an hypothesis which has been warmly attacked by M. Enlart who assigns the construction to 1145 or even later. On the whole, however, I incline to accept the date maintained by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, for the style of the building, while certainly advanced, does not appear to me to be later than c. 1130. The church is desecrated and much ruined, but the plan and the original dispositions can still be made out. There is a nave flanked by two side aisles, which are continued along the sides of the square choir. The nave, two bays long, is covered with a single rib vault erected on a square plan. The profile of the ribs consists of three tori. Pointed arches are largely employed in the vaults, which have no wall ribs, and in the easternmost bays of the side aisles no ribs at all. The arches are all heavily stilted. The archivolts of the main arcade are pointed and fully moulded; the intermediate piers of the nave are severely simple rectangles unrelieved save for the moulded corners; the system is logical and continuous except that the nave vault is carried on corbels. Rich mouldings ornament the round-headed windows. The buttresses are very salient, and those of the choir have several ressauts. The choir vault, which is similar to that of the nave, is still intact. (Lefèvre-Pontalis II, 4.)

ST. GERMER, Oise. *Abbaye.* (Ill. 173, 177.) There is no documentary evidence for the date of this church. The choir and the transepts which are evidently the most ancient portions of the existing edifice have been assigned to 1132 by Verneilh and Von Bezold, to "shortly after 1130" by Mr. Moore, to 1140 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, and to 1160 by M. St. Paul. The building, begun at the east end, was evidently erected very slowly, and the vaults of the westernmost bays of the nave have never been finished, being at present replaced by an imitation vault of wood. A triforium gallery runs completely around the interior; it is vaulted with groin vaults resting on semicircular transverse ribs. These ribs are surmounted by concealed flying buttresses. The logical and continuous system includes five shafts in the rectangular portions of the edifice, three in the chevet. The ambulatory vaults, which are slightly domed, are provided with a complete set of ribs; the diagonals are curved in plan. The chevet vault is characterized by stilted wall ribs. The decoration consists of double arched corbel-tables, chevrons (applied to ribs), dog-tooth mouldings, etc. The "Sainte Chapelle" or lady chapel was rebuilt between 1259 and 1272,[2] and is a veritable masterpiece of rayonnant architecture, comparable to the Ste. Chapelles of Paris, Valenciennes, or the destroyed chapel of Bourges. The capitals are

[1] Concedimus etiam eisdem fratribus ut ibidem oratorium liceat sibi construere [Bellefontana] . . . Actum incarnationis dominici anno MCXXV indictione III regnante Francorum rege Ludovico. — Archives de l'Oise, H. 459, printed by Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 4.

[2] Louvet, p. 34; *Gall. Chris.*, vol. IX, col. 794, cit. Inkersley, 90.

highly naturalistic; the wall spaces are eliminated; the entire design shows a wealth and beauty of detail it would be difficult to equal. Fine glass of the XIII century survives in certain of the windows.

BEAUVAIS, Oise. *St. Étienne.* (Ill. 162, 213.) "Of the primitive edifice only portions of the nave remain, and, although this nave was several times remodeled in the XII century, the character of the original design is clearly traceable. The system is uniform, and the vault compartments are oblong in both nave and aisles. The easternmost bay of the nave is of the primitive construction up to the clearstory level, while the piers throughout, together with the lower archivolts, also retain their original form, though they must have been repaired in spots. The original vaulting of the nave must have been destroyed in the XII century, while the existing vaults were apparently constructed after a fire from which the building suffered in 1180.[1] We are not, however, left in doubt concerning the character of the original vaulting; for the composition of the piers and the existing vaulting of the aisles show plainly what it must have been. Each pier has a pilaster with a central engaged shaft on its face, and a smaller shaft on either side. These members rise from the pavement, and that they belong to the original design is shown by the homogeneous character of the bases on which they rest and to which they are perfectly adjusted and by their correspondence with the unaltered work on the aisle side. It is further shown by the high vaulting capitals still in place in the unaltered eastern bay. These capitals are like those of the primitive aisle vaulting and are of a less advanced type than those which belong to the remodeled parts of the edifice."[2] The transverse arches of the aisles are highly stilted. The present triforium seems to have been added about the middle of the XII century; since the string-courses are awkwardly arched over it,[3] it could not have belonged to the original building. Externally, the decoration of the north transept end with its wheel of fortune and reticulated work recalling Carolingian tradition is peculiar; so also are the double arched corbel-tables and the buttresses ending in shafts. The façade is characterized by a Renaissance tower, a XII century portal, and a superbly sculptured Gothic doorway. The choir with its double flying buttresses and high clearstory is a turgid example of the style of the XVI century. Renaissance tracery fills the clearstory windows. The original construction may be assigned to c. 1130. (Moore; Von Bezold; Johnson.)

St. Gilles. Some fragments of the richly carved portal of the XII century survive. (Barrand.)

La Madeleine, now part of the École des Frères, is said to be of the XI and XII centuries. (Guide Joanne.)

PONTOISE, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Maclou.* (Ill. 166.) The original edifice

[1] Von Bezold gives a different account: "Ob die Gewölbe des Mittelschiffes schon im XII Jahrhundert ausgeführt war ist fraglich. Die bestehenden sind frühstens aus XV.

[2] Moore, *Gothic Arch.*, p. 52. This is the best description that has yet appeared of a monument full of archaeological difficulties. I made a trip to Beauvais in the summer of 1905 with the especial purpose of making a careful study of St. Étienne only to find the nave completely blocked up by scaffolding. By this time doubtless restoration has added to the other difficulties which this monument presents.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

must have been erected after 1140 — the earliest date allowable by the style of the architecture — and before 1165, when a curé of this parish is mentioned in documentary sources. That this building, the nave included, was completely finished in the XII century is proved by the débris of one of the original wall ribs still surviving in the vaults of the present nave. In 1309, the tower, which formerly had stood over the transept, was torn down, but the complete reconstruction of the monument was not commenced until the middle of the XV century. The ancient façade was at this time demolished and replaced by the present construction, which M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns to 1450–70. However, only the central part, together with the tower as far as the base of its dome, date from this period; the small lateral portal can not be earlier than the end of the XVI century. At the same time the reconstruction of the nave was undertaken, but lack of resources must have caused the work to be abandoned after only two bays had been completed. While operations were interrupted in this direction, the attention of the builders was called to the vaults of the radiating chapels of the chevet, which threatened ruin. It was found necessary to replace most of the ancient ribs, and advantage was taken of the presence of the workmen in this part of the edifice to rebuild all the windows in the taste of the period. This restoration was executed in 1477 as is recorded in an ancient contract still extant. In 1525 the reconstruction of the nave was resumed in the north side aisle; this reconstruction continued throughout the XVI century and ended only when the interesting three-aisled nave of the XII century had disappeared entirely in the present five-aisled structure — an exquisite example of the style of the early Renaissance. Consequently the character of the original edifice may be best studied in the ambulatory. This is semicircular (the choir is not prolonged) and supplied with five radiating chapels, each of which, together with the corresponding bay of the ambulatory, is covered with a single rib vault. The diagonals are not curved in plan nor broken; but an extra rib, running from the keystone to the center of the outside wall of the chapel, divides the vaulting surface into spaces approximately equal. The round arch is retained in the wall ribs. The upper vault of the chevet and the clearstory windows were rebuilt at the end of the XV century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis; Von Bezold; Moore.)

POISSY, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Louis* consists of a nave, two side aisles, two orientated absidioles opening on the false transepts and taking the place of radiating chapels, a choir prolonged slightly beyond the semicircle, an ambulatory of five bays, and a lady chapel of horse-shoe plan. There are no pointed arches; the three eastern bays of the nave are covered with rib vaults,[1] but the ambulatory (which suffered severely in the restoration of Viollet-le-Duc) is groin-vaulted. The wall arches of the ambulatory vault are sprung from a lower level than the transverse ribs, and are much depressed, while the arches of the main arcade are stilted; in spite of this, however, the vault surface rises sharply towards the outer edge. In the easternmost two bays of the nave the ribs are carried on shafts rising from the pavement, but in the third they rest on corbels at the impost level. The triforium, like other parts

[1] These are the only original vaults of the nave that remain. Von Bezold questions whether also these may not have been renewed.

of the church, was much altered about the end of the XII century. On the style of the sculpture — which is advanced in character and skilfully executed, — the monument may be assigned to c. 1140. (St. Paul; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.*, 84; Von Bezold; Moore, *Goth. Arch.*, 85.)

AIRAINES, Somme. *Notre Dame.* The charter authorizing the construction of this church is still extant.[1] This, unfortunately, is not dated, but, since it is known that the prior Thibaut who signed it was in office from 1108 to 1119, the building may have been begun at any time after 1108. However, the style of those portions of the original edifice which survive — the choir is modern, the transepts and the vaults of the southern side aisle and of the western bay of the nave, flamboyant — while undoubtedly that of the first third of the XII century, must be considerably later than 1108. The northern side aisle is covered with groin vaults erected on the Roman principle with level ridges; the nave, except the western bay which is supplied with a flamboyant multiple rib vault, is covered with highly domed pointed rib vaults without wall ribs. In the nave the bays are square in plan; in the aisles they are oblong longitudinally. The system of the nave is logical and continuous; the archivolts are unmoulded and of a single order; there is a clearstory but no triforium. The exterior is characterized by the absence of buttresses, by round-headed windows, and by a façade with a continuous gable. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 51.)

PARIS, Seine. *St. Germain-des-Prés.* (Ill. 185.) The documentary evidence bearing upon the history of the construction of this abbey is confined to one text and several others evidently derived from it: "In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1163 Pope Alexander III came to the city of Paris and remained some time; and while he was sojourning there, I, Hugh III, abbot of St. Germain of Paris, went to him and humbly begged him, that, inasmuch as the church of St. Germain had been repaired in a new fashion, but was not yet consecrated, that he should deign to honor it with the dignity of a dedication. And that very reverend Pope, Alexander, graciously granted our prayers, and, on the twenty-first of April, he came to the said church . . . and dedicated it with the greatest pomp, as was fitting. I, Hugh III, abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés, testify that this consecration so took place on my initiative; and therefore I have committed these things to writing to certify this to men who live now and to those who shall come hereafter. And I have hereto set my seal." [2] The date of this single consecration is not, however, of as much help in

[1] Published by Dom Martin Marrier in his *Histoire de St. Martin-des-Champs.*

[2] Anno ab incarnationi Domini MCLXIII Alexander P. P. III Parisiensem civitatem ingressus per aliquot tempus moras fecit; dumque in eadem urbe moraretur, ego, Hugo III abbas Sancti Germani Parisiensis, accedens ad ejus praesentiam humiliter exoravi eum, quatenus ecclesiam Beati Germani novo schemati reparatam, quia necdum consecrata erat, dignitate consecrationis insignire dignaretur. At idem reverendissimus P. Alexander precibus nostris gratenter anuens, XI Calendas Maii ad praedictam ecclesiam venit . . . et eam honorificentissime, prout decebat, dedicavit. Ego, Hugo abbas Sancti Germani de pratis tertius, testificor hanc consecrationem meo instinctu sic peractam fuisse, et ideo ad certitudem praesentium et futurorum eadem scripto commendavi et sigillo meo corroboravi. — *Historia Ecclesiae Parisiensis*, auctore Gerardo Dubois, lib XIII, cap. IV, p. 129, cit. Inkersley; Cf. also *Disertation* of Dom Ruinart, in the *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules* II, p. 724; *Gallia Christiana* VII, col 439.

the study of the edifice as might be supposed, for the monument contains no less than three strata of construction all evidently executed in the XI and XII centuries. To the earliest of these belong the base of the western tower and its porch. The nave and the transepts, together with an apse which has disappeared, appear somewhat later, but still are clearly earlier than 1163. The nave is not exactly alligned with the axis of the western tower; its arches have a toric profile; several of its capitals show remarkable delicacy of execution; its square rudimentary piers are supplied each with four engaged columns. The choir (somewhat greater than a semicircle in plan) and the ambulatory form the third strata of construction, and are certainly the parts which were finished in 1163. This choir contains one of the earliest examples of a triforium arcade, and it is remarkable that the latter is bound together with the clearstory by continuous mouldings. Notwithstanding the deplorable restorations which have so gravely altered this part of the edifice, it is possible to recognize that the uniform system of three shafts was originally supported on the abaci of the columns, the wall rib being carried by a corbel. The exterior is notable for the flying buttresses, one of the earliest examples of this feature. The towers which formerly flanked the apse exist no longer. (St. Paul; Von Bezold; Moore, *Goth. Arch.*, 98; Lenoir.)

St. Martin-des-Champs. (Ill. 172, 261, 262.) There is no documentary evidence for the date of this important priory, but the lady chapel and the ambulatory — the most interesting parts — are assigned to c. 1136 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. The chevet, whose plan is prolonged beyond the semicircle, is formed of seven arcades opening upon the double ambulatory and its chapels. Unequal vaulting spaces in this ambulatory are avoided by doubling the number of the outer supports, as at Aachen, the resulting alternately triangular and rectangular spaces being covered with groin vaults. The vault of the chevet, supported on eight radiating ribs, is perhaps somewhat later, but the plan of the piers proves that it was foreseen from the beginning. The domed apse of the lady chapel is divided into three gore-shaped cells by ribs, and supplies a most important step in the evolution of the chevet vault. The radiating chapels are divided each into two sections as at Pontoise. The nave of a single aisle is covered with a timber roof; its windows are filled with rayonnant tracery. (Von Bezold, 163; Moore, *Goth. Arch.*, 70; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.*, 84; St. Paul; Lenoir.)

St. Pierre de Montmartre. The monastery is said to have been founded in 1133, but the church was consecrated only in 1147. The three aisles were originally roofed in wood, and the three apses (there was no ambulatory) covered with half-domes. At present the nave is supplied with vaults of the XV century; the side aisles are still roofed in timber, but the central apse is crowned by a rib vault of the end of the XII century. (St. Paul.)

St. Aubin. Débris belonging to this church may still be seen in the house bearing the number 19, Rue des Ursins. The monument is said to have been erected about 1110 or 1120 by the arch-deacon, Étienne de Garlande; in 1123, at the time of the death of bishop Gerbert, a priest was already in charge of the parish. The edifice consisted of a nave three bays long and a half-domed apse. All the arches were

semicircular. One of the transverse arches which spans the single bay still intact rests on capitals decorated with fine acanthus foliage. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.*, II, 84.)

LAON, Aisne, *St. Martin.* There is no documentary evidence for the date of this church, which has been assigned to as early as 1140 by Vitet, though, as M. Lefèvre-Pontalis has clearly shown, it must belong to the second half of the XII century, and, more precisely, may be assigned to c. 1165. The low choir and the façade are of course additions of the XIV century. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, two towers flanking the nave to the westward of the transepts — an exceptional disposition, — salient transepts with eastern absidioles, and a square choir. The nave is very severe — the archivolts in two unmoulded orders rest upon simple imposts crowning the piers, for there are no capitals; the triforium is omitted; the clearstory is pierced by a plain round-headed window in each bay, and is covered with quadripartite rib vaults. There is no wall rib; the system is logical and continuous; the capitals of the diagonal shafts are set square instead of being placed at an angle — an awkward construction somewhat relieved, however, by the fact that the ribs are stilted; the arches are all pointed. Externally, the nave is provided with flying buttresses, which I believe to belong to the original construction, although this has been questioned. The façade, with its two turrets and deeply recessed rayonnant window, is a fanciful and somewhat restless design of the later Gothic period.

St. Martin-au-Parvis. This little church, which consists of a nave of the XII century, a choir and a triangular apse of the XIII century, still exists, though it has been much modernized. (Marquiset.)

Chapelle des Templiers. Since it is known that the order of the Templars established a commandery at Laon in 1134, we may follow M. Lefèvre-Pontalis in assigning this curious little structure to c. 1135. The chapel consists of an octagonal nave covered with a cloistered vault, preceded by a rib-vaulted rectangular narthex and followed by a groin-vaulted choir and a semicircular apse. The arches are round; the buttresses end in shafts as at St. Étienne of Beauvais; and the cornice is formed of a triangular shaped corbel-table.

ÉTAMPES, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Martin* consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a semicircular chevet, an ambulatory, and three radiating chapels. The upper portions of the chevet have been rebuilt, but the ambulatory, assigned to c. 1165 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is still intact. The rib vaults of the nave have been replaced by modern wooden imitations, except in the two westernmost bays. These bays date from 1213, but the third and fourth bays and the flying buttresses were erected in the third quarter of the XII century. The alternate piers of the chevet carry single shafts supporting the vault whose wall ribs are not stilted. In the ambulatory, on the other hand, there are no wall ribs at all. The design of the nave is characterized by a gallery, the absence of a triforium, a clearstory composed of lancet windows, and main arcades in two non-concentric orders. (Lefèvre-Pontalis; Johnson.)

Notre Dame. This church was covered with a wooden roof until Viollet-le-Duc erected the existing vaults. M. Lefèvre assigns the base of the tower to c. 1050,

the first story to about the same time, the second and third stories to c. 1075, the fourth story to c. 1125, the *flèche* to c. 1130. The rectangular choir is assigned to c. 1170 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

St. Basile, an edifice rebuilt in 1497, it is said, retains a portal of the XII century. The monument consists of a nave, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, a central tower of the XIII century, and a rectangular choir. (Marquis.)

St. Gilles. The nave — except the modern vaults — and the central tower date from the XII century; but the square choir, the side aisles, and the chapels, were erected, it is said, in 1547. (Marquis, 245.)

Monuments of the Third Class

CAMBRONNE, Oise. *Église*. Among other benefits confirmed to the abbey of St. Paul in a charter[1] of Eudes III, bishop of Beauvais (1144–48), is specifically mentioned the right of patronage over the church of Cambronne. This right, Woillez conjectures, was probably given, as was then the custom, in return for new constructions, financed by the monks, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the style of certain portions of the existing church, which must date from about the middle of the XII century. The only other documentary evidence bearing upon the history of the monument is a piece of parchment manuscript found in a corner of the sacristy and published by Woillez: "In the year 1239 this temple was dedicated to St. Stephen."[2] This text must refer to the choir, which is Gothic in style. From the internal evidence of the building itself it is evident that the outside wall of the north aisle, the tower, and the transepts are the earliest portions of the existing structure, and doubtless belong to the edifice of c. 1148. The upper portions of the nave are even later than the choir, for the trace of the primitive gable may still be seen on the wall of the tower. The existing structure consists of a nave loftier than the choir, two side aisles, a central tower, non-projecting transepts, and a choir four bays long ending in a square east end. Quadripartite rib vaults without wall ribs crown the nave, which is characterized by round windows, elliptical arched corbel-tables, salient buttresses of several ressauts, a logical and continuous system, developed mouldings, and the absence of a triforium. A fine spire crowns the octagonal tower, which is decorated with round and pointed arches, shafted corners, rich mouldings, arched corbel-tables, etc. The system of the choir is similar to that of Amiens except that there are two extra shafts to carry the archivolt. The triforium and the clearstory (which is very low) are combined into a single composition. (Woillez; Johnson; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 22.)

AUVERS, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* (Ill. 174) was doubtless reconstructed soon after it was presented by Louis VI to the abbey St. Vincent of Senlis (1131). Of

[1] Printed by Louvet.

[2] The text in full is as follows: Gregorio nono papa, metropolitano Henrico Remis, Ludovico rege, Mathildis Alfonso sponso comitisse Boloniensis, presbiterio plebis Guerrico Camberonensis, in festo sacri Benedicti, mense decembri, anno milleno ducento quadrageno uno subtracto fuit a pastore Roberto Belvaci hoc templum sancto Stephano didicatum.

this period there survive, however, only the little absidiole to the north of the choir and the apse itself. The existing edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a Gothic central tower, a choir flanked by two absidioles, and a southern Lady Chapel rebuilt in the early part of the XVI century. The nave, which is vaulted with quadripartite rib vaults, must date from the end of the XII century, for it is characterized by a lancet clearstory, a continuous triforium, flying buttresses, and a system rising from the abaci of the round piers. Auvers contains one of the earliest extant examples of a polygonal apse; this is vaulted with two ribs converging on the keystone of the triumphal arch. The windows were enlarged and filled with tracery in the rayonnant period. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 87; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 45.)

CREIL, Oise. *St. Évremont.* This desecrated and much ruined church, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to a date "not earlier than 1140," is a homogeneous edifice of the XII century that has suffered little from later alterations. A continuous and logical system [1] supports the oblong quadripartite rib vaults, of which the wall ribs are much stilted; the abaci of the triforium capitals are continued as a string-course to form the capitals of the vaulting shafts; the crowns of the vaulting arches all rise to nearly the same level; under the aisle roofs are concealed flying buttresses. To the eastward the church terminates in an apse of horseshoe form which opens directly upon the nave, transepts being omitted. Externally the ponderous character of Romanesque work survives, in strong contrast to the interior which possesses all the essential members and dispositions of a Gothic design. The rich ornament is remarkable for the absence of the chevron. (Moore, 101; Woillez, 37; Johnson.)

St. Médard, notable for the flamboyant tower of 1551, is a strangely unsymmetrical structure largely of the Gothic period. (Woillez, 37.)

BURY, Oise. *Église.* (Ill. 170, 209.) "There is systematic use of the pointed arch, still the building is clearly one of the earliest steps in the transition. It is thought by Lefèvre-Pontalis to be certainly posterior to 1125. It can, however, hardly be much later than this. The system is uniform with quadripartite vaulting, the compartments of the nave being square, or nearly so, while those of the aisles are necessarily of oblong rectangular form. The aisle vaults are all pointed and all except the wall arch are provided with ribs. A curious experiment is tried to make the ridges of the vaults approximately level. Above the transverse arches is inserted a section of wall, making thus, in effect, the transverse arches sufficiently thick to fill up the embarrassing space." [2] M. Lefèvre-Pontalis believes that the vaults were added to the original construction subsequently to its completion c. 1125.[3] The decoration consists of double arched corbel-tables and heavy chevrons carved upon the archivolts. (Woillez.)

ST.–LOUP–DE–NAUD, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* This cruciform edifice, whose central lantern is supported on squinches, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the middle of the XII century. The nave system is alternate: the first bay is cov-

[1] Except in the easternmost (earliest) bay.
[2] Moore, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 67.
[3] *Arch. Rel.* II, 83.

ered with a groin vault, the second with a rib vault; the third and fourth bays with a single quadripartite rib vault, evidently made over in the second half of the XII century. The arches are all round, the archivolts are in two orders. Externally the edifice is notable for the portal, a very rich example of the sculpture of the late XII century. (Aufavre et Fichot.)

PROVINS, Seine-et-Marne. *St. Quiriace.* (Ill. 178.) Of the edifice said to have been begun by Henri-le-Libéral, count of Provins about 1160,[1] only the choir survives. An historical notice recording that works were in progress in 1238 must have reference to the nave, which is Gothic in style. Most peculiar is the extension of the idea of the alternate system and sexpartite vault to the extent of including the three bays of the choir in a single vaulting compartment that consequently becomes octopartite. This choir terminates in a semicircular chevet, and is supplied with round piers: it is surrounded by a rectangular ambulatory from which open three eastern rectangular chapels. Round arches occur in triforium and clearstory. The system is logical; the intermediate shafts rest on the abaci of the round piers, the alternate supports have a continuous system with an extra shaft for the second order of the transverse rib. This rib is ornamented with a chevron. There is no wall rib. The eastern bay of the nave is now covered with a dome, the western with two quadripartite vaults. (Von Bezold.)

St. Ayoul, notwithstanding the round arches of the triforium, is a building of the end of the XII century. The supports are very low cylindrical piers with engaged colonnettes; from the abaci rise three vaulting shafts, although the vaults of the nave seem to have been executed only in modern times. The lofty triforium is treated with great charm, but the clearstory is reduced to a series of oculi. (Gurlitt; Von Bezold.)

MASSAY, Cher. *Abbaye St. Martin* consists of a single-aisled nave two bays long, a choir vaulted with much domed rib vaults, and a semicircular apse covered with a half-dome preceded by a barrel vault. The system is logical and continuous; the windows are round-headed. The decoration in chevrons, etc., is very rich. M. de Kersers assigns this important little monument to the middle of the XII century and considers it the earliest example of Gothic art in the département of Cher. It must at least date from the third quarter of the XII century. (De Kersers VII, 303.)

Église. Certain fragments of XII century architecture that still survive prove the original construction must have been contemporary with that of the abbey, but the edifice was entirely reconstructed at the end of the XV century. It consists of a single-aisled nave and a five-sided apse, and is entirely roofed in timber. A stone built into the fine tower which flanks the west façade bears this inscription: "The reverend father in God, Brother Bertrand de Chamborand, venerable abbot of the abbey of Massay, caused this tower to be erected in the year 1493.[2]" (De Kersers VII, 305.)

ARCY-STE.-RESTITUTE, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave four bays long,

[1] Felix Bourquelot, *Hist. de Provins* I, pp. 129–338, cit. Von Bezold.

[2] "Révérend Père en Dieu, Frère Bertrand de Chamborant, vénérable abbé de l'abbaye de Massay a fait faire ceste présente tour l'an mil CCCCLXXX et treize."

two side aisles, and a polygonal choir. The nave erected c. 1180 was much altered in the XVI century. In the XII century it was covered with quadripartite rib vaults each of which was square in plan and embraced two bays, as is indicated by the alternation of coupled columns [1] and piers, the disposition of the windows, and the spacing of the flying buttresses. The system was logical and continuous, with the exception of the wall shaft which rose from the triforium string. The main arcade was pointed and in two unmoulded orders; the large triforium was characterized by round openings and rich projecting mouldings. Above was a small clearstory reinforced by flying buttresses simple and massive in design, but scientifically adjusted. These dispositions were all altered in the XVI century, though ample indications for a restoration survive, the north aisle still retaining a vault and three arches of the edifice of c. 1180. The choir, however, is wholly of the XVI century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 117.)

ANGICOURT, Oise. *Église.* The most ancient portions are the rectangular choir, the crossing, and the south transept; the nave and the side aisles, which are somewhat later, may be assigned to the first years of the XIII century, while the upper portion of the tower and the north transept belong to the late rayonnant period. The plan is unusually broad in proportion to its length, and this effect of width is increased by the square transeptal absidioles which are almost like eastern transeptal side aisles. Sexpartite vaults supported on an alternate system cover the nave; these vaults are at present abutted by flying buttresses well developed, but all uniformly heavy, but the original flying buttresses were concealed. The system of three shafts rises from the capitals of the alternate piers to support the five ribs; in the intermediate piers the wall shafts rising from the capitals of the main arcade receive capitals only at the top of the stilting. Externally the edifice is characterized by a western porch, a central tower, pointed arches, and Gothic details. (Baudot; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 37.)

Other Monuments

AIZY, Aisne. *St. Médard*, which, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, was erected in the last third of the XII century, and rebuilt c. 1200, consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The wooden-roofed nave, four bays long, dates entirely from the early XIII century, and is characterized by pointed arcades, piers on which four columns and four colonnettes are engaged, crocketed capitals, and shafts that were evidently intended to carry vaulting ribs. The side aisles, contemporary with the nave, are supplied with isolated transverse arches and round-headed windows. A rib vault of c. 1175 surmounts the crossing. The transepts are evidently constructions added to the original edifice in the XIII century. The choir, which may be assigned to c. 1180, is covered with rib vaults without wall ribs. Externally this choir is characterized by buttresses in three ressauts and by round and pointed windows; one of the latter is surmounted by a sort of gable sustained by a pier whose angles are shafted. The central tower, commenced soon after the com-

[1] These columns are coupled in the longitudinal sense as at Sens.

pletion of the choir, has never been finished. The façade is of the XIII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 111.)

JUZIERS, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, and a semicircular apse. A double row of arcades are carried completely around the apse so as to produce the effect of an ambulatory — a disposition analogous to the choir of Ste. Trinité of Caen and other Norman buildings. This portion of the edifice — which must date from the last quarter of the XII century — is covered with a radiating rib vault. The wall ribs and the windows are semicircular, but the arcades are pointed. The wooden-roofed nave is characterized by round arches, rectangular piers, and severely simple square profiles; it may be assigned to the first years of the XII, or even the end of the XI century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 12.)

GENOUILLY, Cher. *Église*, one of the most interesting rural churches in the département of Cher, is a fine example of the transition in Berry. The original edifice consisted of a semicircular apse, a choir almost square, a wooden-roofed nave of a single aisle, a western narthex tower, and two chapels added in the XVI century. The apse vault is supported by three radiating ribs, but the crowns of the vault compartments fall towards the outer edge. The choir is covered with a highly domed rib vault. (De Kersers IV, 159.)

CAUFFRY, Oise. *Église.* The nave may be assigned to the XI century, the tower and the choir to c. 1145; the single side aisle is a comparatively modern addition. The XII century edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave, a central tower, and a rectangular choir two bays long. The nave is roofed in wood; the choir is covered with pointed rib vaulting. Externally, the choir and tower are ornamented with arched corbel-tables; the tower windows are in several orders, shafted and richly moulded; the buttresses are broken by ressauts. (Woillez; Johnson.)

LAFFAUX, Aisne. *Notre Dame.* The original edifice consisted of a nave, two side aisles, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. The northern transept was added in the XIII century, the southern, in the XVI century. The wooden-roofed nave of c. 1140 is four bays long, and is characterized by pointed arcades whose extra orders are supported on columns engaged on the piers. Also of c. 1140 is the highly domed rib vault that rises over the crossing; this vault is supplied with wall ribs and pointed arches. The transepts are both vaulted. A ribbed half-dome, dating from c. 1150, surmounts the apse, and is buttressed externally by groups of shafts with capitals. The central tower of about the same time has no buttresses, but its angles are shafted, and its windows adorned with elaborate projecting mouldings. This church is one of the best examples of the rural architecture of the XII century in the Soissonnais. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 56.)

CERNY-EN-LAONNAIS, Aisne. *Église*, has been assigned to the VI century by Fleury and to the first years of the XII century by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, though it may well be doubted if the oldest portions be not as old as the XI century. The edifice consisted of a nave, two side aisles, and three apses one of which has been destroyed. The apses are covered with half-domes, the choir with a barrel vault; but the interest of this church centers chiefly in the transverse arches which span the

nave and side aisles and support the timber roof. Externally the structure is characterized by a central western tower, a curious western narthex occupying the first bay of the nave, and very rough masonry. (Fleury II, 29.)

CATENOY, Oise. *Abbaye.* The central tower which is probably the oldest part of the existing edifice may be assigned to c. 1100. About 1160 the remainder of the church was entirely rebuilt. This structure of the second half of the XII century consisted of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a rectangular choir; the piers of the central tower were placed inside of the nave walls, leaving a passage from the nave directly to the transepts. This disposition, unique in the Ile de France, may be paralleled in Normandy and Berry. In the XIII century a single side aisle was added. The church to-day is of interest chiefly for the barrel and rib vaults which surmount the crossing and choir respectively — the transepts and nave are roofed in timber — and for the main portal richly decorated in six orders. (Woillez.)

AZY-BONNEIL, Aisne. *Église*, which originally consisted of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir surmounted by a tower, was twice rebuilt — once at the end of the XII century and again in the Gothic period. The existing nave, which dates entirely from the first years of the XIII century, is roofed in wood; the archivolts of the four great pointed arches of each side are received on crocketed capitals; each pier is surrounded by six engaged colonnettes; round-headed windows are pierced in the clearstory on the axis of each pier. The aisles and their plaster vaults have been remade in modern times. Beneath the tower is a rib vault, probably built c. 1170 to replace the original barrel vault. About 1175 the old square east end was replaced by a polygonal apse. The vault of this apse is Gothic in character, but has no wall ribs; the windows are round-headed. In 1250 the second bay of the choir was made the center of a new transept. The façade contains some débris — notably the portals — of an earlier building of the first quarter of the XII century, to which the tower (c. 1115) also belonged. (Lefèvre-Pontalis II, 119.)

JUVIGNY, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a broad transept later than the rest of the construction, and a semicircular apse. The nave, assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is four bays long and covered with a wooden ceiling; the rectangular piers support round arches; the clearstory windows have been walled up. The side aisles which are not vaulted have been reconstructed in modern times. A semicircular arch of triumph in two orders separates the groin-vaulted crossing — which is part of the primitive construction — from the nave. This crossing was merely a bay of the choir until about 1210, when the existing rib-vaulted transepts were added. The apse covered with a half-dome and the octagonal central tower are contemporary with the rest of the church. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 52.)

CHAVIGNY, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, very salient transepts, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. The nave, with wooden ceiling, has been almost entirely rebuilt in modern times; the side aisles which were built to flank it in the XIII century have been suppressed. The half-domed apse which is assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis is reinforced externally by four buttresses surmounted by an engaged half-column without capital. Probably the well-preserved façade and the

tower are contemporary, but the vault of the crossing was remade in the XIII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 34.)

COULOGNES, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, transepts, a large choir, and a polygonal apse rebuilt in the XVI century. The nave, erected in the second quarter of the XII century, was originally supplied with a wooden ceiling, but this was replaced c. 1170 by the existing rib vaults, which are supported on a logical and continuous system of five shafts. The ancient piers consisted of a central core flanked by three shallow pilasters. Towards the nave the pier was flat; the pilaster facing the aisle supported an isolated transverse arch. The aisle vaults were erected at the same time as those of the nave, but the vaults of the transepts are modern. As for the transepts themselves, they are the oldest part of the church and may be assigned to c. 1130. A pointed barrel vault covers the crossing. The exterior is notable for the façade of c. 1135, and for the absence of flying buttresses — an absence the more remarkable that the clearstory is rather high. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 137.)

BUSSAIRES, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The nave, three bays long, is covered with a wooden ceiling, and is characterized by shafts added to the piers in the XVI century with the idea of constructing vaults, which, however, have never been erected; by archivolts in two orders; and by cruciform piers. This nave, as well as its choir, is assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. The pilasters engaged on the side of the piers facing the side aisles fulfil the function of true buttresses and end in a splayed surface. The walls of the aisles have been rebuilt in modern times. A rib vault with a complete set of ribs surmounts the choir; the apse is supplied with a true Gothic radiating vault. Externally, the great round-arched portal must date from the earliest years of the XII century; the tower is modern. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 131.)

BEAUFORT-EN-SANTERRE. Somme. *Église*, erected in the XII, was largely reconstructed at the end of the XVI century. It consisted originally of a square choir of a single bay, transepts, and a nave four bays long, but two side aisles and a southwestern tower were added in the flamboyant period. The crossing and choir were the only portions of the edifice supplied with vaults; they are ornamented externally with arched corbel-tables and rich mouldings of advanced character. The nave has no system; the archivolts are in two orders; the clearstory windows are round-headed. This part of the edifice is assigned by M. Enlart to the second half of the XII century, and the western portal to 1170–90. (Enlart, *L'Arch. Rom.*, 66.)

VILLERS-ST.-PAUL, Oise. *Abbaye.* The most interesting portion of this church, the nave, dates from the XII century. It was originally spanned by three transverse arches, buttressed externally, and one of these still survives. This nave is further characterized by a wooden roof, pointed archivolts in two unmoulded orders of which the lower is supported on colonnettes engaged on the piers, and round-headed clearstory windows. The exterior is ornamented with arched corbel-tables, frets, and chevrons; the west portal is very rich, the façade is pierced by pointed lancets. The transepts and tower date from the XIII century, and the transept windows are filled with fine plate tracery. (Woillez V, 1; Johnson.)

FONTENOY, Aisne. *St. Remi* consists of a nave, two side aisles which are continued to flank the choir, a lateral tower erected subsequently to the original construction, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The nave covered with a wooden ceiling is four bays long, and is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1110; the great arches of the main arcade are semicircular and rest on rectangular piers. The eastern bay of the side aisle, reconstructed about 1140 when the lower portions of the tower [1] were built, is covered with a rib vault. A barrel vault terminating in the half-dome of the apse surmounts the choir. The western portal is contemporary with the nave. The ornament of this church is peculiar, especially the double chevrons of the triumphal arch and the exterior string-courses. (Lefèvre-Pontalis II, 49.)

BÉTHISY-ST.-MARTIN, Oise. *Église.* (Ill. 187.) This edifice of the XII century, altered in the XIII, XIV, and XV centuries, consists of a nave, two side aisles, which are prolonged to flank the choir, a lateral tower, and a rectangular choir. In the XII century the side aisles did not extend farther than the first bay of the choir, which was barrel-vaulted — the existing rib vaults were erected c. 1150 — and followed by a semicircular apse. The timber-roofed nave, four bays long, dates from the first third of the XIII century, and is characterized by massive piers on each of which is engaged a single pilaster facing the side aisle, by clearstory windows placed on the axis of the piers, and by arcades some of whose arches are pointed, some round-headed. The north side aisle was reconstructed in the XIV century; its vaults were added in the flamboyant period. From the pilasters engaged on the walls and on the piers it is evident that it was the intention of the builders to erect isolated transverse arches spanning the side aisles. The east end of the southern side aisle has preserved a barrel vault. The charming tower with its stone spire and angle turrets dates from the second quarter of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis II, 15.)

BEAUVAL, Somme. *Église* consisted originally of a timber-roofed nave, two side aisles also roofed in wood, and a rectangular rib-vaulted choir without side aisles; but a sort of transept was added in the XVII century. It is possible to distinguish two different eras of construction in the nave: the one, of the commencement of the XIII century, is contemporary with the choir, the other is older, but not earlier than the last quarter of the XII century. The archivolts in two orders are supported on colonnettes engaged in the great rectangular piers; the clearstory windows, now walled up, were round-headed. The southwest tower is of the XVII century. (Durand.)

MOGNEVILLE, Oise. *Église.* Of this ancient edifice there survive two bays of the nave, the transepts altered in the XIII century, the choir, and the tower. The buttresses of the latter were added at the end of the XII century, doubtless to counteract some movement which had appeared in the masonry. This tower with its spire, dormers, and angle turrets is a masterpiece of design, and may be assigned to c. 1175; it is decorated with shafted angles, double arched-corbel tables, and pointed arches enclosing horseshoe windows. (Woillez; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I. 30.)

GLENNES, Aisne. *St. Georges* consists of a narthex, a timber-roofed nave, two side aisles, transepts, a rib-vaulted choir, and a semicircular apse. The narthex which

[1] The upper portions of the tower were finished only in the XIII century.

forms a separate edifice higher than the nave is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1200, with the exception of the central vault which was rebuilt in the XVI century. The nave which is assigned to c. 1160 is five bays long: it is characterized by archivolts in two orders, rectangular piers with engaged shafts, pointed arcades, and round-headed windows. Little interest attaches to the side aisles which have been almost entirely rebuilt in the XVI century and in modern times. The crossing is contemporary with the nave, but the transepts, covered with rib vaults furnished with semicircular wall ribs, were added c. 1170. The choir, however, is part of the original construction, as is the apse with its radiating rib vault of the Noyon type without wall ribs. Externally, the church is notable for the central tower of c. 1170 characterized by pointed arches in the upper story, fine mouldings, and shafted buttresses. Altogether this interesting monument is one of the most important rural edifices of the département of Aisne. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 155.)

ANGY, Oise. *Église* of the second half of the XII century, consisted originally of a single-aisled nave roofed in wood, rib-vaulted transepts, and a five-sided apse covered with a radiating rib vault. To this was added, but still in the XII century, a northern side aisle. The transepts are not symmetrical in plan, and the southern is also somewhat higher than the northern. Externally the buttresses of the apse are very salient and in many ressauts; the windows are round-arched; the central tower is ornamented with arched corbel-tables; and the belfry windows are filled with plate tracery. (Woillez; Johnson.)

CERSEUIL, Aisne. *St. Pierre* consists of a single-aisled nave (the side aisles which formerly existed have been torn down), transepts, a central tower, and a square choir. With the exception of the nave the entire edifice was rebuilt in the XIII century, and it is probable that the church of the XII century had no transept. The nave, three bays long and covered with a wooden ceiling, is characterized by rectangular piers, unmoulded archivolts of a single order, and small unornamented clearstory windows. Its most interesting feature, however, is the pointed arch which occurs in the west portal — an unusually early example of such a construction, for this part of the edifice must date, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, from c. 1125. The remainder of the edifice is of little interest, except for the tower assigned to c. 1210. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 33.)

CIRY, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, a three-sided apse, and a large square chapel recently erected. The nave, assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is covered with a modern plaster vault, replacing the ancient timber roof; the semicircular arches of the main arcade are supported by rectangular piers. The side aisles, reconstructed in modern times, were covered with a wooden roof in the XII century. A round triumphal arch separates the nave from the choir. This choir is assigned to c. 1130, and is covered with a groin vault furnished with two wall ribs. The three-sided apse, the oldest example of a polygonal east end in the Soissonnais, is surmounted by a half-dome divided by two groins, a construction which forms, in fact, a segmental cloistered vault. Although the portal has clearly been rebuilt, the façade, on the whole, seems contemporary with the nave. The tower

which rises over the choir cannot be later than c. 1140. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 40.)

GALLARDON, Eure-et-Loire. *Église* consists of a narthex, a single-aisled nave five bays long, two northern chapels of the XVI century, transepts, a choir of two bays flanked by side aisles, a chevet, an ambulatory, and three radiating chapels. A tower rises over the north side aisle, and a second formerly rose over the choir. The narthex is said to be of the XI century, but the three rib vaults which cover it were evidently added in the early Gothic period. This narthex, the nave, and the façade are all parts of a primitive church whose eastern portions were destroyed in the late XII century to make way for the existing Gothic choir; the nave, however, was repaired in the XV century when the present timber roof and south lateral portal were added. The ambulatory has groin vaults with pointed transverse arches of simple profile; the upper portions of the choir are clearly later and may be assigned to c. 1230, for in the lower parts no provision was made for the shafts which rest on corbels placed at the level of the triforium string, and the chevet vault is of the fully developed Gothic type. Although the flying buttresses are very high, the lower strut abuts the clearstory piers at a point too low to secure the greatest efficiency. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 34.)

BAILLEVAL, Oise. *Église* consists of a rectangular choir and a single-aisled nave. The northern wall *in toto*, and the choir vaults in part, belong to the original construction which may be assigned to c. 1130. These choir vaults are characterized by unusually heavy transverse ribs; the easternmost, excessively domed, is supplied with a semicircular wall rib, but in the western bay the builders seem to have gained skill by experience, and the wall rib is pointed. The windows are small, and the whole construction very crude. (Woillez.)

BONNES, Aisne. *St. Martin* consists of a nave, two side aisles rebuilt in modern times, transepts whose absidioles have disappeared, and a semicircular apse. A tower formerly rose over the southern transept. The nave, like the façade, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1150, and is covered with a wooden ceiling; the piers are formed each of a square core surrounded by four engaged colonnettes; the continuous system was probably not intended to carry a vault; the great arches of the main arcade are pointed; the bases are supplied with griffes. The crossing contemporary with the nave is covered with a highly domed rib vault without wall ribs. A ribbed half-dome surmounts the apse. The tower of c. 1165 is supplied with pointed windows. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 127.)

LARGNY, Aisne. *St. Denis* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, transepts added in the XIII century, and a semicircular apse. The nave, assigned to c. 1140 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is four bays long, and is characterized by a wooden ceiling of the XVI century, pointed arches in the main arcade, cruciform piers, and shafts rising to the level of the clearstory windows where they support blind arches engaged in the walls — an exceptional disposition. The side aisles, covered with simple timbered roofs, have been rebuilt in modern times; the pilasters engaged on the aisle side of the piers support buttresses which reinforce the clearstory walls externally. A highly domed rib vault with wall ribs surmounts the crossing, and

may be referred to the same epoch (1140). The choir, also of about the same date, is covered with a vault whose two radiating ribs are supported on long colonnettes. It is probable that a *clocher* rose over the transept in the XII century, but in the Gothic period the existing lateral tower was erected. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 59.)

BÉTHISY-ST.-PIERRE, Oise. *Église* (Ill. 161) in the XII century consisted of a nave roofed in wood, two rib-vaulted side aisles, a choir of which the first bay was rib-vaulted the other two barrel-vaulted, and an apse covered with a half-dome. In the XIII century two chapels, one of which ended in a polygonal apse, were built flanking the nave, and the façade was reconstructed; in the XVI century a southwestern tower was erected, and part of the southern side aisle rebuilt; recently the outside walls have been restored. Apparently the barrel vault of the choir has transverse ribs carried on columns in a manner that recalls the school of Berry, but a disastrous restoration carried out in 1895 has made this part of the church difficult to study. The choir is contemparary with the nave, and may be assigned to c. 1125, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. Most peculiar are the vaults of the side aisles, highly domed by the use of segmental transverse arches. The tower was built in 1520 as is known from an inscription. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 19.)

BAZOCHES, Aisne. *St. Pierre* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The nave is three bays long; its original wooden ceiling has been replaced by a modern rib vault. On the north side the pointed arches in two orders resting on rectangular piers seem to be a clever modern imitation of XII century work; the arcades of the south side, however, are of the XIII century, and the system indicates an unfulfilled intention on the part of the builders to erect a vault. The aisles have been much modernized. According to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, the transepts, which are rib-vaulted throughout, date from the third quarter of the XII century. These vaults are not excessively domed, and are supplied with a full set of ribs supported by a logical system. Pointed arches are used throughout except in the windows. The square choir, also rib-vaulted, appears to be contemporary. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 123.)

BRUYÈRES, Aisne. *St. Martin* contains two early rib vaults, one surmounting the choir, the other placed underneath the tower. Both are without wall ribs. The main apse and the two absidioles which flank it are covered with ribbed half-domes. The style of the buttresses and of the capitals of the choir and the richness of the apse cornice are considered by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to prove that this part of the church cannot be earlier than c. 1130. A single side aisle is separated from the nave (which is three bays long and roofed in timber) by pointed arcades resting on rectangular supports. This side aisle was probably added about the middle of the XII century. The exterior is notable for a fine western portal elaborately moulded, and a central tower of the first third of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 82; and II, 31.)

DHUIZEL, Aisne. *St. Remi* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts of the XIII century, and a semicircular apse. The nave, which is assigned to c. 1125 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is covered with modern vaults replacing the original roof in wood, and is characterized by round, unmoulded arcades resting upon heavy piers.

The crossing is contemporary with the nave, and is covered with rib vaults supplied with highly stilted wall ribs and pointed arches. A half-dome reinforced by very broad, flat, external buttresses surmounts the apse, which together with the central tower is assigned to the first quarter of the XII century. The middle portion of the façade is contemporary with the nave. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 47.)

COUDUN, Oise. *St. Hilaire*, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the second quarter of the XII century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and three apses. The nave is roofed in wood, and its piers are rectangular; the main arcades in two unmoulded orders are pointed. The apse, which is polygonal internally, and the transepts are rib-vaulted.[1] A portal in three orders richly ornamented with chevrons characterizes the façade of c. 1150. (Woillez; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

BRASLE, Aisne. *St. Quentin.* Originally this church consisted of a single-aisled nave and a square choir surmounted by a tower, but the side aisles added c. 1160 and the large chapel of the end of the XIII century give the present plan an irregular form. In the XVI century the old ceiling was replaced by a rib vault. The choir, covered by a pointed barrel vault, is assigned to the first third of the XII century by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, and the façade rebuilt in modern times still preserves a portal of the same time. The central tower is assigned to c. 1125. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 28.)

BONNEUIL-EN-VALOIS, Oise. *Église.* According to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis this edifice of c. 1110 was altered about the middle of the XII century, and again in the XIII and XVI centuries. It consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, transepts, and a square choir which originally was in all probability supplied with a semicircular apse. The nave roofed in wood is five bays long. On the north side three bays of the structure of the first quarter of the XII century still survive; they are characterized by semicircular arcades in two orders and rectangular piers with two colonnettes, one engaged at either end. The rest of the nave was reconstructed in the XVI century, when vaults were projected, but never carried out. There were probably no transepts in the original edifice; the existing north chapel and its apse may be assigned to c. 1150, the south transept is of the XIII century. The central part of the façade is of the first quarter of the XII century. The tower which rises at the end of the north aisle is assigned to c. 1125, and is ornamented with grouped windows, flat corbel-tables, and chevrons. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 25.)

BRÉCY, Aisne. *St. Michel* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir, but the addition of a side aisle and a lateral chapel have disfigured the primitive plan. The nave is assigned to c. 1160; the choir, of which the first bay is surmounted by a rib vault, the second by a pointed barrel vault, dates from c. 1150. The entire edifice was made over in the XIII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 130.)

DAMERY, Marne. *St. Médard* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal apse erected in the XIII century in place of the original square east end. The nave, assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is six bays long and

[1] The drawings of the Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. show the apse surmounted by a half-dome instead of by a rib vault.

covered with a wooden ceiling; the main arcades in two orders are pointed and rest upon cruciform piers. The side aisles have been rebuilt in modern times. A rib vault square in plan surmounts the crossing which must date from the middle of the XII century, but the transepts are covered with pointed barrel vaults. The façade was rebuilt at the same time as the nave. Pointed windows grouped under a round arch, angle shafts, and a double arched corbel-table characterize the central tower of c. 1160. The figured capitals and the details of the carving throughout are of exceptional interest. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 152.)

BERZY-LE-SEC, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a square choir surmounted by a tower, and a semicircular apse. The nave, covered by a wooden ceiling, is divided into three bays; the archivolts are in two unmoulded orders, of which the inner rest on colonnettes engaged in the rectangular piers. The outer walls of the side aisles are modern. A highly domed rib vault nearly square in plan covers the choir: it is supplied with a full set of ribs of which the transverse and longitudinal ones are pointed. The apse is vaulted with a ribbed half-dome. Externally the edifice is remarkable for the salient buttresses broken by numerous ressauts. As for the ornament, the abaci are continued as string-courses, many of the capitals are adorned with figure sculptures, the doorways are shafted, the windows finely moulded, and the façade is supplied with a well-developed drip-stone string-course. Pointed arches occur in the vaults, but the arches of the main arcade are nearly round. This church is a homogeneous structure of c. 1140, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

CHACRISE, Aisne. *Notre Dame* consisted originally of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir, but transepts have been added. The nave, with wooden ceiling, is four bays long; its round arcades rest on heavy piers, unfortunately modernized. This nave, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is not earlier than c. 1150; the transepts are assigned to c. 1200; but the crossing has preserved a rib vault of the XII century, and the choir covered by a single square rib vault is ascribed to c. 1160. Little interest attaches to the façade. The central tower, contemporary with the nave, is characterized by shafted angles, and twin windows ornamented with dog-tooths, chevrons, etc. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 133.)

BRAY, Somme. *St. Nicolas* consists of a nave, two side aisles, three apses, and a central western tower. The apses, the oldest portion of the edifice, date from the XII century, though the existing vaults were erected in XVI century. Externally this portion of the edifice is characterized by shafted windows. The flamboyant choir may well have been erected after the sack of the city by Charles the Bold in 1472; it is adorned with disappearing mouldings, and capitals are omitted. The wooden-roofed nave must date from the reign of Francis I, as it is decorated with sculptured salamanders. The present tower is of the XVIII century. (Josse.)

AUVILLER, Oise. *Église*, which may be assigned to the first quarter of the XII century, is a single-aisled country church with a square east end and a central tower. The choir of the XIII century is rib-vaulted, as is the bay beneath the tower. The ribs of the vault of the latter rest on corbels. Externally the edifice is characterized by the tower, whose grouped windows have square profiles, and by the ornamentation in dog-tooth mouldings. (Woillez.)

CHARS (near Pontoise), Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The vaults of the transept and choir have been remade in the XVI century, but the rib vaults of the ambulatory dating from the middle of the XII century are still intact. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 92.)

COURMELLES, Aisne. *St. Georges* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The nave, three bays long, is roofed in wood, and is assigned to the third quarter of the XII century by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. In the northern arcade arches in two orders rest upon cruciform piers; but in the southern the arches are of only a single order. The rib vault over the crossing is assigned to c. 1160, but was altered in the XIII century. The transepts were revaulted in the XVI century. Rib vaults surmount the choir which seems to be contemporary with the nave. The apse is covered with a ribbed half-dome, which is buttressed externally by groups of engaged columns. Throughout the edifice the windows are round-headed, but those of the apse are surmounted by blind pointed arches. The façade was rebuilt in the XIII century; the central tower however, is contemporary with the choir. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 143.)

CHELLES, Oise. *Église* (Ill. 206) which is thought by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to be not earlier than c. 1140, consists of a wooden-roofed nave, two side aisles, transepts formerly supplied with absidioles of which only the southern survives, a central tower, a choir, and a semicircular apse. Of the nave erected c. 1140, the five northern arcades survive; they are characterized by pointed archivolts resting upon rectangular piers with colonnettes engaged at either end. The side aisles were much altered in the XVI century, but the south aisle still preserves its ancient pointed barrel vaults. The choir may be assigned to the second quarter of the XII century. A ribbed half-dome surmounts the apse. This apse is externally very richly ornamented: the shafts of the windows are zig-zagged so as to form chevrons, and columns with capitals supporting gables are engaged upon the buttresses. The tower has pointed windows — probably the earliest known example of this feature. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 37.)

LATILLY, Aisne. *St. Laurent* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and a square choir. There was originally a semicircular apse, but this has disappeared. The nave, which is four bays long and covered with a wooden ceiling, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1135. The pointed arches of the main arcade are in two orders and supported by rectangular piers with colonnettes engaged at either end. Over the crossing is a rib vault, whose ribs rest on four engaged colonnettes. This part of the church was erected in the second quarter of the XII century; the existing rib-vaulted transepts and the choir are of the XIII century. The angles of the tower (which is contemporary with the nave) are shafted, but there are no buttresses. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 61.)

BERTEAUCOURT-LES-DAMES, Somme. *Église*, consisted originally of a nave seven bays long, two side aisles, transepts with absidioles, a choir two bays long, and an apse; but the north aisle has been torn down and rebuilt, the transepts and choir have disappeared, and a modern apse now replaces the ancient choir. The nave, which dates from the first half of the XII century, like the side aisles had orig-

inally no vaults nor even any system, although the piers are alternately round and clustered. The archivolts are unmoulded and in three orders; the arches of the main arcade are pointed, but all the other arches are round-headed. Externally the church is very richly ornamented — especially the façade, assigned to c. 1150, is notable for its sculpture, its ornate portal, its southern tower, and its pointed arched corbel-tables. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 72.)

ACY-EN-MULTIEN, Oise. *Église.* Beneath the lateral tower there survives a rib vault, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1110. The nave, assigned by the same authority to c. 1130, was originally roofed in wood, and the side aisles were spanned by isolated transverse arches intended to support the roof. System and vaults were added c. 1140. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 86.)

PERNANT, Aisne. *St. Léger* consisted of a nave, two side aisles, transepts which evidently are not part of the original construction, a central tower, and an apse. The nave is assigned to c. 1170 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, the rest of the church to c. 1130. The great arches of the nave (which is five bays long and roofed in timber) are pointed and in two orders; they rest on rectangular piers each of which is supplied with two colonnettes, one engaged at either end. A highly domed rib vault without wall ribs surmounts the crossing; the transepts of the XIII century are also rib-vaulted, and a ribbed half-dome crowns the apse. The façade, which was reconstructed c. 1170, is well preserved, and notable for the pointed portal. The central tower dates from c. 1130. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 78.)

RESSONS-LE-LONG, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The nave, which may be assigned to c. 1100, is roofed in timber, and is four bays long; the main arcades are round and in two orders. Each pier consists of a rectangular core on which are engaged three colonnettes — one at either end, and one on the side of the pier facing the nave. The latter is continued along the clearstory to form a system. In the billet string-courses and buttresses of the façade may be seen traces of a western narthex and a tower which no longer exist. In the XII century the present rib vault was erected over the crossing. The transepts are not vaulted. The barrel-vaulted choir is, perhaps, the oldest example of a square east end extant in the Ile de France. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 216.)

VAILLY, Aisne. *Notre Dame* (Ill. 193), which was rebuilt, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, between 1170 and 1180, consisted originally of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir ending in a semicircular niche; but c. 1230 two chapels flanking the choir were added, and in the XIV century other chapels were erected opposite the last bays of the side aisles. The nave, five bays long, has always had a timber roof; the great arches of the main arcade are pointed, and rest upon slender piers with four engaged columns. In the XII century the aisles had transverse arches, but these were replaced in the Renaissance period by the existing vaults. A slightly domed rib vault covers the crossing, and the eastern niche is vaulted with a ribbed half-dome. The façade, whose rich decoration is very pleasing, is one of the most remarkable architectural productions of the diocese; the tympanum of the portal contains sculptures, for the most part, unfortunately, modern. The tower

was commenced c. 1175 and finished c. 1200. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 207.)

LHUYS, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir, but was rebuilt no less than three times during the XII and XIII centuries. The nave is covered with a wooden ceiling; in the northern arcade, the pointed arch of the first bay is modern, but the three following bays are assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the early years of the XII century, and are characterized by semicircular unmoulded archivolts in two orders resting upon heavy piers. In the southern arcade, entirely rebuilt c. 1140, the round arches of the first three bays are supported by piers surrounded by ten engaged colonnettes, and the fourth bay is similar, except that the arch is pointed. The north side aisle is modern, but the eastern bay of the south aisle retains its rib vault — it was this rib vault which necessitated the introduction of the pointed arch in the corresponding bay of the main arcade. The transepts, which are assigned to c. 1180, are vaulted, as is the crossing. It is probable that the wall ribs of the choir vaults were added when this portion of the edifice was reconstructed in the XIII century, for they do not seem to form part of the original work of c. 1170. The tower dates from c. 1130. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 165.)

NOUVRON-VINGRÉ, Aisne. *Notre Dame* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, transepts, and a semicircular apse. In the northern arcade of the wooden-roofed nave are preserved three round arches assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first years of the XII century. Colonnettes are engaged at either end of the piers. As for the southern arcade, the arches are all pointed, and must date from the end of the XII century. The side aisles have been rebuilt in modern times. A rib vault, whose ribs are supported on colonnettes, crowns the crossing; this part of the edifice together with the apse and the tower which rises over the north transept dates from c. 1140. The façade is modern. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 73.)

SOISSONS, Aisne. *St. Pierre.* The reconstruction of this monument was commenced c. 1170 and finished c. 1180, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. In 1180 the apse, the transepts, and the last bays of the nave were destroyed, but the façade and the first two bays of the nave still survive, transformed into a gymnasium. The nave, flanked by two side aisles, was roofed in wood; the pointed arches of the main arcade were unmoulded, and rested on monolithic columns; the windows were all round-headed. The façade is characterized by a pointed portal. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 201.)

ORGEVAL, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The choir may be assigned to the late XI century, the tower to the middle of the XII century, the nave and transepts, though much rebuilt in the flamboyant era, to the XIII century, the side aisle to the last half of the XVI century. The nave is flanked by a single side aisle, the gables of whose roof are at right angles to the main axis. The church is vaulted throughout; the vault of the choir is a highly domed groin vault with transverse arches in two orders; the semicircular apse is surmounted by a half-dome. Externally the edifice is characterized by large but absolutely plain windows and by an octagonal tower adorned

with finely moulded windows in several orders, shafted angles, and small dormers placed near the top of the spire. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.; Baudot.)

CROUY, Aisne. *St. Maurice* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The nave, built c. 1170, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is four bays long, and not vaulted; its arcades, pointed and in two orders, rest upon cruciform piers. The vaults of the side aisles and the eastern portions of the church are modern. Most interesting is the façade of c. 1170, fortified by a high gallery supported on a round arch. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 147.)

BEUGNEUX, Aisne. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave, a choir surmounted by a tower, and a semicircular apse, but c. 1160 the northern side aisle was erected. The nave, with a wooden ceiling and round windows, must date from the second quarter of the XII century. When the choir vault was rebuilt in the XIII century, the ancient apse was replaced by the present rectangular choir. The central tower dates from c. 1135. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 22.)

MAREUIL-EN-DÔLE, Aisne. *St. Germain* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The nave, three bays long and with wooden ceiling, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1125. Its rectangular piers, made octagonal in modern times, support round arcades; the ancient round-headed windows were replaced by pointed ones in the XIII century. The walls of the side aisles are modern. About 1220 it was determined to reconstruct the choir, and the rib vaults which at present surmount the crossing and south transept were then executed. The north transept, on the other hand, is a work of the XVI century. The façade is notable for the round-arched portal of the first third of the XII century, and for the great timber-roofed porch of c. 1150. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 168.)

MAREUIL-LE-PORT, Marne. *Église.* Of the ancient edifice assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, only the central tower survives, the remainder of the building having been entirely rebuilt in the XIII and in the first third of the XVI centuries. The timber-roofed nave is a simple structure of the XIII century; its pointed arcades rest on heavy piers. The transepts divided into two lateral aisles are covered by six rib vaults of the XVI century. Renaissance details, and fine glass presented by Nicolas Prudhomme, Abbot of St. Jean-des-Vignes from 1516 to 1541, characterize the vaulted polygonal apse. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 63.)

ANSACQ, Oise. *St. Lucien*, a country church of a single aisle roofed in timber, is of interest chiefly for the portal which may be assigned to c. 1140. This portal is characterized by a pointed archivolt, voussoirs finely moulded and ornamented with chevrons, zig-zag shafts, and capitals of a pronounced Romanesque type. The façade is preceded by a narthex of the XII century. The side walls are ornamented externally with pilaster strips, and are pierced by round-headed windows. (Woillez.)

MAROLLES, Oise. *Ste. Geneviève* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, transepts, and a polygonal apse, but before the XVI century there were no transepts, and the apse was semicircular. The nave, surmounted by a wooden ceiling, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1125; it is characterized by pointed arcades, heavy piers, and round-headed windows now walled up. Beneath the tower, which

rises over the eastern bay of the northern side aisle, survives a pointed barrel vault. This portion of the edifice may be assigned to c. 1130. The highly domed rib vault of the crossing is of the same epoch, but the vaulted transepts and choir are of the XVI century. The tower of c. 1135 is characterized by angle columns, grouped round-arched windows in several richly moulded orders, a spire whose broken outline is doubtless due to a change in the original plans, and four angle pyramids. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 67.)

CUISE, Oise. *St. Martin* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The choir and transepts are of the XII century, but the nave and façade were finished only in the Gothic period. In the nave plaster vaults of modern construction replace the original wooden ceiling, and cruciform piers support the double orders of the archivolts of the main arcade. The rib vault of the crossing, which is assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, rests on colonnettes. The northern transept was revaulted in the XIII century, but the southern still retains its original vault. Externally the choir is characterized by round-arched windows placed in pointed niches. The uninteresting tower is of the end of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 149.)

JOUY-LE-MOUSTIER, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave of the end of the XII century, two side aisles of the XV century, transepts of the XIII century, a rectangular choir of the same epoch, and a north lateral porch with vaulted narthex of the XVI century. The nave is characterized by a continuous triforium, a clear-story composed of oculi, round piers whose capitals have octagonal abaci, a system of three shafts, and quadripartite rib vaults whose wall ribs are not stilted. The central tower with its rather flat spire and four conical turrets dates from the second quarter of the XII century. (Baudot.)

NAMPS-AU-VAL, Somme. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave two bays long, a rectangular rib-vaulted choir also of two bays, and a lateral tower rising at the junction of the choir and the nave. The wooden-roofed nave is decorated internally with a continuous arcade of round arches, and is supplied with round-headed windows and a pointed portal. The choir is characterized by a system of five shafts, whose abaci are normal to the wall, and by diagonal ribs decorated with chevrons. A voluted moulding strangely analogous to the well-known Syrian motive occurs in the southern portal. The tower is assigned by M. Enlart to the XIII century, the nave to 1160–80, and the choir to c. 1150. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 146.)

SAPONAY, Aisne. *Notre Dame* consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a rectangular choir, and a polygonal apse. The nave, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1150, was rib-vaulted in the XVII century; the pointed arches of the main arcade are in two orders, and rest on rectangular piers. The choir, which is assigned to the last quarter of the XII century, is surmounted by a rib vault with pointed wall ribs. Most peculiar is the plan of the apse; the first two of the seven sides, instead of following the direction of the choir walls, spread out, thus giving the apse the form of a polygonal horseshoe. The vault, which is supplied with a complete set of wall arches, is supported on eight radiating ribs. Strangely enough the windows of this apse are round-headed, although the details, especially the figured capitals,

are advanced in character. The western portal is of the XIII century, and the tower which rises over the choir is of the same epoch. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 187.)

AVRECHY, Oise. *St. Lucien.* The rectangular choir, which is the only portion of this church earlier than the XIII century, is surmounted by a rib vault excessively domed, although the arches are pointed. Externally the east end is pierced by three round-arched windows surmounted by an oculus over which a string-course is arched. (Woillez.)

VAUXREZIS, Aisne. *St. Maurice* (Ill. 171) consists at present of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, transepts, and a semicircular apse, but the original edifice probably possessed no transepts. The timber-roofed nave, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1130, is characterized by the main arcades of round arches in two unmoulded orders and by the rectangular piers, on each of which are engaged two colonnettes. The side aisles were rebuilt in the XVI century. A rib vault surmounts the crossing. The choir is contemporary with the nave; the half-dome of the apse is reinforced by two ribs. The façade is also of c. 1130. Over the crossing rises the central tower, one of the most beautiful of the period in the Ile de France. This tower must date from c. 1135, for the angles are shafted and the openings finely moulded. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 97.)

PONT-ST.-MARD, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and an apse. The timber-roofed nave, which is assigned to the first quarter of the XII century by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is supplied with arcades of round arches and with piers which have been cut down to the shape of columns in modern times. Entirely modern are the side aisles, and a modern vault replaces the ancient barrel vault of the crossing. The transepts are of the XVI century, but the apse with its half-dome dates from c. 1115. The façade of about the same epoch is finely ornamented with arched string-courses, billets, double triangles, and ribbon mouldings. A gable surmounts the principal portal. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 80.)

ÉPAUX, Aisne. *St. Médard* consists at present of a single-aisled nave with a wooden ceiling and a polygonal choir also roofed in timber, but the latter is a work of the XVI century, and the church originally terminated in a square east end. A modern tower flanks the edifice to the north, but the rib vault of its lower story dates from c. 1150, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. The western portal of c. 1150 is in four shafted orders adorned with double chevrons and têtes plates — decorations unmistakably Norman in character. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 154.)

CRÉZANCY, Aisne. *Église* consisted orignally of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir. The southern arcade of the wooden-roofed nave and both side aisles are modern, but the northern arcade dates from the second quarter of the XII century, although the cylindrical piers which support the round arches are an exceptional construction for that epoch. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns the rib vault of the crossing to c. 1130, the western portal to c. 1135, and the two lower stories of the central tower to about the same time. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 44.)

GASSICOURT, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and a square choir. The nave and tower are of the XII cen-

tury, but the choir and transepts are rayonnant. The tower is characterized by unmoulded windows in two orders — three in each face — and by elliptical arched corbel-tables. (Johnson.)

CONDÉ-SUR-AISNE, Aisne. *St. Pierre et St. Paul* consists at present of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a rectangular choir, but originally there were no transepts. The nave is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1125; the choir, covered with a pointed barrel vault, is about contemporary. The walls are ornamented with pointed arcades. About the end of the XIII century the uninteresting tower was built over the choir. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 41.)

Chapelle. This desecrated edifice, which is assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is a single-aisled building two bays long terminating in a square east end. It was formerly supplied with rib vaults, but these have been destroyed. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 41.)

MARIGNY-EN-ORXOIS, Aisne. *Église* consists at present of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal apse. The pointed arches of the main arcades of the wooden-roofed XIII century nave are in a single unmoulded order, and are supported on piers with chamfered corners. The walls of the side aisles are modern. It is certain that there were no transepts in the original edifice; the existing ones date, the northern from c. 1240, the southern from perhaps slightly later. Both are vaulted. The seven-sided apse is assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis; it is covered with a finely developed radiating vault with wall ribs. The façade is without interest, and the tower modern. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 169.)

MONTIGNY-LEUGRAIN, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave of three bays, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and a rectangular choir. The nave, roofed in wood and without clearstory, dates from the XVI century; the side aisles have been rebuilt in modern times. A highly domed rib vault without wall ribs, assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, surmounts the crossing, and a rib vault with stilted wall ribs, apparently of the same epoch, covers the choir. The façade is of the XVI century, the tower of c. 1160. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 176.)

CROUTTES, Aisne. *St. Quiriace* consists of a wooden-roofed nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower of c. 1160, a choir, and a semicircular apse. On the north side of the nave are preserved three pointed arcades in two orders, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1160. On the south side the pilasters formerly engaged on the piers were replaced in the XIII century by great engaged columns. The aisles were rebuilt in the XVIII century, but the rib-vaulted crossing dates from c. 1160. The existing transepts were added in the XIII century, and the portal of the façade was altered at the same epoch. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 145.)

OULCHY-LA-VILLE, Aisne. *St. Pierre* consists of a nave of three bays, two modern side aisles ending in absidioles, a lateral tower, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The nave, roofed in wood, is characterized by arcades of round arches and by square piers. This portion of the church is assigned to c. 1125 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. A square bay with pointed barrel vault of the same period precedes the absidiole of each side aisle. The choir also is surmounted by a polygonal

barrel vault which ends in a pointed half-dome over the apse. This apse is adorned externally with plain buttresses and flat corbel-tables. The façade is modern. The tower of c. 1125 is notable for its shafted angles, its coupled windows in two orders, and its arched string-courses. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 77.)

MARISY-ST.-MARD, Aisne. *Église* begun, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, c. 1180, was finished only in the XIII century. It consists of a single-aisled nave, a choir, and a nine-sided apse, the rib-vaulted side aisles having been destroyed in modern times. The three rib vaults of the nave are assigned to c. 1120, and the façade is contemporary. The choir of c. 1180 is rib-vaulted, and the apse of about the same epoch is furnished with a fully developed radiating vault with wall ribs, although the windows are round-headed. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 171.)

ALLONNE, Oise. *Église*, of unusual plan, consists of two parallel naves and two choirs with square east end. The southern edifice is of the transitional epoch, and of the original construction there remain a portion of the groin-vaulted choir, some substructions of the nave, the tower, and the façade. These fragments, to judge from Woillez's drawings, must date from the first quarter of the XII century. (Woillez.)

CORBIE, Somme. *Notre Dame* consisted originally, as is known from an engraving of 1677, of a three-sided apse, transepts with eastern aisles and square eastern apses, a nave three double bays long, side aisles, a western narthex, and a tribune. Of this edifice only fragments of the nave — which is now desecrated and difficult to study — and the portal with its superbly sculptured lintel survive. It seems evident, however, that the nave was vaulted, and that each compartment of this vault corresponded to two bays of the side aisles. It is known that the city of Corbie was entirely destroyed by fire in 1137; but M. Enlart assigns the surviving fragments of the edifice to 1160–80. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 91.)

St. Étienne. A sculptured portal of the XII century survives. (Guide Joanne.)

St. Pierre is an edifice principally of the XVI and later centuries. (Guide Joanne.)

AUTHEUIL-EN-VALOIS, Oise. *Prieuré.* This desecrated edifice, assigned to c. 1130 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, consists of a nave of five bays, a southern side aisle (the northern has been destroyed), and a rectangular choir. The nave, covered by a timber roof, is characterized by rectangular piers, arcades of pointed and unmoulded arches, the absence of a system, round-headed windows, and a finely moulded portal in three orders. The arched corbel-tables of the exterior are peculiarly Italian in character. (Lefèvre-Pontalis.)

St. Martin. The oldest portions of this church — the rib vaults of the tribune and north transept — are assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1150, but the main body of the edifice dates from the XV and XVI centuries. The polygonal apse is lighted by six round-headed windows, but its vaults are of the XV century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis.)

ST.-ÉTIENNE-LEZ-PIERREFONDS, Oise. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave and a semicircular apse, but in the XVI century the building was entirely altered, two side aisles and transepts being added. The existing nave, roofed in wood, dates from the time of François I; its pointed arcades rest upon slen-

der columns. The vaults of the crossing and transepts are modern. A half-dome, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first quarter of the XII century (1115), covers the apse, and is buttressed externally by two shafts which rise from the ground to the cornice but are not supplied with capitals. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 85.)

NANTEUIL-NOTRE-DAME, Aisne. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir, but about 1225 an oblong chapel was added south of the choir. The existing nave is modern. The choir, assigned to c. 1175 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is covered with rib vaults of which the pointed wall ribs rise to the same height as the transverse arches. Most singular are the ribs of the second bay decorated with spiral fluting. The façade seems to date from the first half of the XII century, but the tower, which rises over the choir, is modern. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 179.)

COURTHIEZY, Marne. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave roofed in timber and a rectangular choir, but in the XIII century a side aisle was added. The barrel vault which covers the first bay of the choir is of the first quarter of the XII century, but has been restored; the rib vault of the second bay is of the XIII century. Above the choir rises a tower of c. 1130. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 43.)

NOUVRON-LE-VINEUX, Somme. *Église* consists of an apse covered with pointed rib vaults, transepts with absidioles, a central lantern with octopartite vault, a nave two bays long, and a lateral tower. The apse and transepts are assigned to c. 1160 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. Except in the tower the pointed arch is used consistently throughout the edifice. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 91.)

BEAUQUESNE, Somme. *Église.* With the exception of the nave of the XII century, this edifice dates from the XIII century. The tower is square and crowned by a wooden spire; its four stories are ornamented with twin lancets.

TAILLEFONTAINE, Aisne. *Ste. Vierge.* The pendant-vaulted nave five bays long, the vaulted side aisles of the same height as the nave, and the polygonal apse with its radiating rib vault are all of the XVI century. The round-arched portal, however, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first quarter of the XII century. It is shafted, in three orders, and ornamented with simple mouldings and chipped chevrons. About 1160 a porch with pointed barrel vault was built before it. The fine tower, which rises at the angle of the porch and the southern side aisle, was built c. 1530; its stone spire rests on a platform surrounded by a balustrade and flanked by pinnacles. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 92.)

VIEL-ACY, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave of four bays, two side aisles, transepts, and a semicircular apse. The nave, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to 1135, has a wooden ceiling; its pointed arcades are in two orders, and rest upon rectangular piers. The side aisles have been modernized. In the XIII century transepts were added to the original edifice, but one of these was rebuilt in the XVI century. A pointed barrel vault surmounts the crossing. The choir is assigned to c. 1130; the apse is covered with a simple half-dome. The façade, contemporary with the nave, is pierced by a portal in two orders, shafted and ornamented with a double chevron. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 103.)

CAUVIGNY, Oise. *St. Martin.* Of the primitive edifice there remain only a portion of the exterior wall of the south transept and the tower, which is octagonal and crowned by a spire. To judge from these fragments the monument must have been erected c. 1150, for it was characterized by shafted windows in two orders, moulded archivolts, and double arched corbel-tables. (Woillez.)

CROISSY, Oise. *Église* has been entirely rebuilt in recent years with the exception of the narthex-tower. This stood at the west end of the church which was lately demolished; probably, however, it was not built for this position, but was originally placed between the choir and the nave of a still earlier edifice. On the character of its sculpture the lower part of the tower is assigned by M. Enlart to 1115 or 1120; the technique is uncertain, the stone joints wide, the vaults simply groined. The upper story with its two groups of two shafted windows placed on each face is obviously later, and is assigned to the second quarter of the XII century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 100.)

FOULANGUES, Oise. *St. Denis.* The plan, which has become irregular in consequence of the alterations and additions to which the edifice has been subjected since its original construction, consists at present of three unsymmetrical aisles and an irregular square east end. The church is rib-vaulted throughout. These vaults, which may be assigned to c. 1140, are much domed and without wall ribs; many are strangely distorted. The system is logical and continuous. (Woillez.)

VIC-SUR-AISNE, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, broad transepts, and a polygonal choir. The nave, covered with a wooden ceiling, is divided into five bays, and is assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis; the round arches of its main arcades are in two orders, and the light piers are supplied each with two engaged colonnettes. The side aisles have been rebuilt in modern times; the transepts date from the XIII and XVI centuries; the choir is modern. A gabled portal in three orders characterizes the façade, which is well preserved and contemporary with the nave. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 101.)

VEUILLY-LA-POTERIE, Aisne. *Église* consists at present of a nave of three bays, two side aisles, transepts, and an apse five-sided internally, semicircular externally, but in the XII century there were no transepts. The nave, which is assigned to c. 1170 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, was originally covered with a wooden ceiling, but the existing vaults — among the earliest to be erected over a nave in the Soissonnais — were added c. 1200, although the capitals are strangely Romanesque in character. The side aisles were vaulted in the XVI and XVII centuries. A rib vault of c. 1165 with two pointed wall ribs surmounts the crossing. The transepts were added c. 1230, but the southern one was rebuilt in the XVI century. A radiating rib vault with wall ribs covers the apse, which is characterized by banded shafts and round-headed windows. The façade is a work of the XIII century, but the central tower was built c. 1175. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 217.)

SERGY, Aisne. *Notre Dame* consists of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir of the XIII century. The nave, which is roofed in wood, must date from the second quarter of the XII century; the pointed arches of the main arcade are in two orders, and rest upon cruciform piers. A pointed barrel

vault surmounts the crossing, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1130. The façade has been largely rebuilt in modern times. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 91.)

CINQUEUX, Oise. *Église.* Of the original edifice, which may be assigned to the first quarter of the XII century, the nave and two side aisles survive. These are characterized by timber roofs, rectangular piers, unmoulded archivolts of a single order, and the use of round arches throughout except in the relieving arch over the lintel of the main portal.

COUCY-LE-CHÂTEAU, Aisne. *St. Sauveur* is remarkable for the façade, consisting of three nearly equal gables. Beneath the central one is a fine sculptured portal in three orders and other débris which may be attributed to c. 1185; the lateral gables are said to date from 1543. The nave contains piers and capitals of the XII century.

VAUMOISE, Oise. *St. Pierre* consists of a modern nave, board transepts over the northern of which rises a tower, absidioles, and a semicircular apse. The crossing is surmounted by a rib vault of the XVI century, but still retains its original piers surrounded with colonnettes. The transepts are groin-vaulted, but the absidioles have pointed half-domes. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis assigns the walls of the transepts to c. 1140, and the choir to the same epoch. The apse is covered with a radiating rib vault. The façade is modern. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 95.)

FROUVILLE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a semicircular apse. The nave, roofed in wood, is four bays long; it is characterized by piers alternately square and round in section, pointed arches, the absence of a system and of a triforium, and a clearstory reduced to a series of oculi. A rib vault surmounts the choir, a half-dome the apse; both are reinforced by external buttresses of slight projection. The south lateral tower of transitional character has intersecting arcades, grouped shafted windows, and drip mouldings; it is crowned by a spire and rudimentary angle turrets. An oculus placed in the gable of the façade is almost sufficiently developed to be called a rose window. (Baudot.)

COULOISY, Oise. *Église* in the XII century consisted of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir, but transepts and two side aisles have been added. The nave, covered with a wooden ceiling, was reconstructed in the XVI century; the piers with undulating mouldings support moulded pointed arches. A rib vault of c. 1170 surmounts the first bay of the choir. The transepts of the XVI century have been rebuilt in modern times. The façade retains a portal of the third quarter of the XII century, and the central tower is of the same epoch. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 34.)

VILLETERTRE, Oise. *Église*, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to c. 1130, is notable in that all the arches of the vaults are pointed. In the north side aisle the vaults have been made over, but in the south aisle and in the five bays of the nave the original rib vaults of the XII century are still preserved intact. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 183.)

TORCY, Aisne. *Église* in the XII century consisted of a single-aisled nave, a choir, and an apse semicircular internally, polygonal without, but a chapel was added

in the XIII century and a side aisle in the XVI. The nave was not vaulted before the XVI century. The choir, assigned to c. 1150, preserves a rib vault of the epoch; the ribs are all supported on engaged colonnettes. A ribbed half-dome covers the apse. The façade has been modernized, but contains débris of the late XI and XII centuries. The tower which rises over the choir was built c. 1160; it is characterized by pointed windows and shafted angles. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 205.)

FAY-ST.-QUENTIN, Oise. *St. Laurent*, which consists of a nave, a southern side aisle, and a rectangular choir, is of two distinct epochs; to the first (c. 1140) belong the choir (except its principal window and three of its buttresses), the vaulted portions of the nave, and part of the south aisle; to the second, which is somewhat later, the arcades of the nave and the vaults of the aisle. The nave is covered with groin vaults, except the eastern bay, which is rib-vaulted like the choir. (Woillez.)

TRÉLOUP, Aisne. *St. Médard* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. The four bays of the nave were built in the last quarter of the XII century, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, but the original ceiling was replaced by a vault in the XVI century. The pointed arches of the main arcades are simply moulded, and rest on high cruciform piers. A rib vault of c. 1170, notwithstanding the pointed wall arches highly domed, surmounts the crossing. The remainder of the transepts, including even the colonnettes which support the vault of the crossing, and the choir are of the XIII century. These portions of the edifice are vaulted. The portal is a remarkable production of the Renaissance, but the central tower was built c. 1170. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 205.)

VERNEUIL-SUR-MARNE, Marne. *St. Martin* consists of a nave of four bays, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The wooden-roofed nave, which may be assigned to c. 1130, was originally supplied with rectangular piers on each of which were engaged two colonnettes, as may be seen in the third bay of the north arcade, where this disposition is still preserved intact. A rib vault replaces the pointed barrel vault which formerly surmounted the crossing. The transepts and the choir are of the XIII century. The western portal, in two orders ornamented with chevrons and zig-zagged shafts, may be assigned to c. 1130; the central tower is perhaps slightly earlier. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 99.)

HARDRICOURT, Seine-et-Oise, *Église*. Over the crossing is a rib vault assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the middle of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 87.)

MORIGNY (near Étampes), Seine-et-Oise. *Église Abbatiale* is said by M. St. Paul to have been consecrated in 1119.

LUCHEUX, Somme. *Prieuré*. The ancient edifice erected between 1130 and 1150, according to M. Enlart, was probably damaged in the course of the wars of the XV century; at least it was restored in the XVI century. Originally the monument consisted of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, transepts, a rib-vaulted choir two bays long, a five-sided apse, and a central tower which no longer exists. The wooden-roofed nave is characterized by arcades of round arches, cylindrical piers,

archivolts in two unmoulded orders, and round-headed windows. The choir vaults have lierne, but no wall, ribs; only the transverse ribs are provided with shafts. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 132.)

VIFFORT, Aisne. *Notre Dame* (Ill. 159) consists of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir. The nave of the first quarter of the XII century is covered with a timbered roof of the XV century. The first bay of the choir is surmounted by a tower of c. 1120, and is furnished with a rib vault assigned to c. 1115 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. Since the arches of this vault are all semicircular, the surface is necessarily highly domed; it is noteworthy, however, that wall ribs are employed. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 106.)

VREGNY, Aisne. *Église* consisted originally of a single-aisled nave with a wooden ceiling, a choir, and a semicircular apse, but at the end of the XII century a northern side aisle was added. The choir, which is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first quarter of the XII century, is surmounted by a slightly pointed groin vault; the apse is covered with a half-dome. A tower, assigned to c. 1120, rises over the choir. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 107.)

AUTHEUIL, Seine. *Église.* The tower of the transitional epoch is characterized by an upper story consisting of windows decorated with shafts without capitals or base, by billet mouldings, by arched corbel-tables, and by a spire with elementary angle turrets. (Baudot.)

ST.-VAAST-DE-LONGMONT, Oise. *Église* consists at present of a nave, a side aisle ending in an absidiole, a choir of two bays, and an apse, but the original plan comprised only a single-aisled nave, a central tower, and an apse. The wooden-roofed nave, built according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis during the first quarter of the XII century, has been modernized. Restorations have also destroyed the character of the side aisle erected c. 1130, but the absidiole, covered with a half-dome and preceded by a barrel-vaulted bay, is still preserved intact. The choir is evidently the work of two different epochs: the first bay is the more ancient, and the rib vault of the XVI century which now surmounts it evidently replaces a groin vault of first quarter of the XII century; the second bay and the apse — both rib-vaulted — are assigned to c. 1140. Externally the church is characterized by a tower with spire and angle pyramids and by a façade of c. 1130 notable for its extraordinarily rich portal adorned with four orders of chevrons and surmounted by a gable. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 86.)

ST. LAZARE, Oise. *Église* consists of a nave of three bays, deeply projecting transepts, a choir flanked by two rectangular chapels, and a square apse. The choir (with the exception of certain portions of its western bay), the nave, and the transepts are part of the original edifice of c. 1140; the chapels and the central tower are additions of the XIII century. The crossing and chapels are rib-vaulted, the choir barrel-vaulted, and the apse groin-vaulted. In general the ornament is analogous to that of St. Étienne of Beauvais; the western portal is finely moulded, and its tympanum is adorned with curious diapering. (Woillez, S, 20.)

FIEFFES, Somme. *Église* consists of a nave of c. 1170 restored in the rayonnant and flamboyant periods, two side aisles of the XVI century, a northern transept

of the XII century surmounted by a tower whose upper portions are of the XIV century, a chapel substituted in 1575 for the southern transept, and a rectangular choir. The wooden-roofed nave is characterized by pointed arcades, round-headed windows, and a round-arched portal. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 124.)

HAUTEVESNE, Aisne. *St. Remi* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal apse. The three bays of the nave and the side aisles have been rebuilt in modern times, but the rib vault over the crossing is assigned to c. 1175 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. This vault has no wall ribs; the diagonals are furnished with separate shafts. The transepts were rebuilt in the XVI century. A radiating rib vault of c. 1170, also without wall ribs, surmounts the choir, and is supported on ringed shafts. The façade is modern, but the central tower dates from c. 1180. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 162.)

MARIZY-STE.-GENEVIÈVE, Aisne. *Église* consists at present of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir flanked to the north by an aisle of the XIII century, and a central tower, but the nave was probably originally supplied with two side aisles. The existing nave is modern; the choir, surmounted by three rib vaults with pointed wall ribs, is assigned to c. 1140 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis. The central tower, which dates from the same epoch, is characterized by shafted corners, pointed arches, continuous abaci, rich ornament, and the absence of buttresses. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 65.)

BENY, Aisne. *Église* erected, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, c. 1125 consisted originally of a single-aisled nave, a central tower, and a semicircular apse, but c. 1150 a northern side aisle was added. The timber-roofed nave is lighted by two windows of the XVI century; the choir is surmounted by a rib vault, some of whose arches are round, some pointed. A ribbed half-dome covers the apse. Externally the façade is modern, but the ancient central tower survives. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* III, 30.)

HANGEST-EN-SANTERRE, Somme. *Église* consists of a polygonal apse much modernized, a choir of the XIII century, a nave of the XV century, and a late flamboyant tower. Of the edifice of the XII century only the portal survives. This is round-arched, in three orders, and adorned with developed mouldings; it is assigned to 1160–70 by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 129.)

VIEILS-MAISONS, Aisne. *Ste. Croix* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The wooden-roofed nave, four bays long, is a work of the XVI century; its pointed arcades are supported on cylindrical piers. The aisles were rib-vaulted in 1856; the crossing of c. 1115 was revaulted in 1809; the transepts are entirely modern. A pointed barrel vault, assigned to c. 1110 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, surmounts the choir. The central tower is contemporary. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 105.)

DOMONT, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* (Ill. 184). The groin-vaulted ambulatory of this church is surmounted by perhaps the earliest flying buttresses that have come down to us. These buttresses are assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis [1] to c. 1160, but it may well be doubted if they be not somewhat earlier. The vault of the semicircu-

[1] *Arch. Rel.* I, 93.

lar chevet is of the early XIII century, and is supplied with much stilted wall ribs, which, like the other ribs, are supported on a logical system rising from the abaci of the cylindrical piers. For the rest, the chevet is characterized by main arcades whose square profile is softened only by chamfered edges, by a high triforium, by clearstory windows occupying nearly the whole of the wall space, and by pointed arches. The nave and side aisles, reconstructed in 1868, retain their primitive dispositions, but the façade has been rebuilt on an entirely new design. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 43.)

ST.-VAAST-LES-MELLO, Oise. *Église.* The nave vaults, dating from c. 1125 according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, are without wall ribs; the transverse and diagonal ribs rest upon shafts and corbels. The rib vaults of the side aisles were rebuilt in the XV century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* I, 84; Woillez, ap.)

ST. TAURIN, Somme. *Prieuré.* The single-aisled nave which still survives is a simple but fine example of the architecture of the third quarter of the XII century. It was formerly covered with two rib vaults, square in plan, but these have now fallen. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 164.)

FOLLAINVILLE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* The rustic tower, which stands to the north of the choir, is the most interesting part of this monument. The belfry is characterized by pointed arches. (Johnson.)

FOREST-L'ABBAYE, Somme. *Chapelle* which is assigned by M. Enlart to c. 1165 consists of a nave without interest, a choir, and a semicircular apse. The rib vaults of the choir and apse are reinforced by well-developed external buttresses. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 125.)

CONFLANS-STE.-HONORINE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, with the exception of the fine tower of the XII century, dates from the early Gothic period, and consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir three bays long flanked by side aisles, and a polygonal apse. The nave and its aisles are roofed in timber, but the choir is entirely vaulted. The tower, which may be assigned to c. 1160, is characterized by arched corbel-tables, round arches, and fine mouldings; it is surmounted by a spire with four angle turrets. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 8.)

VERDILLY, Aisne. *Église*, assigned to c. 1130 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, consists of a nave, a side aisle added *après coup* c. 1150, and a rectangular choir. The nave, roofed in wood, is separated from the side aisle by an arcade of three pointed arches resting upon heavy piers. The choir is covered with a pointed barrel vault. Externally the edifice is remarkable for its rich western portal, whose double orders are ornamented with shafts and quadruple chevrons. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 98.)

CONTEVILLE, Somme. *St. Nicolas.* This timber-roofed edifice consists of a rectangular choir which may be assigned to the first quarter of the XII century, and a nave of 1742. Externally the choir is ornamented with double-arched corbel-tables and pilaster strips. (Woillez.)

FRANCASTEL, Oise. *Église.* The rectangular rib-vaulted choir of two bays, which is the only portion of this monument earlier than the XIII century, may be assigned to c. 1130. The capitals are crude, but the abaci have developed mouldings.

Externally the walls are ornamented with double arched corbel-tables and shallow buttresses. (Woillez, F, 8.)

BOUVINCOURT, Somme. *St. Hilaire* is said to contain some fragments of transitional architecture, although the edifice was almost entirely rebuilt in the XV century. The design is characterized by a western tower, three aisles, transepts, and cylindrical piers. (Darsy.)

SACONIN, Aisne. *Église*, which was originally constructed, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis believes, between 1135 and 1140, consists of a nave, two side aisles completely modernized, and a choir. The nave has a wooden ceiling; the pointed arches of the main arcade rest upon piers on each of which are engaged two colonnettes supporting the inner order of the archivolts and a third shaft opposite the side aisle. The choir consists of two bays of which the eastern has a pointed barrel vault, the western a rib vault. This rib vault lacks wall ribs, and is highly domed. The façade and the central tower are both of the XII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 83.)

BLANGY-SUR-POIX, Somme. *Église*, whose original dispositions can still be traced notwithstanding several modern restorations, consists of a nave of a single aisle and a rectangular choir, both unvaulted. The tower whose upper story is octagonal rises to the north at the junction of the choir and nave; its openings are all round-arched, except that certain windows have a flat lintel supported by a column and surmounted by a blind arch. The tower is assigned to the first quarter, the rest of the church to the second quarter, of the XII century, by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 89.)

ORROUY, Oise. *St. Remi* consists of a narthex surmounted by a tower of c. 1130, a nave of four bays, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir of the XVI century. The narthex is covered by a pointed barrel vault. The unvaulted nave, which is assigned to c. 1125 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, was originally supplied with two arcades of pointed arcades resting on rectangular piers, but on the north side these piers were cut down to the form of columns in the XVI century. Fine glass of the XVI century characterizes the vaulted choir. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 75.)

ROZET-ST.-ALBIN, Aisne. *Église* has been completely modernized with the exception of the tower which rises over the eastern bay of the southern side aisle. The first story of this tower is assigned to c. 1150 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, and is characterized by round-arched coupled windows in two shafted orders; the upper portions are later, and are characterized by shafted angles, arched corbel-tables, bases with griffes, and grouped pointed windows. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 180.)

CHAMANT, (near Senlis), Oise. *Église* (Ill. 188) of the early XII century possesses a most remarkable spire supplied with acutely gabled dormers with pierced tympana. (Moore, 183.)

VAUDIÈRES, Marne. *Église* consisted originally of a nave and a rectangular choir, but a side aisle and transepts have been added. The timber-roofed nave is assigned to c. 1125 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis; the side aisle was added c. 1150; the crossing was rib-vaulted about the same epoch. Externally the edifice is character-

ized by the porch of c. 1130 which precedes the façade and by the modern tower. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 94.)

CHAMBLY, Oise. *Église.* This rural edifice is characterized by the tower which rises at the west end. The ornament includes arched corbel-tables and a sculptured bird placed in the apex of the gable. (Woillez, ap; Moore.)

TRIE-LA-VILLE, Oise. *Église*, assigned to c. 1140 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is notable for the ribs adorned with double chevrons sculptured on the voussoirs.

DOMFRONT, Oise. *Église* dates from the XVI century with the exception of the tower, which M. Enlart assigns to the early XII century. The coupled window openings of this tower are shafted, and in the belfry grouped. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 104.)

MERLEMONT, Oise. *Chapelle St. Arnoult* consists of a single-aisled nave, a barrel-vaulted choir, and an apse. The crude capitals are ornamented with sculptured animals. (Woillez.)

OISEMONT, Somme. *Doyenné* was burnt in the time of the Revolution, and is consequently much ruined. The choir, like the nave and the side aisles, seems to date from the end of the XIII century. In the bell tower of 1687, however, is preserved a portal of elegant simplicity which may be assigned to the third quarter of the XII century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 153.)

HERMES, Oise. *Église.* The façade, with the exception of the portal of the XII century, and the north wall of the nave are constructed of small masonry, and are probably the oldest portions of the edifice; the central tower with very charming twin windows dates from the end of the XII century; the choir is flamboyant. (Woillez, ap.)

LINAY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The tower, which is the most interesting part of this church, is characterized by angle shafts, arched corbel-tables, a belfry composed of coupled round-arched windows richly moulded, and a spire with dormers and angle turrets. (Johnson.)

HANGEST-SUR-SOMME, Somme. *Église* is an edifice of the XVI and XVII centuries with the exception of the tower, which is assigned to c. 1170 by M. Enlart, although it, too, was altered in the XVI century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 130.)

CORMEILLES-EN-PARISIS, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* is of interest for the crypt which, according to M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, contains the most ancient rib vaults of the diocese of Paris. The church itself dates from XIII and XV centuries.

MONTIERS, Aisne. *Notre Dame* consists of a rectangular choir of the XIII century, transepts assigned to c. 1125 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, a central tower which dates from the same epoch although the crossing is covered by a rib vault of the XIII century, and a nave rebuilt in 1870. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 68.)

VACQUERIE, Oise. *Église*, which is an excellent, if plain, example of the architecture of the third quarter of the XII century, consists of a western tower, a single-aisled nave four bays long, and a five-sided apse. The windows are all round-headed; the edifice is roofed in wood throughout. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 157.)

MAISNIÈRES, Somme. *Église* consists of a modern choir and a single-aisled nave roofed in timber. The windows of this nave were made over in the XVII cen-

tury; the walls are assigned to c. 1100 by M. Enlart; the portal is Gothic. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 141.)

MARISSEL, Oise. *Église.* The rectangular choir and the tower are of the XII century, the fine portal and the nave of the XVI century.

FRANSART, Somme. *Église.* The side aisles and the choir are modern. The great pointed arches of the nave arcades are simple in profile, and are assigned to the last half of the XII century by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 127.)

JOUY-LE-COMTE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* According to M. St. Paul this church dates from 1145–50, and is characterized by an ambulatory with a pier on axis.

GAILLON, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* Of the edifice of 1120–50 the rib-vaulted nave, the crossing, and the central tower still survive, but the existing rectangular choir and its side aisles are of the XIII century. (Coquelle.)

SAINTINES, Oise. *St. Denis* consists at present of a nave, a single side aisle, and a rectangular choir, but in the XII century there was no side aisle, and the edifice terminated in a semicircular apse. The nave, almost entirely reconstructed in the XVI century, is covered with a wooden ceiling, but the side aisle of the XIII and XVI centuries is in part vaulted. The rib-vaulted choir belongs to two distinct epochs: the first bay, which is surmounted by the tower, was built c. 1125; the second is of the XIII century. A low spire with angle pyramids crowns the tower, which is assigned to c. 1130 and is characterized by pointed windows and angle shafts. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 89.)

FITZ-JAMES, Oise. *Église* consists of a wooden-roofed nave, a southern side aisle added *après coup*, a central tower, and a choir. The façade, the nave, and a portion of the choir belong to the original construction which may be assigned to c. 1145. Beneath the central tower is a rib vault of the same epoch; this vault has no wall ribs. The western portal is pointed and finely moulded. Externally the edifice is ornamented with arched corbel-tables and shallow buttresses. (Woillez, F, 5.)

VILLERS-LÈS-ROYE, Somme. *Église* reconstructed in the XVII century, contains several piers and the lintel and jambs of a portal belonging to an edifice of the XII century. The piers are of rectangular section; the main archivolts are pointed and in two orders. This débris is assigned to c. 1160 by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 169.)

CLERMONT, Oise. *St. Arnoult* is said to have been dedicated in 1114 by Peter, bishop of Beauvais, but the earliest fragments which remain — certain débris excavated in 1828 — can hardly be earlier than the middle of the XII century. The existing edifice was erected in 1359 but was much altered in the XV century, when an extra southern side aisle and transepts were added. (Woillez; Guide Joanne.)

St. Samson.

CANLY,[1] Oise. *St. Martin.* The rectangular choir, the northern half of the single-aisled nave and the corresponding portion of the façade of this country church may be assigned to c. 1150. There are no vaults. The windows are shafted and in two orders, the portal has fine mouldings. A tower rises over the choir. (Woillez.)

[1] Or Canly-Grandfresnoy.

BLESMES, Aisne. *Église* consisted originally of a nave of a single aisle and a rectangular choir, but, when the nave was rebuilt about the end of the XV century, a southern side aisle was added. The nave is now supplied with modern vaults; the choir, with barrel vaults of c. 1130 which have recently been coated with plaster. The portal is of the XII century, but the tower is modern.

ROYE, Somme. *Église.* The façade, the only remains of the transitional church, is said by M. Enlart to be not later than 1184, and is characterized by an early rose window. The pointed portal, which is somewhat earlier than the rest of the façade, is assigned to 1130–60 by M. Enlart; it is ornamented with a sculptured tympanum, chevrons, and other less familiar motives. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 157.)

PICQUIGNY, Somme. *Église du Château*, which is a *mélange* of architectural fragments of the XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI centuries, possesses an unvaulted southern transept of the end of the XII century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 154.)

BULEUX, Somme. *Église* is of interest for the façade, which is assigned to the XI century, and for the nave of the end of the XII century. The nave is characterized by cylindrical piers, archivolts in two orders, and the absence of a system. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 91.)

BULLES, Oise. *Abbaye.* The portal, which is the only portion of the ancient edifice which survives, must date from the middle of the XII century, for it is in three round-arched orders richly ornamented with hood mouldings, double chevrons, rinceaux, rosettes, etc. (Woillez.)

DOURDAN, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Germain* is said to contain fragments of the architecture of all epochs from the XII to the XVII century: the façade, flanked by two unequal towers ending in steep roofs, is of the XIV and XV centuries; the arcades of the side aisles ornamented with chevrons are of the XII century. The edifice is supplied with lateral chapels. (Guide Joanne.)

BOUTENCOURT, Somme. *St. Étienne.* The two side aisles are separated from the nave by cylindrical columns with Gothic capitals. It is said, however, that the very small windows of the nave are of the XII century. (Darsy.)

MONCHY-ST.-ÉLOI, Oise. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir, and a central tower. The crossing is surmounted by a rib vault, whose ribs are ornamented with chevrons. The exterior is ornamented with an arched corbel-table. (Woillez, ap.)

TRUCY, Aisne. *Église*, assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first quarter of the XII century, contains remarkable sculptures but no vaults.

OUDEUIL, Oise. *Église.* The square choir, whose eastern wall is pierced by two windows rebuilt in modern times, is surmounted by a rib vault constructed like a chevet vault, an extra rib running from the keystone to the middle of the eastern wall. The diagonals are semicircular, the other ribs pointed. (Woillez, ap.)

LA BRUYÈRE, Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a rectangular choir, and a central tower ornamented with arched corbel-tables. (Woillez, ap.)

BONNEVAL, Eure-et-Loire. *Notre Dame* is said to date mainly from the XII century.

BRETEUIL, Oise. *Abbaye.* Of the edifice which, according to Woillez, was consecrated in 1165, there remains only the southern wall of the nave, the rest of the church having been rebuilt in the Gothic period. This wall is ornamented with double arched corbel-tables, arched string-courses, and pronounced buttresses. (Woillez.)

St. Cyr consists of a single-aisled wooden-roofed nave, a rectangular choir of two bays covered with round-arched groin vaults, and a flamboyant tower. The buttresses are shallow but very broad. (Woillez, ap; Johnson.)

POUZEL,[1] Somme. *Notre Dame,* which consists of a single-aisled nave and a three-sided apse, contains a portal of the XII century. The edifice was reconstructed in the rayonnant period and vaulted in the XVI century. (Bréard.)

ABBECOURT, Oise. *Église.* The nave and façade of this single-aisled, wooden-roofed, country church are earlier than the XIII century. (Woillez.)

RIEUX, Oise. *Église,* whose side aisles have been destroyed, is of interest for the octagonal tower which, notwithstanding alterations, still retains on its northern face an arcade with billet mouldings; for its crude capitals; and for the western façade characterized by a pointed portal, a lancet window, and a false rose window placed in the gable. (Woillez; Johnson.)

HERCHIES, Oise. *Église* is "small, not vaulted, curious for its very simplicity, the rectangular nave being separated from a smaller choir of the same form by a round arch." (Woillez.)

URCEL, Aisne. *Église,* without vaults, is assigned by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis to the first quarter of the XII century.

NOGENT-LES-VIERGES, Oise. *Église.* This simple edifice possesses an interesting tower in four stories, characterized by arched corbel-tables and angle buttresses of several ressauts. (Woillez, ap; Johnson.)

MÉRU, Oise. *Église.* Beneath the existing wooden tower is hidden a tower of the XII century whose second story was rebuilt in the XIII century. (Woillez, ap.)

MERVAL, Aisne. *Église* consists of a modern nave without side aisles and a square choir assigned to c. 1160. This choir is surmounted by a highly domed rib vault with a full set of ribs. The capitals are finely sculptured. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 173.)

NESLES, Marne. *Abbaye* of the XII century had transepts, a central tower, and a semicircular apse. The edifice is completely ruined, and the vaults have all fallen. (Arnaud, 75.)

ST. MARTIN, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The central tower, which may be assigned to c. 1120, possesses an octagonal upper story, round-arched windows in two orders with drip mouldings, and arcading supported on double shafts. (Johnson.)

COQUEREL, Somme. *Église.* Beneath the western porch of this flamboyant edifice, remarkable for its open work spire, is a portal of the end of the XII century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 97.)

VAL-CHRÉTIEN, Aisne. *Abbaye.* This ruined church consisted of a nave

[1] Or Pousel.

of seven bays, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir. The timber-roofed nave, whose last bay was wider than the others, was characterized by arcades of pointed arches in two orders and by piers, on either end of each of which was engaged a colonnette and opposite the side aisles a shaft. The façade of c. 1250, one bay of the nave, and fragments of the choir still survive. (Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Arch. Rel.* II, 215.)

ATHIS, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The tower in two stories is characterized by round arches, well-developed buttresses, chevrons, flat corbel-tables, and shafted windows in two orders; it is surmounted by a beautiful spire with turrets and dormers. The choir of two bays dates from the XIII century. (Baudot; Arch. de la Com. de Mon. Hist.)

MESGE, Somme. *Église* was reconstructed in the XVII century, but contains two interesting portals assigned to the third quarter of the XII century by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 144.)

AIGNEVILLE, Somme. *St. Martin.* Notwithstanding the flamboyant tracery of the windows, the narrow nave is more ancient than the choir, as is proved by the round-arched lateral portal. (Darsy.)

MENEVILLERS, Oise. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular vaulted choir of two bays, and a central tower supplied with shallow buttresses. (Woillez.)

ELINCOURT-STE.-MARGUERITE, Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, and an apse. The southern side aisle has been rebuilt and enlarged. In Woillez' drawings the edifice appears to be barrel-vaulted throughout; it is adorned externally with arched string-courses. (Woillez, ap.)

VILLERS-ST.-SÉPULCRE, Oise. *Église* contains a window whose arcuated lintel is scratched to resemble voussoirs, a transitional portal, a choir of the XIII century, and modern transepts. (Woillez, ap.)

PONT-RÉMY, Somme. *Église.* This ruined edifice is of the flamboyant period with the exception of the wall forming the gable of the transept, which is assigned to the end of the XII century by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 154.)

SACY-LE-GRAND, Oise. *Église* of three aisles contains walls of herring-bone masonry dating from the XII century and pendant vaults of the XVI century. (Woillez, ap.)

CROUY-EN-THELLE, Aisne. *Église.* The southern wall of the rectangular choir of two bays has been somewhat modernized. It is reinforced by flat buttresses. (Woillez, ap.)

MONTRELET, Somme. *Église* terminates in a rectangular choir assigned to the last years of the XII century. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 145.)

ST. PAUL, Oise. *Abbaye.* A transitional portal and a few capitals are all that remains of this edifice.

Église is said to be in part of the XII century.

BECQUIGNY, Somme. *Église.* Only the lower part of the western façade and a portal assigned to 1140–65 by M. Enlart survive, but this débris is sufficient to prove that the church had a single-aisled nave. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 71.)

FROCOURT, Oise. *Église* is of interest for its tower and its remarkable capitals. (Woillez, ap.)

BREUIL-LE-SEC, Oise. *Église* was destroyed by fire in 1798. The substructions of the façade and of the lateral walls — the southern one of which has been many times rebuilt — survive. (Woillez.)

ST.-GERVAIS-DE-PONTPOINT, Oise. *Église* is of interest for its portal and tower. The former is ornamented with a quadruple chevron and an arched string-course: the latter is in three stories and crowned by a pyramidal stone roof. (Woillez, ap.)

FONTENAY-TORCY, Oise. *Église* is ornamented externally with a double blind arcade, enriched by chevrons and billet mouldings. (Woillez, ap.)

COMPIÈGNE, Oise. *Église des Minimes.* This desecrated edifice, now used as a gymnasium, is said to contain some remains of XII century architecture.

LÉGLANTIERS, Oise. *Chapelle dite du St.-Sauveur-dans-le-Cimetière* is a rectangular wooden-roofed chapel adorned with arched string-courses.

QUESMY, (near Noyon), Oise. *Église* is said to date from the middle of the XII century.

NOINTEL, Oise. *Église* of a single aisle is ornamented with arcuated string-courses, and contains a very rich western portal. (Woillez, ap.)

ROCQUENCOURT, Oise. *Église* possesses a very simple portal, attributed to c. 1160 by M. Enlart. (Enlart, *Arch. Rom.*, 156.)

SACY-LE-PETIT, Oise. *Église.* The interior is of interest for the capitals, which are continued as string-courses and sculptured with figures in profile, — an exceptional arrangement. (Woillez.)

ESCHES, Oise. *Église.* The only remains of the rectangular choir are two engaged columns, which doubtless once divided it into two bays. (Woillez.)

ST. ARNOULT, Oise. *Chapelle.* This much modernized and abandoned edifice consists of a single-aisled nave and a polygonal apse, ornamented externally with an arched string-course. (Woillez, ap.)

ROSOY, Oise. *Église.* The interesting tower is ornamented with arched string-courses. (Woillez.)

RICQUEBOURG, Oise. *Église.* The existing edifice with its polygonal apse is almost entirely of the XVI century, but certain fragments of transitional architecture that survive in the nave show that this portion of the monument was barrel-vaulted in the XII century. (Woillez, ap.)

PROULEROY, Oise. *Église.* The ancient tower, which now stands isolated before the modern church, is decorated with arched corbel-tables. (Woillez, ap.)

TIVERNY, Oise. *Église* possesses a portal in three orders ornamented with chevrons, etc. (Woillez, ap.)

BRENOUILLE, Oise. *Église.* The choir is of the XIV century, the nave of the XII century. (Woillez.)

FALVY, Somme. *Église*, said to be in part of the transitional epoch, possesses a fine chapel of the XVI century.

OTHER MONUMENTS

BONNIÈRES, Oise. *Église* is characterized by a very crude nave and a much modernized façade. (Woillez.)

HOMBLEUX, Somme. *Église*, said to date from the transitional period, was much altered in 1661.

ROUSSELOY, Oise. *Église*. The capitals are ornamented with sculptures of birds. (Woillez, ap.)

ROZOY-EN-BRIE, Seine-et-Marne. *Église* is mentioned by M. St. Paul as contemporary with St. Denis.

ST.-AUBIN-SOUS-ERQUERY, Oise. *Église*. The portal of the façade and the north wall of the nave are of the XII century. (Woillez, ap.)

CERISY-BULUX, Somme. *Église* is said to be in large part of the transitional epoch.

ROYE-SUR-MATZ, Oise. *Église* is said to be largely of the XII century.

ST. FÉLIX, Oise. *Église* is said to be of the XII, XIV, and XVI centuries.

MÉZY-MOULIN, Aisne. *Église* is said to be of the XII century. (Guide Joanne.)

ERQUINVILLERS, Oise. *Église*. The façade is surmounted by a slate belfry. (Woillez, ap.)

MEULAN, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Nicolas*. The ruins of this church are said to date from c. 1150.

ST.-JUST-EN-CHAUSSÉE, Oise. *Église* is almost entirely modern.

Other transitional monuments may be found in the département of Oise, at BAZANCOURT, CRILLON, ESPAUBOURG, ESSUILES, ÉTOUY, FRESNOY-EN-THELLE, GUIGNECOURT, JAUX, LE MEUX, MONCEAUX, MONTIERS, MOYENNEVILLE, NEUFVY-SUR-ARONDE, RÉMÉRANGLES, ST.-MARTIN-LE-NOEUD, ST.-PIERRE-ÈS-CHAMPS, ST.-QUENTIN-DES-PRÉS, ST. RIMAULT, THURY, TROISSEREUX, VELENNES, WACQUEMOULIN, and WARLUIS.

CHAPTER IX

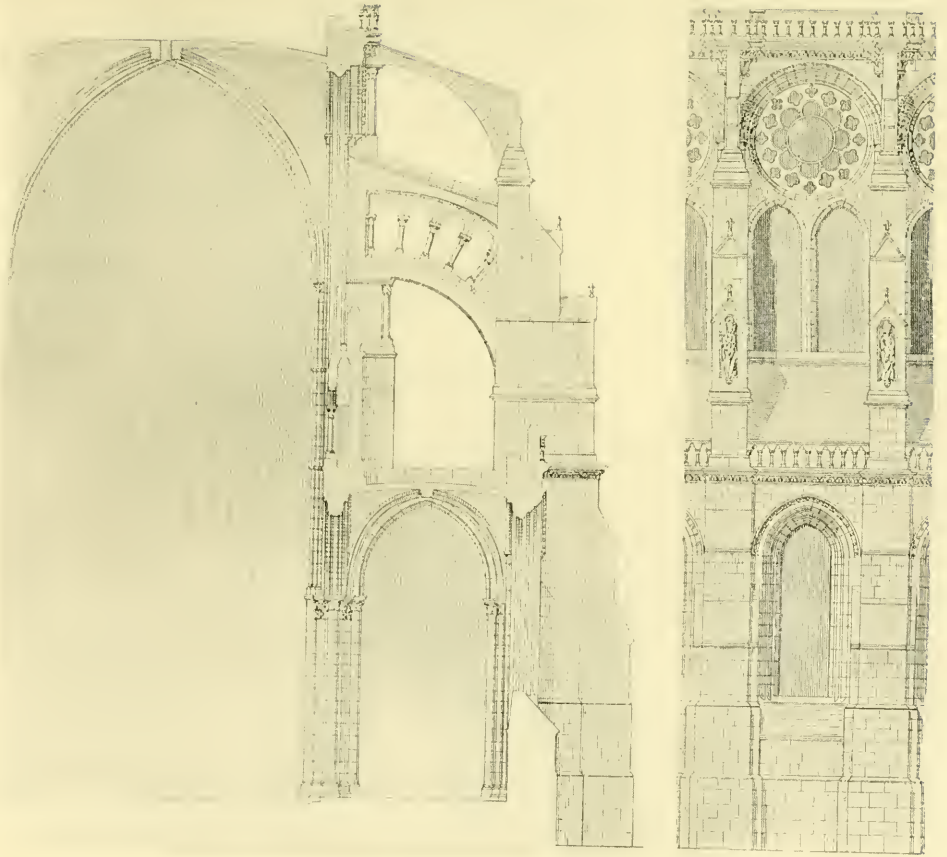
THE CULMINATION. GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE NORTH OF FRANCE, C. 1180–C. 1375

"When the house of God, many-colored as the radiance of precious stones called me from the cares of this world, then holy meditation led my mind to thoughts of piety, exalting my soul from the material to the immaterial, and I seemed to find myself, as it were, in some strange part of the universe, which was neither wholly of the baseness of the earth, nor wholly of the serenity of Heaven, but by the Grace of God I seemed lifted in a mystic manner from this lower, toward that upper, sphere. And I was accustomed to ask travelers returning from Jerusalem, those who had seen the riches of Constantinople and the splendors of Hagia Sophia, whether these marvels surpassed St. Denis." [1]

These words of Suger, written in the middle of the XII century, when Gothic architecture had not yet emerged from the mists of the early morning twilight, express more happily the peculiar qualities of this art, than any modern criticism that has ever been spoken. *Videor videre me quasi sub aliqua extranea orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit in terrarum faece.* In all the long centuries that have rolled by since the days of Suger, who has ever stood beneath the soaring vaults of a Gothic cathedral, without, however unconsciously, repeating to himself this time-worn but ever new thought of the abbot of St.

[1] Unde, cum ex dilectione decoris domus Dei aliquando multi-color gemmarum speciositas ab exintrinsecis me curis devocaret, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum, de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, honesta meditatio insistere persuaderet, videor videre me quasi sub aliqua extranea orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit in terrarum faece, nec tota in coeli puritate demorari, ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri. Conferre consuevi cum Hierosolymitanis et gratantissime addiscere, quibus Constantinopolitanae patuerant gazae et Sanctae Sophiae ornamenta, utrum ad comparationem illorum haec aliquid valere deberent. (Sugeri, *De Re. in Sua Adm. Gest.* XXXIII.)

Ill. 217. – Chapel of the Baptismal Founts at Laon



Ill. 218. — Exterior Bay and Section of Chartres. (From Dehio)

Denis? It is this peculiar quality which for lack of a better term we may call emotional power, that separates Gothic from all other architectures and raises it to the supreme height. The Parthenon is more faultless in taste, more harmonious in ensemble, more perfect in technique; Hagia Sophia is as vast in dimension and as warm in color. But the Gothic cathedral alone possesses the power to lift the mind entirely from the cares and thoughts of the world, *de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo*, the power to call forth within the soul a more than mortal joy, until for the moment the material world is forgotten, and the mind is carried captive to that strange shore of the universe which is more of the mould of Heaven than of Earth.

This esthetic emotion, so intangible, yet so compelling, has often been confused with religious impulse, and no doubt the two moods are closely associated, since the former often calls into being the latter. It is for this reason that Gothic architecture has always been recognized as preëminently suitable for ecclesiastical buildings. No art could better express the emotions, the aspirations of the Christian religion. But it is a mistake to think of Gothic architecture as an exclusively Christian art; for it rises above the narrow limits of the Christian cult into that universal supreme religion to which attain only the greatest revelations of human genius; a religion made familiar to us by the Iliad of Homer, by the Madonnas of Raphael, by the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven — most of all by Nature, the supreme artist. The same work of art naturally exercises this emotional quality in different degrees for different persons, according to their culture and natural susceptibilities. Gothic architecture, however, to judge from the numerous writers who have recorded their impressions, more than music or sculpture or painting, seems to possess the happy faculty not only of overwhelming at the first impression even the most indifferent, but of offering the connoisseur a delight which increasing familiarity serves only to deepen. Age cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite variety of this exquisite art, so eternally fresh.

Yet for all its perfections, Gothic architecture is one of the most imperfect of all arts. It never achieved the possibilities which seemed to lie so near at hand. There is no Gothic Par-

thenon which combines all the beauties of the style. The old proverb which sighs for the combination of the nave of Amiens, the choir of Beauvais, the façade of Reims, and the spires of Chartres is a popular recognition of the failure of Gothic art. If it be true that none of the great Gothic cathedrals is without its own particular perfections and its own individual charm, it is none the less certain that there is none which might not easily, obviously, have been improved by the adoption of some feature of another. Thus Gothic architecture seems always to stop just short of the ideal.

Similarly no important Gothic church has ever been finished exactly as designed. The sublime aspiration of the XIII century, ignoring the limitations of time and space, began edifices too ambitious for one generation to carry to completion; succeeding centuries pursued the work in a half-hearted manner, changing the original design, and always ended by leaving the building unfinished. Almost every French cathedral was intended to have seven towers all crowned with spires; the cathedral of Laon which comes nearest to realizing this conception has to-day five towers, but only one spire was ever executed, and that was destroyed in the Revolution. Of the other cathedrals hardly a single one has ever completed more than the two western towers, while spires are a veritable rarity in the Ile de France. Even the naves, in a majority of cases, have been finished only at a late date and in a debased style. Not content with leaving unaccomplished the grand designs of the XIII century, later ages have not hesitated actually to mutilate the Gothic masterpieces: chapels have often been built between the buttresses of the nave, as at Paris, giving the outside walls an unsightly flatness; the "superior" taste of the Renaissance has disfigured the walls and piers of Chartres, Châlons-sur-Marne, and many another Gothic church with plaster coatings of the worst imaginable style; the vandalism of the Wars of Religion and of the Revolution has destroyed the priceless sculptures, and — most irreparable loss of all — the stained glass of the windows; and finally it was reserved for the restorers of the XIX century under the valiant leadership of Viollet-le-Duc to destroy much that time and iconoclast had spared. So the Gothic cathedral

remains to us, incomplete, fragmentary, ruined; a broken torso of a statue unfinished by the master, and only half completed by weaker hands. And yet, far as it falls short of its possibilities, its mutilated fragments, like the shattered marbles of ancient Greece, still remain supreme, unapproachable.

The Gothic builders of the best period seem to have been physically unable to do anything in bad taste. It is little short of miraculous that in so short a time such a number of buildings could have been erected, every one of which, in greater or less degree, was a work of originality and genius, a work whose equal has scarcely since been created. That the master builders of the great cathedrals should all have been men of the highest ability is, indeed, surprising enough; but the wonder does not stop here, for the designs of even the smallest parish churches display an originality, a feeling for beauty that places their builders at once in the front rank of creative artists. Good taste rules everywhere; never is anything done to offend; and better still, even the humblest monuments show something positive, a creative genius. Such fertility and high average quality marked, though to a much less extent, the sculpture of the V century in Greece, the painting of the Renaissance in Italy, the drama of the Elizabethan era in England, and, in fact, have characterized the culmination of most of the great art periods in the world's history; but hardly any other art has ever been at once so prolific and so excellent as Gothic architecture.

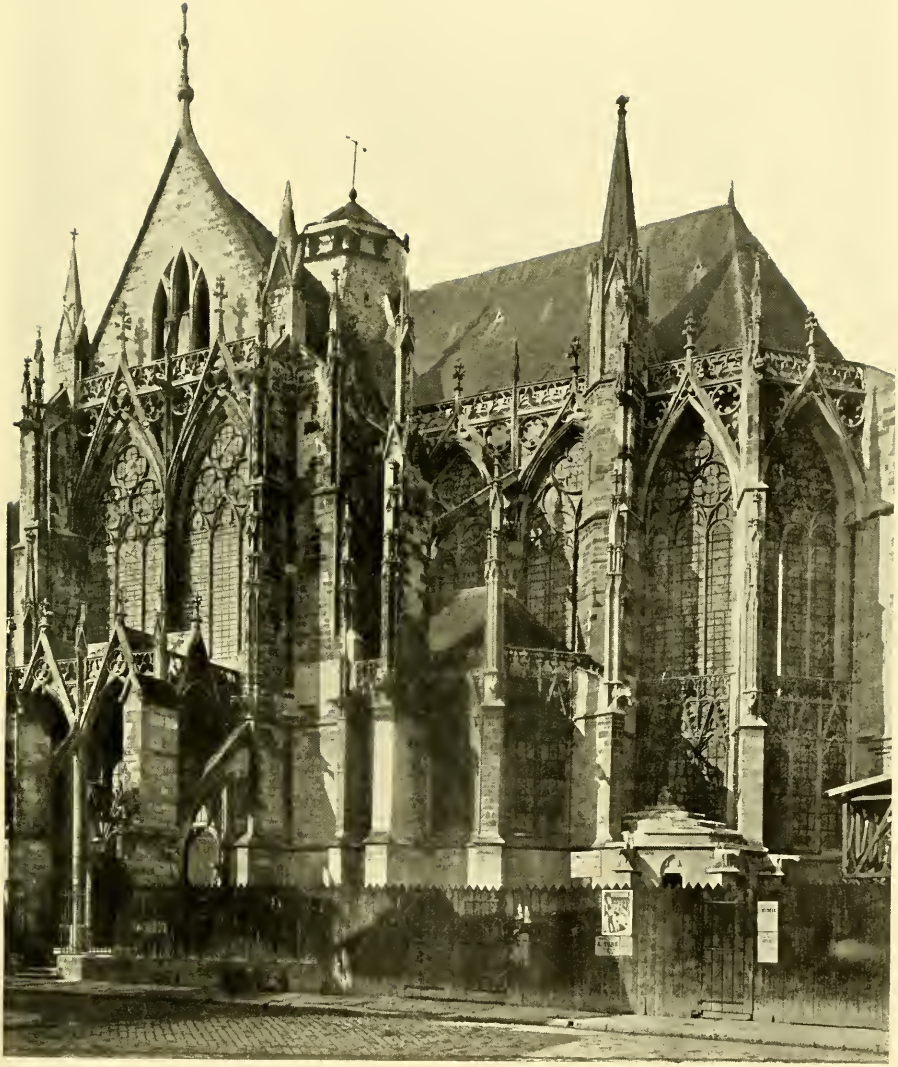
The generally high standard of even the less pretentious Gothic buildings is probably due largely to the strongly rooted tradition of the style. The Gothic alphabet was infinitely rich and varied — much more so than, for example, that of Roman or Renaissance architecture; moreover it was constantly growing and developing. But, for all that, it was a rigid alphabet, to whose laws the builders unflinchingly conformed. If its multiple letters could be combined in countless permutations and offered endless opportunity for invention and originality, new letters of doubtful propriety were not admitted until their value had been thoroughly demonstrated. Capricious designs were not tolerated. The builders, especially the minor builders, tended rather to cling to the established forms of self-evident

beauty and propriety, while being ever ready to discard them for new, as soon as the superiority of the latter should be proved. The Gothic artist was thus conservative without being slavish or unprogressive.

The culmination of Gothic architecture may fairly be said to have been reached in the year 1220, when the nave of Amiens was begun. It is true that each line of progress had its own separate history and attained its highest development at a different time. Stained glass, for example, reached its acme long before 1220, while the design of the Gothic façade was perfected only long afterwards. Moreover, what it is convenient to call the culminating point is a matter of taste and arbitrary judgment, for Gothic art never stood still or went backwards; it merely advanced too far. It is, therefore, necessary to speak only in very general terms. But it is convenient as well as conventional to take the years 1220–50 as representing the high-water mark of Gothic architecture.

Now it was at precisely this moment that the power of the papacy reached its point of greatest expansion; that Rome most completely dominated the Church and the Church most completely dominated the French nation. In 1220, the phrase "liberties of the Gallican Church," later destined to swell into so powerful a chorus, was still unwhispered. If Philippe-Auguste (1180–1223) with cynical diplomacy made the Church an instrument to serve his own political ends, he none the less found in her the chief support of his throne, and sustained the See of St. Peter against even his own bourgeois. St. Louis (1226–70), while by no means the passive tool of the Church which he has been pictured, was none the less the most pious of monarchs. In short the power of the clergy, founded on the universal piety of perhaps the most devout age the world has ever seen, seemed without bounds; there appeared to be no lengths to which the religious conscience of the time was not prepared to go.

But in the very moment of the triumph of the Church its fall was being prepared. Signs of decadence which had faintly



Ill. 220. — St. Urbain of Troyes, from the Southeast

appeared even as early as the reign of Philippe-Auguste multiplied in the age of Louis IX. If the XIII century preserved outwardly the religious character of the XII century, deep down below this serene surface was an ever-strengthening undercurrent of XIV century skepticism. Although the age of Philippe-Auguste was still preëminently an age of faith, the spirit of opposition to the Church had been born; it was waxing strong in the cradles of heresy and free thought; it was being nourished by the hatred which the bourgeois and the noble cherished against the clergy; and it was even becoming powerful enough to inspire, to a certain extent, the policy of an absolute king.

The most tangible sign of the altered spirit of the times was the constant spread of heresy. While the great Albigensian schism was being suppressed, more covert, but none the less dangerous sects were germinating at Arras (1183), Troyes (1200), Charité-sur-Loire (1202), and Braine (1204); the "spirituels" — mystics who believed in the coming of the reign of the Holy Spirit and denounced the Church — increased in numbers throughout the Midi. This sect, which originated in Spain in the first half of the XIII century, flourished in the face of persecutions, and it was largely to fight this heresy that, in the reign of St. Louis, the Inquisition was established in France. Under the leadership of Amauri de Chartres the University of Paris, one of the very strongholds of papal power, became tainted with heretical doctrines (1210). Only a small minority of bold spirits, however, dared attack religion to its face; the vast majority of unbelievers struck indirectly through blows aimed at the clergy. Thus war against the Church, her privileges, and her power, was begun as early as the first half of the XIII century, and continued to be waged, now openly, now secretly, but with ever-increasing bitterness and violence as time went on.

Of all the causes undermining the power of the Church none was more powerful than the revived study of Aristotle. Certain works of this master, which had been discovered in Spain in 1200, were translated into Latin, and studied by the XIII century with a passion recalling that of the humanists

of the Renaissance. In vain the papacy put these dangerous works on the interdict in 1210 and again in 1215; the tide was too strong to be stemmed; men had already learned from the Greek philosopher to assume a skeptical attitude, to resort to reason rather than to faith. It is necessary only to compare Roger Bacon with Abelard, Pierre de Maricourt with St. Bernard, to perceive how completely the experimental, inductive spirit of the XIII century had triumphed over the dogmatic scholasticism of the preceding age. Thorough Aristotleans were the great minds of the XIII century, especially of its last half — witness Alexandre de Hale, Albert le Grand, Thomas Aquinas. The idealism, the artificial literature, the mysticism of the XII century passed away before the rise of the new scientific spirit.

"In the schools of the XII century there was a renaissance of letters not without analogy to the more celebrated movement, the Renaissance properly so-called. The majority of men who wrote in Latin were *litterateurs*, humanists, rhetoricians, laden with the spoils of antiquity; even those who, like Abelard and Gilbert de la Poirée, treated abstruse questions, prided themselves upon writing in good style. In the vernacular, on the other hand, flourished the *chanson*, and the *roman courtois* — all the literature of chivalry, worldly, agreeable, polished, without depth or sincerity.

"A hundred years after St. Bernard and Chrétien de Troyes, is the time of St. Thomas and Jean de Menu; all is changed. And it is difficult to imagine a more complete contrast. Henceforward among the clergy there are no more polished orators or poets, no more makers of Latin verses, such as had been Gautier de Chatillon or Hildebert de Lavardin whose works are such literal imitations of the classics that they have been mistaken for ancient fragments. Seek a poet, you will find him not; the hexameter and pentameter are forgotten; short lyrics, now pious, now obscene, are the only metrical compositions that this age produced. Theologians and philosophers discuss new problems and speak a new technical jargon that their predecessors of a century before would hardly have understood. Finally in the secular world chivalry has played its

Ill. 221. — Chevet of Le Mans

time; the idealistic conceptions of the preceding century are no longer taken seriously, or are even ridiculed.

"The XII century had seemed to despair of reason; never had mystics, scorners of science and scientific inquiry, been more numerous than when the theological school of the monastery of St. Victor of Paris was in its glory. The XIII century, on the other hand, was the most passionately intellectual epoch of the Middle Ages; it trusted above all to reason; it tried to know; it wished to prove everything." [1]

While thus the power of the church was being undermined from within, its enemies did not cease to attack it from without. In 1246–47 there was formed throughout France a great anti-clerical league of the nobles, which was in many places joined by the bourgeois and peasants. In 1248 when St. Louis was in danger in the crusade in Egypt a great wave of anger against the Church swept over France. In those days, says Salimbene, the French uttered blasphemy; when the Dominicans or Franciscans asked alms the people laughed in their faces and gave to other poor in their presence. A great army of 60,000 enemies of the church banded themselves together under the leadership of the "Master of Hungry," and pushed on to Paris, where they were well received by the populace. When this army arrived, so great was the popular fury against the clergy that a great number of priests were killed, wounded, or thrown into the river. One prelate who was celebrating mass was stripped of his vestments and derisively crowned with roses.[2]

The bitter quarrel of the papacy with the University of Paris in the second half of the XIII century was very influential in discrediting Rome with the national French Church. From 1250 to 1290 the University "learned to distinguish the dictates of Italy from those of religion." Thus the great majority of the members of the University embraced the cause of Philippe-le-Bel against Boniface in the great crisis of 1303.[3]

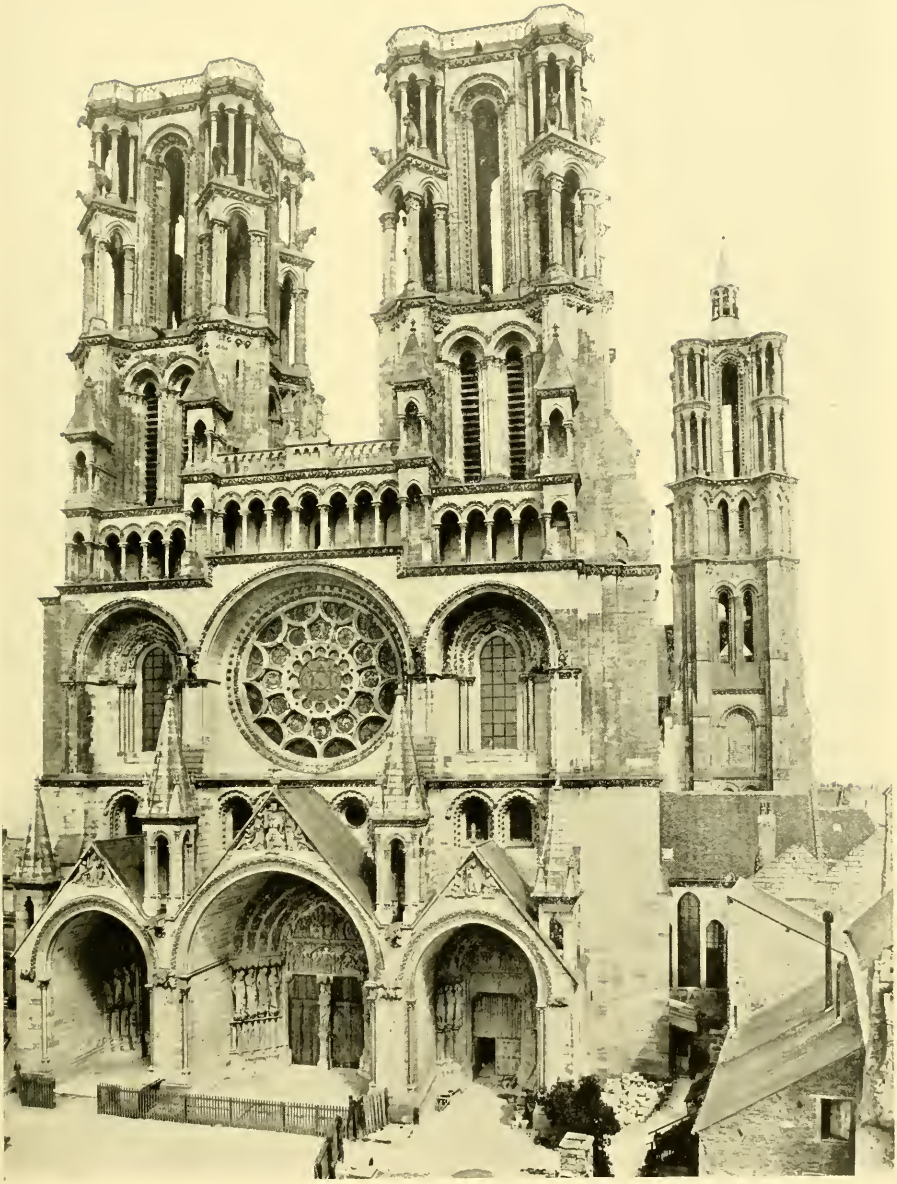
The crusades of St. Louis (1248 and 1266) were sorry affairs foredoomed to failure and pushed through by the king against

[1] Lavisse, *Hist. de France* III[2], 387. [2] Lavisse, *op. cit.* III,[2] 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, 385.

the will of his people and even against the will of the pope. No more complete contrast can be imagined than that presented by these forced expeditions with the spontaneous enthusiasm of 1099. The XIII century saw the last traces of Christian domination in the Holy Land fade away.

But the most crushing blow of all inflicted upon the French Church was the levying of taxes. Philippe-Auguste as early as 1189 had tried to tax the Church to ten per cent of its revenues; the attempt did not succeed immediately, but in 1215 and 1218 the tax was established. The era of ecclesiastical "décimes" had opened, and the way had been prepared for the crushing burden destined to be imposed upon the clergy by the successors of Louis IX. A little later the popes also began to demand the right to tax the clergy and even to call on the bishops for soldiers. Between these two mill-stones the French Church knew not which way to turn. It appealed to the pope against the king, and to the king against the pope. These two powers met the situation by entering into an agreement each to aid the other in levying the taxes claimed. With its two persecutors thus in accord the Church could do little but meet as best it could the enormous drain imposed upon its resources. By the end of the reign of Louis IX (1270), the great majority of cathedrals and abbeys were heavily in debt; for since the normal resources were insufficient to pay the taxes, loans had to be contracted from the Lombard bankers at exorbitant rates of interest; and these loans could be liquidated only by fresh borrowing. Thus the finances of the French Church rapidly went from bad to worse — a fact which largely explains the great relaxation of building activity that occurred at precisely this moment.

Meanwhile corruption was progressing apace within the Church. By the opening of the XIV century all the effects of the XII century reform had disappeared, and the regular and secular clergy had alike fallen into decadence. The accumulation of benefices, immorality, and simony reigned unchecked. In certain places the clerks were even considered as baser than Jews. The many ignorant and immoral persons who had been allowed to become priests, inspired the people with scorn for



Ill. 222. — Façade of Laon

the sacraments. Excommunications were so much abused that the power of the keys was openly ridiculed. Scandalous and blasphemous charges were constantly brought against the Church and its ministers. Throughout the length and breadth of France Sunday was no longer observed; instead of going to church, the people attended fairs, held law courts, bought, sold, and transacted business. The churches were empty, while the places of business and the taverns were crowded.[1] In the fabliaux of the period, the priest is always pictured as a glutton who passes his time pleasantly in the handsomest house of the village, in company with the "priestess," his mistress.

All the fat benefices were filled by the pope with foreigners, often of the loosest morals. Guillaume le Maire states that of thirty-five prebends which had become vacant in a certain cathedral in the course of twenty years, the bishop had filled only two, all the others being disposed of by the pope and the cardinals. The bishop was hence unable to reward the deserving clerks of his diocese on their return from the universities; these rejected clerks, poor and discouraged at the uselessness of the sacrifices they had undertaken for love of knowledge, married or entered the service of princes, and often became the enemies who attacked most bitterly ecclesiastical liberties. Instead of these deserving native clerks were appointed Italians who for the most part did not reside and who received the revenues of churches whose crucifix they had never even seen.[2]

Thus before Anagni, the power of the French Church had been broken largely by the papacy itself, and when, under Philippe-le-Bel, the pope had occasion to call upon the French clergy to assert their independence, there was no response. The Gallic Church dared not raise her voice to blame the sacrilege of Guillaume de Nogaret; she abandoned Boniface who had tried to defend her against royal rapaciousness; she delivered up the Templars (1307), and even made herself the instrument of their punishment. In a word the Gallic Church had become the docile servant of the French king.

The final and most crushing blow to the Church was delivered at Anagni in 1303 — a blow which broke forever the power

[1] Lavisse, *op. cit.*, 359. [2] Lavisse, *op. cit.*, III², 361.

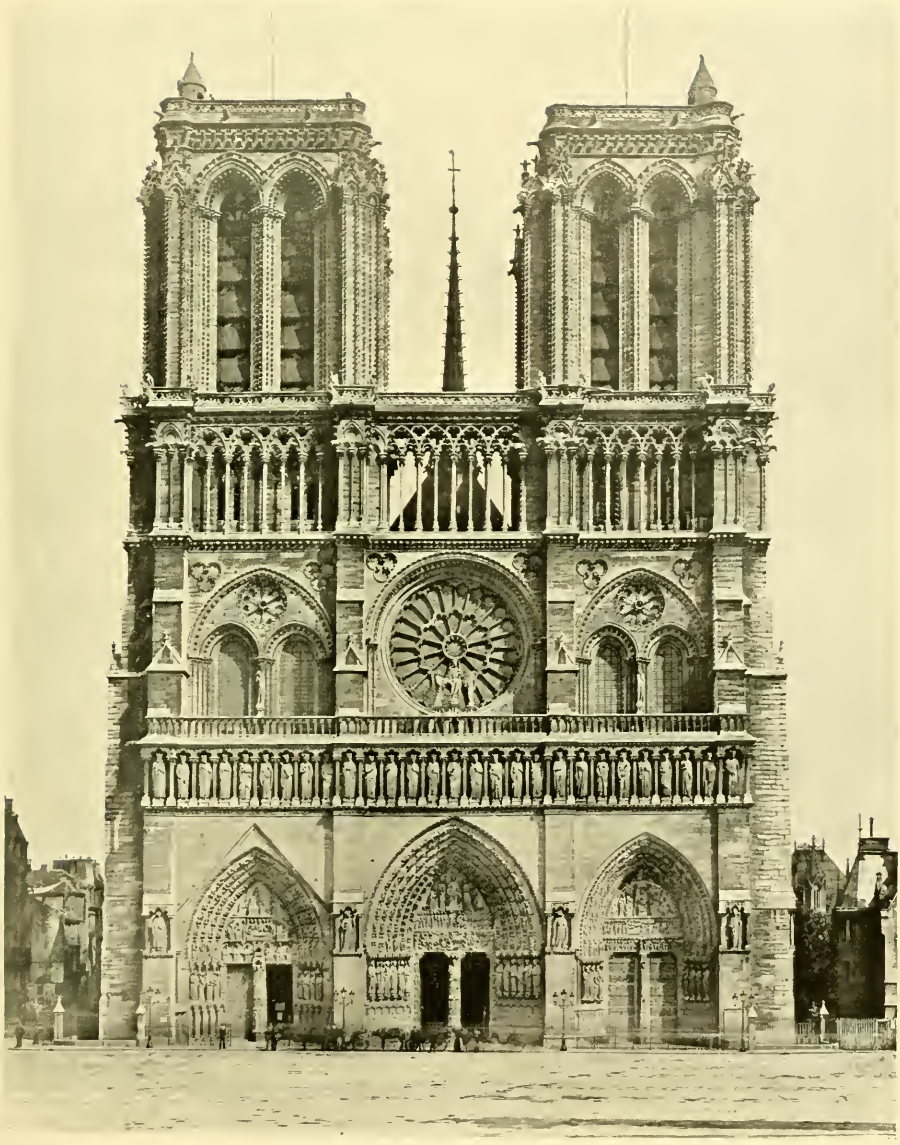
of Rome. The long Babylonian Captivity of the popes at Avignon (1308–1417) severely injured the prestige, not only of the papacy, but of Christianity. Simultaneously the last trace of that peculiar religious mysticism so characteristic of the XII century passed away from the soul of the French people.

To its place succeeded superstition. The chronicles of the first half of the XIV century throw in the strongest light the brutality and the hypocrisy of the religious beliefs of the period. Whoever stood in the way of the king or of Guillaume de Nogaret was accused of some monstrous crime, — of making a wax image in the likeness of the king to cause his death, or of some equally preposterous act of magic. Hundreds were sent to death on such charges. It suffices to look into the records of the prosecution of the Templars or of any of the many celebrated lawsuits of the time to find hosts of the most absurd accusations of witchcraft and magic. Never in the history of France were seen so many executions for supposed crimes, as under the last Capetians. No more do we read of miracles, of gentle interpositions of the Virgin, of miraculous cures; the popular mind runs to the black arts, it delights in tales of sorcery and incantations. In a word, belief in the basest and most repulsive demonology has supplanted the faith of the XII century, — a faith that was blind and unthinking, it is true, but none the less touching and poetic.

As time went on, the same decadence attacked learning and intellectual activity.[1] Theology almost passed away. The Latin of the ecclesiastical authors became worse and worse; grammatical errors abound even in the documents of the University of Paris. At the end of the century, in the midst of the disasters of the Hundred Years' War, Nicolas de Clamanges, a humanist of much zeal, tried to bring about a reform, but he belonged to a small group of purists, whose efforts were of no avail.

It is above all to the decline of the Church that must be attributed the peculiar qualities of Gothic architecture of the so-called rayonnant period — a period that began about 1250 and entirely passed away only in the last quarter of the XIV cen-

[1] See, however, Lavisse, *op. cit.*, IV[1], 393.



Ill. 223. — Façade of Paris

tury. To the lack of enthusiasm of the age, and to the overburdening of the clerical resources by taxes, was due that almost total cessation of building activity that followed the tremendous energy of the last half of the XII, and the first half of the XIII, century. To the new scientific spirit, to the lack of idealism, was due the naturalistic tendencies of this art, its somewhat cold correctness; to the destruction of the power of the Church, was due its death.

It is usually believed that the small architectural production of the XIV century is to be explained by the great building activity of the preceding period — an activity which, it is claimed, left the churches of France in such excellent condition that there was no reason for a later age to rebuild them. But although it is true that new cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches had been begun in the early Gothic period everywhere throughout France, the vast majority of these had been left unfinished — indeed, notwithstanding that the construction has been advanced in the flamboyant period, they stand to this day incomplete. Therefore there was a vast quantity of building which it was not only possible but needful that the XIV century should carry out. Nevertheless this was left undone. In fact, so absolutely was building abandoned, that genuine examples of XIV century architecture are extremely rare — a few isolated fragments here and there in the great cathedrals are all that we have from which to form an idea of the style of the period.

It has also been many times repeated that the Hundred Years' War destroyed Gothic architecture. While such a cataclysm would doubtless have been sufficient to stop architectural activity, as a matter of fact the energy of Gothic seems to have been quite thoroughly exhausted before the war began. Production and progress had greatly fallen off by the opening years of the XIV century; while at the time of the commencement of the war in 1338, and long before the great disasters of Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) had brought economic ruin on the country, architectural art had passed under a shadow as deep as that which was to overtake it in the darkest days of Charles VI.

This is the more remarkable in that the general conditions

in France during the first half of the XIV century were distinctly such as would naturally be assumed to make for progress in the arts. In the long peace of the XIII century — a peace extending, except for unimportant interruptions for a period of a century and a half, from the beginning of the reign of Philippe-Auguste, to the end of that of Philippe-le-Bel — France had enjoyed a golden era of prosperity and economic progress. The age of St. Louis continued to be sighed for, as the acme of happiness, by future generations for centuries to come. Nor was this prosperity essentially marred by the slight wars which occurred at the end of the XIII, and in the early XIV, centuries: — those of Philippe-le-Bel and Edward I (1294–97), of Charles IV and Edward II (1324–27). Of more importance was the war with Flanders which was begun in 1297 and which terminated in the disaster of Courtrai (1302), ominous prelude of the great reverses of the Hundred Years' War; yet even this was not enough to disturb the tranquil prosperity of the country.

Doubtless more exhausting, economically, was the ruinous financial policy of Philippe-le-Bel. Forever in monetary difficulties this monarch drained the clergy, the nobility, and the *tiers état* by his continual taxation, squeezing the resources of France to the last drop. But not content with this crushing taxation, the insatiable avidity of the king resorted to more harmful means of raising funds. The debasement of the royal money begun in 1295 reached its height in 1306, and the evil example was followed by the succeeding kings. Such a financial policy could not fail to disturb commerce and overturn business relations.

Equally disastrous were the persecutions of the Jews. In 1306 the goods of these valuable citizens were confiscated, and the entire people exiled. Later certain individuals were allowed to come back, but they were again persecuted, together with the lepers, in 1321. Thus was destroyed the most industrious and prosperous portion of the community. The loss was keenly felt in the decline of general prosperity which followed. A similar economic error was the persecution of the Lombards, which among other grave results caused the decline of the great fairs of Champagne, still so flourishing in the time of St. Louis.

Ill. 224. — Façade of Reims

Although from such causes there was undoubtedly a slight decrease in the general prosperity of the country, there is still no question that at the opening of the Hundred Years' War, France was in an extraordinarily flourishing condition. The population seems to have been more dense than it ever subsequently became until the XIX century. Commerce and agriculture stood at the high-water mark. That architecture should have declined so precipitately at such a time must, therefore, have been due not to the general conditions of the country, but to the special conditions within the Church.

If, however, the Hundred Years' War was not the primary cause of the death of Gothic art, there can be no question it at least gave the final *coup de grâce*. As early as Poitiers (1356) the resources of the kingdom were nearly exhausted; and during the breathing space afforded by the tenure of the Treaty of Calais (1360–68) the utmost efforts of the monarchy to recoup resources and regulate the finances were unavailing. These were dark days for France. The entire Southwest in the hands of the English; the nation divided against itself; Paris in the hands of Étienne Marcel (1355); the États-Généraux tending more and more to open revolt; the Jacquerie of 1358; the Black Death of 1348 which carried off probably a half of the total population; the country overrun by "les compagnies" — bands of free-booters and robbers, stronger than the royal armies, who pillaged at will and absolutely destroyed intercommunication; — all these conditions reduced the land to the extreme of economic exhaustion. Matters brightened somewhat during the reign of Charles V (1364–80), although continual warfare left no respite for gathering material resources. But soon after the accession of Charles VI began that series of disasters destined to bring France to the lowest point of her fortunes. In the darkness and misery of this unhappy time flickered and went out the last glowing ember of Gothic architecture.

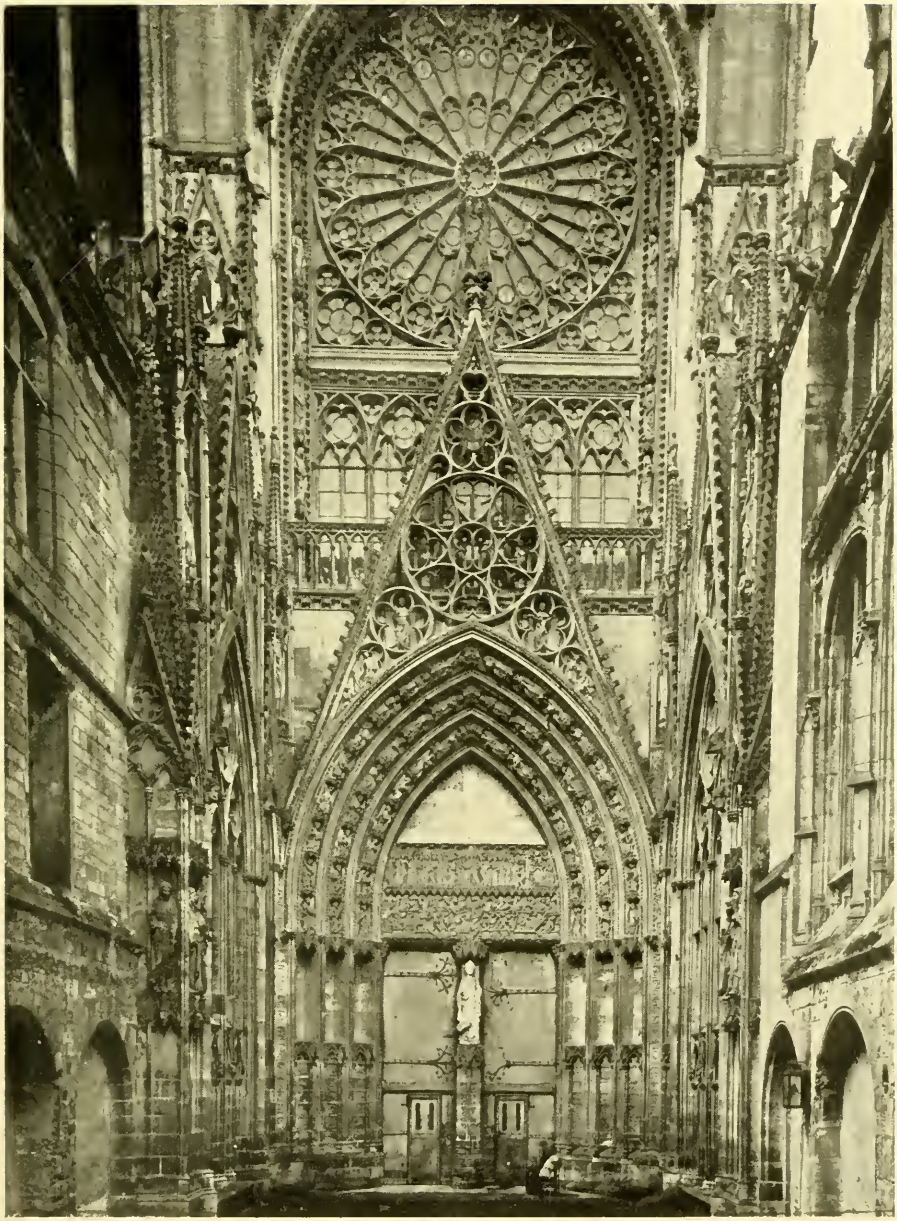
Although the Gothic builders, for the most part, merely carried to their logical conclusion those structural principles which had already been clearly enunciated in the transitional

era, yet after the year 1180 a certain number of new constructions came into use, and many old ideas were given a new significance. Most important was the suppression of the wall surface. Entranced by the ravishing effect of the stained glass windows, the builders of the transition had already begun to enlarge to the utmost the size and number of the lights. At St. Remi (Ill. 183) three lancets had been grouped together in each bay of the clearstory. Ordinarily, however, the space beneath the vault was not broad enough in proportion to its height to allow so many windows to be happily disposed. On the other hand it was impossible to occupy the entire space by one window, since the resulting surface of glass was larger than could safely be trusted to resist the force of winds and storms. Consequently two lancets were usually grouped together, and above them, to complete the composition, was inserted a circular window or an oculus. A good example of a window of this type may be seen in the Chapel of the Baptismal Founts at Laon (extreme right of Ill. 217).

That window tracery was evolved in this manner, the numerous intermediate examples leave no doubt, although the builders of the transitional era seem several times to have nearly invented it without such a process of development. Thus the tympanum of the grouped arches of the triforium of St. Germer is pierced (Ill. 173); the "wheel" of the rose window of St. Étienne of Beauvais closely resembles true tracery (Ill. 213); and the oculi of the original triforium at Paris had richly cusped bars of open work.

It was an easy step to combine the three separate openings of a window like that of Laon into a single composition, and to replace the original simple cusping of the oculus by a more elaborate pattern. Excellent examples of windows of this type — known as windows with *plate tracery* — may be seen in the clearstory of Chartres (Ill. 218). Plate tracery, which first came into use c. 1200, always consists of openings cut in a solid wall, the pattern thus being formed of voids, not of solids; the window is always a group of openings of various decorative shapes, rather than a single opening divided by mullions.

However, the fragments of wall separating the lights came



Ill. 225. — Rouen. Portail des Libraires

to be more and more reduced until before the end of the first quarter of the XIII century they had become true mullions — *i.e.*, slender reed-like interstices of stone, profiled and supplied with capitals. Tracery formed of mullions is known as *bar tracery*, and no more beautiful examples can be found than in the clearstory of Amiens (Ill. 219).

Tracery as thus developed made it possible to construct windows as large as desired, since the mullions, by breaking up the large fields of glass, removed all danger that these should be blown in by the force of the wind. Hence the Gothic builders conceived the inspired idea of omitting altogether the walls, and converting the entire cathedral into a structure of glass, merely supported and held together by a stone frame. This conception, in addition to being very beautiful esthetically, was extremely practical from a structural point of view, for it lightened enormously the dead weight of the entire building, and thus made possible the use of far more slender supports. The great principle of the suppression of the wall was carried to its logical conclusion in the nave of Amiens (Ill. 219).

Bar tracery, however, was more than a mere support for the glass; it was a beautiful thing in itself. Many of the most exquisite decorative forms in all Gothic art are to be found in the infinitely varied, but always beautiful, designs of the tracery. In the earlier examples the pattern is invariably restrained and simple; in the apex of the window is placed a rosette, — a reminiscence of the primitive oculus — and beneath this are grouped two, or sometimes three, lancets.[1] Even in later times this same general scheme was usually preserved, but it was enriched and varied by subdivisions and embellishments introduced within the great divisions.

Thus by the middle of the XIII century the tracery had come to assume very rich and complicated patterns. The mullions had become so light and graceful, as to resemble willow rods rather than stone. Particularly gracious examples of tracery of this type, known as *rayonnant* from the 'radiating' patterns it assumed in the rose windows, may be seen at St. Urbain of Troyes (Ill. 220). In the XIV century the development of

[1] A lancet is a pointed light without subdivisions by mullions.

tracery consisted merely in extending and intensifying the tendencies already manifest. The patterns became extremely complex, at times almost over-elaborate, although it would be hypercriticism to find fault with such wealth of imagination as is shown, for example, in the design of the windows of the transept of Le Mans (Ill. 221).

The tracery of rose windows developed in a precisely analogous manner. The great rose of the west façade of Chartres (Ill. 190) consists of a central wheel — quite similar to that which had been built nearly a century before at St. Étienne of Beauvais (Ill. 213) — surrounded by a circle of rosettes in plate tracery. The western rose of Laon (Ill. 222) stands half way between plate and bar tracery, and the western rose of Paris (Ill. 223) shows true bar tracery disposed in a pattern which already tends to become radiating. From such a design it was an easy step to the fully developed rayonnant rose windows, such as those of the west façade of Reims (Ill. 224), or of the north transept of Rouen (Ill. 225). Such compositions, whether judged from the exterior as pure design, or seen from within with all the added luster of the colored glass, must rank among the most lovely and poetical architectural designs conceived by the Middle Ages; the patterns, infinitely varied, seem each to surpass the others in delicacy and beauty of composition. In no other feature were the Gothic builders more universally successful, and hardly a rose window was executed in the rayonnant period that is not a veritable masterpiece. The *chef d'oeuvre*, the masterpiece of masterpieces, however, is assuredly the southern rose of Paris.

Next to the development of tracery and the consequent suppression of the wall surface, the most important advance of the early Gothic period was the return to the quadripartite vault. The advantages of this system would seem to be obvious, but it was at first adopted only with hesitation. Thus although a quadripartite vault was built at Meaux in the late XII century, a sexpartite vault was planned for Auxerre c. 1215; and at the same time that quadripartite vaults were being built over the naves of St. Remi of Reims (1182–98) and of Lisieux (about contemporary), the builders of Paris were abandoning

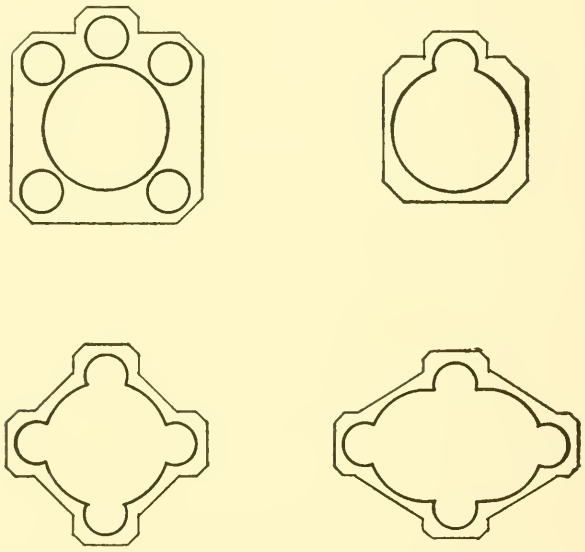
Ill. 226. — Paris. Interior

the quadripartite form planned since 1163 in favor of the sexpartite system. However, notwithstanding this vacillation and uncertainty, the quadripartite form was steadily gaining ground, and by c. 1200 the use of sexpartite vaults had become really exceptional. Thus at St.-Loup-de-Naud and at Voulton, alternate systems planned for sexpartite vaults were finally crowned by quadripartite vaults, — a curious reversal of the dispositions of Paris. In the end the sexpartite form fell completely into disuse, and so ended this strange excursion of the French builders into the architectural forms of Normandy.

Even before the quadripartite vault had come into exclusive use, the builders had ventured to lighten the construction sufficiently to make it possible to replace all the compound piers — in the alternate as well as in the intermediate supports — by monocylindrical piers or columns. This was done, in the first years of the Gothic period, at Lisieux, in the western bays of the nave of Laon (Ill. 248), and in all except the two westernmost bays of the nave of Paris (Ill. 226). When the quadripartite vault was adopted, the piers were logically made all of the same size, and the excessive weight which had formerly been concentrated on the alternate piers, making it difficult to place columns in this position, was relieved.

While the quadripartite system thus in one way facilitated the construction of monocylindrical piers, in another way it complicated that problem, for it was difficult to gather five shafts on a single abacus, as must be done when monocylindrical piers were used with a quadripartite system (or in the alternate supports of a sexpartite system). In the transitional period, as at Noyon (Ill. 180), or Senlis (Ill. 181), cylindrical piers had been used only in the intermediate supports of a sexpartite system, where there were only three shafts — two wall shafts and an intermediate transverse shaft — to be provided for. But when *all* the supports of a sexpartite system were made monocylindrical, the alternate abaci must support five shafts, — two wall, two diagonal, and one transverse — and there were similarly five shafts in every support of a quadripartite system. To gather all these five shafts on a single abacus was extremely difficult. Nevertheless this was done in the western bays of

the nave of Laon,[1] not, however, without producing grave distortions. At Chapelle-sur-Crecy and elsewhere the expedient was adopted of resting the shafts on corbels placed just above the abaci — an expedient which was soon found to be neither logical structurally nor satisfactory to the eye. A more hopeful scheme was tried in the eastern portions of the nave of Laon (Ill. 227, Fig. 1). The alternate piers were surrounded by five free-standing colonnettes, four of which supported the corners of the abacus, while the fifth, standing in front of the column,



Ill. 227. —Diagram. Piers of Laon, Paris (6th and 7th bays, Beauvais)

supported a bulge in the center of the abacus which by this means was sufficiently enlarged to afford footing for the shafts.

In the sixth pier of the nave of Paris, counting from the east, a further improvement was introduced. The four colonnettes which had supported the angles of the abacus at Laon were omitted; the fifth — the one opposite the middle of the pier — instead of standing free, was engaged (Ill. 227, Fig. 2). Thus was produced a pier at once more compact and more pleasing esthetically, since the vertical lines of the system were continued to the ground. The adjustment of system and shaft, however,

[1] Although these bays are later than the eastern portions described below.

Ill. 228. — Soissons. Nave

Ill. 229. — Chartres. Interior

Ill. 230. — Reims. Interior

still remained awkward, for since these two sets of vertical lines were not in precisely the same plane, there resulted an unpleasant set-back at the capital (Ill. 226). At Soissons (Ill. 228) this defect was largely remedied.[1]

An even more satisfactory type of pier was invented c. 1192 (?) in the seventh bay of Paris (Ill. 228, Fig. 3). The colonnette engaged on the center of the principal face was retained, but three other colonnettes were added symmetrically, one on the middle of each of the other faces. These additional colonnettes supported the archivolts of the main arcade and the ribs of the aisle vaulting. Thus was evolved the form of support used in the great Gothic cathedrals, Chartres, Reims, Amiens.

It remained for the builders of Beauvais, however, to perfect the design of piers. Since the principal thrust exerted against the supports was at right angles to the axis of the church, it was logical to make the pier thicker in this direction. Accordingly the core was given an elliptical instead of a circular shape, the greater diameter being thus opposed to the direction of the greatest strain (Ill. 227, Fig. 4).

While by these gradual stages the design of piers was being perfected, certain improvements were being made in the arrangement of the shafts. To diminish the bulk of the load imposed upon the abaci, the wall shafts were often not carried down to the level of the main arcade, but were made to rest on the clear-story or triforium string-course. Thus at Chartres (Ill. 229), Reims (Ill. 230), and Beauvais (Ill. 231), only three shafts rest on the abaci. At Amiens (Ill. 219), the same idea was carried even farther; since the colonnette engaged on the face of the pier had no capital, the transverse shaft was practically carried to the ground and only two shafts rested on the abacus. This system at Amiens is the most beautiful of all that the medieval builders invented; there is no distortion, no cramping, no straining of adjustment. With the structural advantages of slender supports were combined the continuous vertical lines, so essential to the esthetic effect of the Gothic church. The eye is led smoothly and irresistibly from the ground to the summit of the soaring vaults.

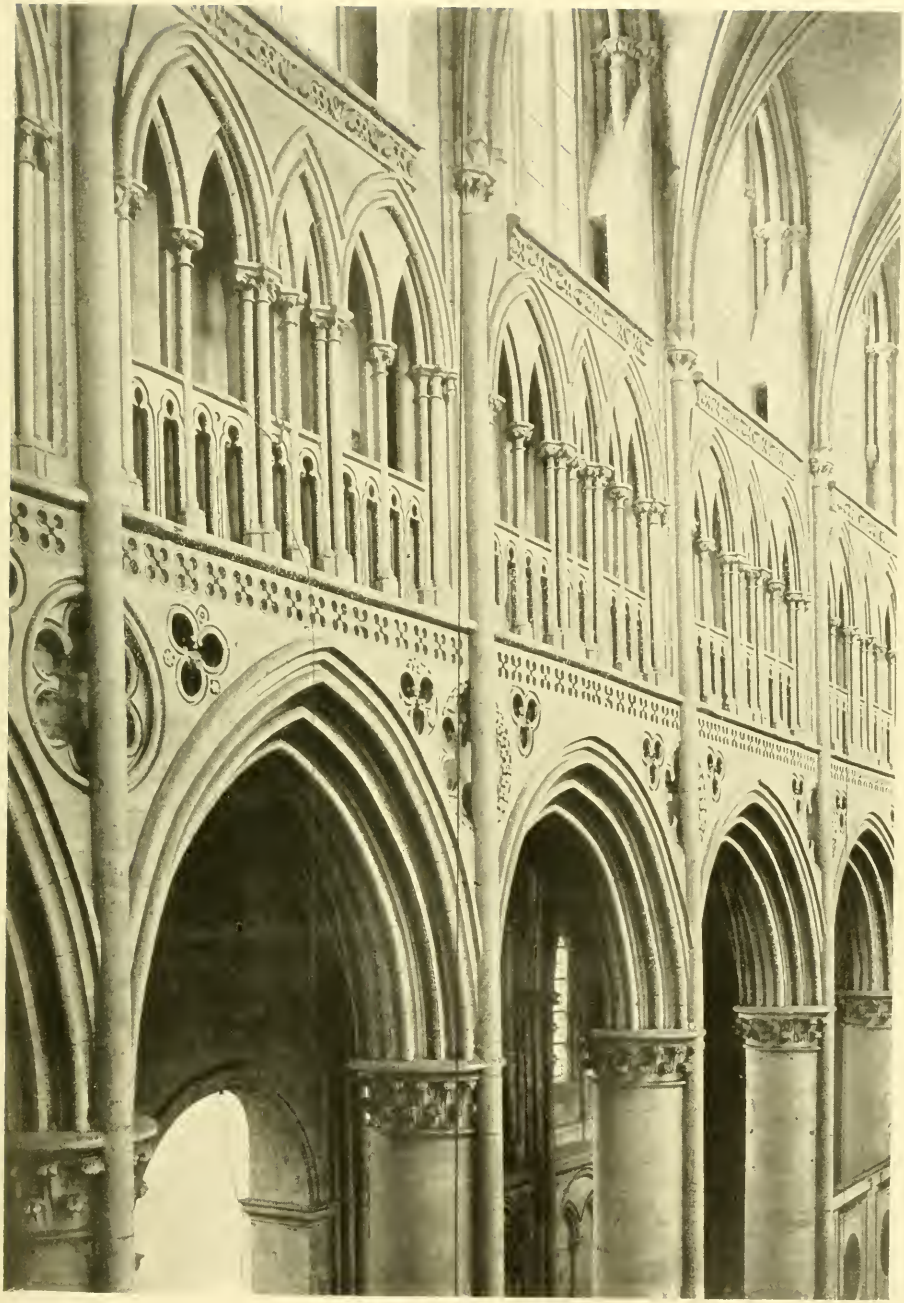
[1] Moore, p. 129.

Many other systems — all different and all beautiful in their way — were designed in the course of the XIII century. Thoroughly typical of Normandy is the system of Séez (Ill. 232) where there is only a single shaft; almost as radically different from the typical French design is the system at Bourges (Ill. 233) — a system in which the contour of the circular pier is carried along the clearstory wall in a sort of bulging core, on which are engaged the slender vaulting shafts. Three of these shafts are continuous in all the supports; but since the vault is sexpartite, on the alternate piers two additional shafts are engaged above the great capitals. Thus the Gothic builders introduced a well-nigh infinite variety into the designs of their systems, and if they seldom departed from the normal type as widely as at Séez or Bourges, they none the less, among all the buildings of the XIII century, hardly repeated twice exactly the same arrangement of shafts and colonnettes.

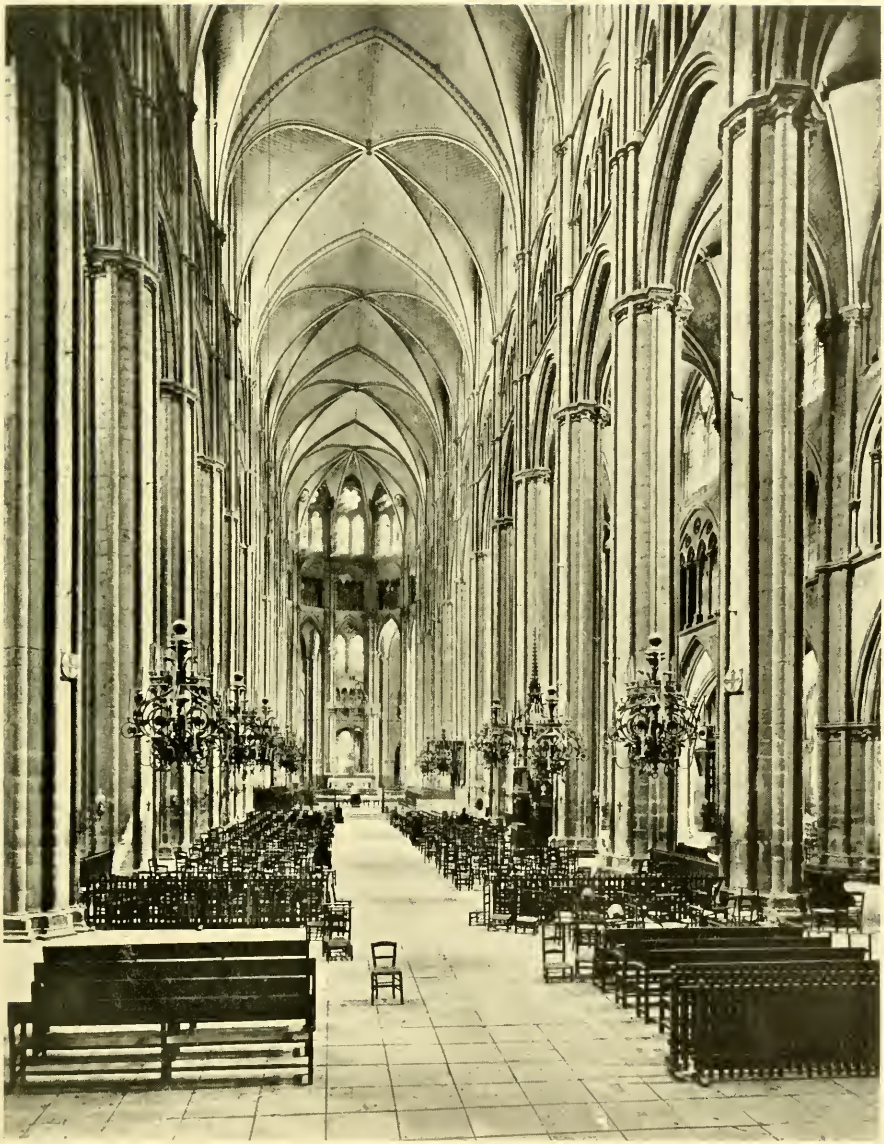
The type of pier developed in the seventh bay of Paris (Ill. 227, Fig. 2) presented certain difficulties in the design of the capital. Gothic capitals were proportioned not to the height, but to the diameter of the shaft. Since, therefore, the main core of the pier had a greater diameter than the engaged colonnettes, it required a deeper capital. At Reims (Ill. 230) the colonnettes and piers were given capitals of the same depth, proportioned to the diameter of the pier, but a string-course marked the normal depth of a capital for the colonnettes. More satisfactory are the capitals of Chartres (Ill. 229). The colonnettes of the alternate piers of this cathedral are octagonal, but the capitals of all the piers are similar. Piers and colonnettes are given separate capitals of the depth normal to each, the capitals of the piers being thus much deeper than those of the colonnettes. This type of capital was repeated in the cathedral of Beauvais (Ill. 231) practically unchanged, but at Amiens (Ill. 234) it was improved by omitting altogether the foliage from the central colonnette, which thus became merely a continuation of the transverse shaft.

In the rayonnant period entirely new tendencies appeared in the design of the systems. The shafts were made more and more slender; at length they became so extenuated that they could

Ill. 231. — Beauvais. Interior



Ill. 232. — System of Sées



Ill. 233. — Bourges. Interior

be continued to the ground in the old Romanesque manner without giving undue bulk to the pier. They were next given profiles similar to those of the ribs they supported; and as shaft and rib had now the same size and shape, there was no need for capitals at the springing of the vault to adjust these members. The capitals were accordingly greatly reduced in size and importance, and at last omitted altogether, so that the ribs rose from the pavement to the summit of the vault without interruption. The capitals of the main piers also tended to disappear. The idea of carrying the shafts of the system through these capitals became increasingly popular after c. 1225, and by the end of the XIII century was almost universally adopted. Furthermore, the core of the pier came to be surrounded by many little colonnettes, each supporting some member of the archivolt of the main arcades or one of the ribs of the aisle vaulting. Since each one of these little shafts was given a capital, the great capital of the main pier became superfluous. Finally in the spaces between the shafts the mouldings of the archivolts were continued to the ground. It was an easy step to omit the capitals of the shafts also, but this step was taken only in the flamboyant period.

The character which Gothic systems had thus come to assume in the last half of the XIV century is admirably shown by the choir of St. Satur (Ill. 235) — a monument full of interest as the only important example extant of the last phase of Gothic architecture. A glance at the photograph will make it evident how radically the design of this church departs from the ideals of the XIII century.

Like the system, the flying buttress, though established in the transitional period, reached its perfection only in the XIII century. Its development was based upon two new principles only dimly understood before the year 1200. The first of these was the fact that the thrust of a rib vault is spread over a considerable distance and cannot be concentrated on one point. Therefore the flying buttresses were constructed with two half arches or struts, one abutting the clearstory wall below the other. The strip of wall surface between the two struts was then stiffened — ordinarily by means of an engaged column —

and a perfect counter-thrust had been obtained. Early examples of double flying buttresses occur at St. Leu d'Esserent and Senlis. At Chartres (Ill. 218) the idea was carried almost to an extreme, — not only were the struts of the flying buttresses doubled, but the lower strut was made immensely heavy and divided by an open-work arcade, thus forming practically a triple flying buttress. After repeated experiment it was found that perfect stability could be most economically assured by double buttresses, such as those of the nave of Amiens (Ill. 236). Occasionally, as in the choir of that cathedral, the two struts were united by an open-work arcade, but the principle at bottom was the same. In smaller buildings, and even in a few great churches, such as the chevet of the cathedral of Coutances, a single flying buttress was found sufficient to support the vault; the double type, however, continued to be the truly characteristic form.

The second great principle governing the development of the flying buttress was the obvious fact that its stability could be increased by piling up weight over the upright portion of the buttress. Thus as early as c. 1212 the Gothic master builders of Soissons had begun to load their buttresses with pinnacles, but they made the mistake of applying these pinnacles to the *inside* edges of the upright portion of the buttresses, instead of to the outside edges, where the weight would be most effectively exerted. This defect, however, was promptly remedied in subsequent buildings. Like many another structural necessity of Gothic, the pinnacle rapidly became a decorative feature of striking beauty — a feature, indeed, to which the Gothic exterior owes half its character and beauty. Small at first, these pinnacles were quickly developed into the noble features which crown the buttresses of Amiens (Ill. 236) and Reims (Ill. 237). Indeed, the flying buttress reached its most perfect development at Reims. Anything more lovely than the soaring upward lines of the pinnacles of this cathedral with their great niches sheltering statues, their countless wealth of detail, the hand of man has not produced. The flying buttress had expressed its utmost.

Less successful was the treatment of the flying buttress in

Ill. 234. — Amiens. Interior

Ill. 235. — St. Satur. Choir

Ill. 236. — Flying buttresses of nave, Amiens

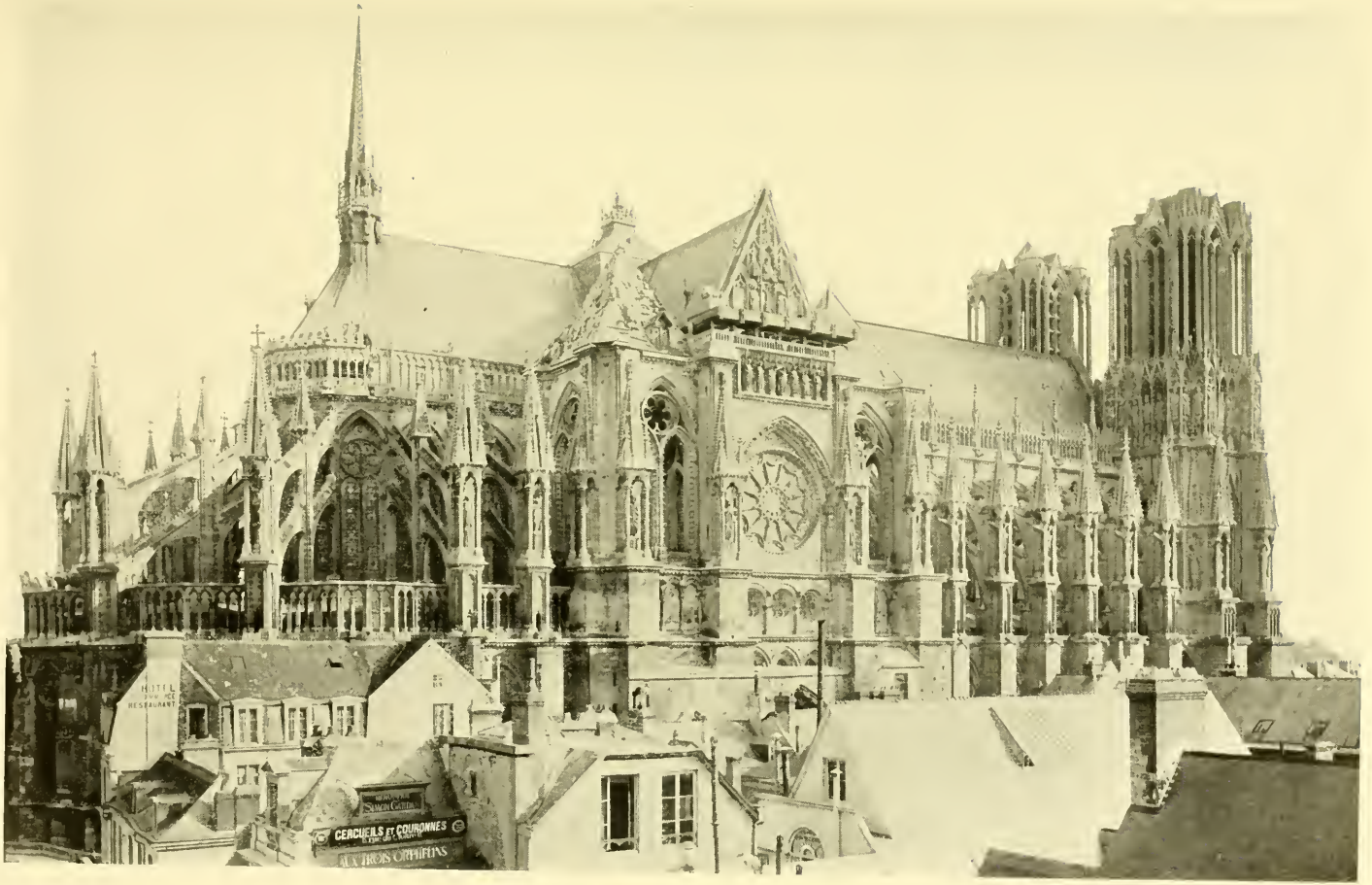
the chevet of Reims (Ill. 237), where double aisles, both of the same height, had to be spanned. The double struts were built in two flights, separated by a buttress rising from between the outer aisles and crowned by a superb pinnacle. The defect of these buttresses lay in the fact that the outer flight of struts did not continue the lines of the first, and thus did not transmit the thrusts of the great vault directly to the outermost abutments, as would have been at once more logical structurally and more satisfactory to the eye.[1] Since, however, continuous flights tended to lower the elevation of the outer struts above the aisle roof, and thus diminish the architectural effect of these striking features, the Gothic builders long hesitated to make the flights continuous. The perfect adjustment was found only in the rayonnant period, as at St. Ouen of Rouen (Ill. 238).

The problem of carrying flying buttresses across double aisles was complicated, when, as frequently happened, the inner aisle was higher than the outer, or surmounted by a gallery. In this case flying buttresses must be provided not only for the great vaults of the nave, but for the vaults of the aisle or its gallery. In the original design of the cathedral of Paris there were two flights of double struts, but the lower strut of the inner flight was concealed beneath the gallery roof. This hardly happy arrangement was later transformed in the chevet into the present system, where both aisles are boldly cleared by a single strut in one flight, while a second single strut abuts the gallery vaults. The chevet of Coutances is analogous. At Bourges there are two double flights, but the lower strut of the outer flight abuts the vaults of the inner aisle, so that the two struts abutting the nave vaults are continued by only a single

[1] It is to be noticed that the buttresses rising from between the aisles were probably stiffer than the outer buttresses, since the latter must withstand the thrusts of the aisle vaulting in addition to the thrusts transmitted by the struts, while the former carried no thrusts from the aisle vaulting, for the vaults of the inner and outer aisles exactly counterbalanced each other. Thus the builders of Reims may have wished to concentrate the thrust of the great vaults on the inner buttresses. As a matter of fact, however, the strain on the outer buttresses would not have been increased by making the flights continuous, since if the inner buttresses were stiff enough to carry the thrusts, they would absorb these thrusts in any event. The inertia of these inner buttresses would have to be overcome before strain could be brought to bear upon the outer buttresses.

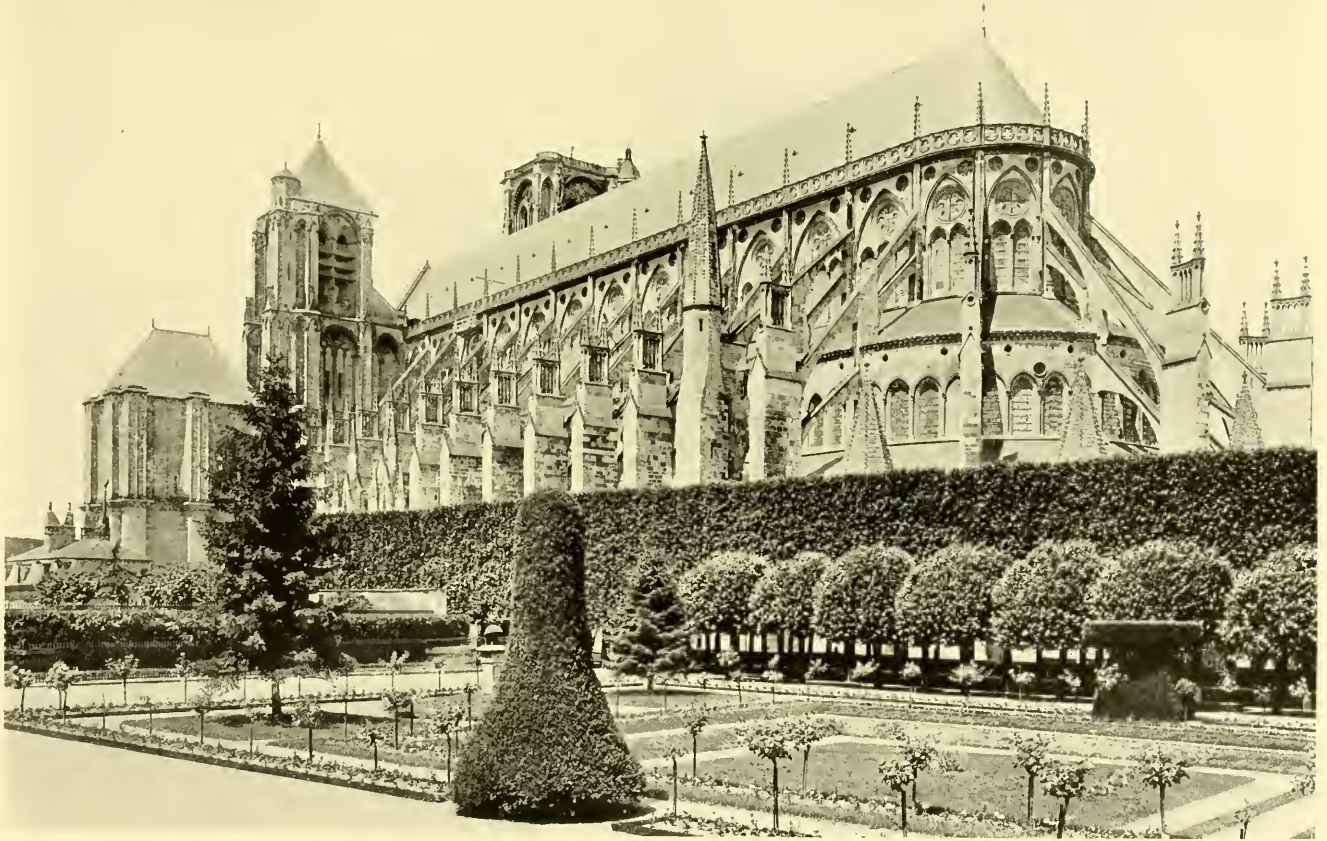
strut in the outer flight (Ill. 239). At Le Mans (Ill. 221), a most original adjustment was devised. Since the outer supports were twice as many as the inner supports, the flying buttresses were split in two over the outer aisle, converging at an angle on the buttress rising from between the aisles. Thus each flight of flying buttresses over the inner aisle was abutted by two flights over the outer aisles. The struts were similar in each. These buttresses rank with the sadly mutilated examples of Beauvais (Ill. 240), as among the noblest and most powerful designed in the Gothic period.

Although the problem of the ambulatory had been practically solved in the transitional period, and although the Gothic builders in the main continued loyal to the principle of the broken rib, they none the less tried certain new devices for erecting vaults on a curved plan. Of these the most ingenious was that introduced in the double ambulatory of Paris, where the vault surface was cleverly divided into a series of nearly equal triangles (Ill. 241). Here two points of support in the choir corresponded to three between the aisles and four in the outer wall. At St. Remi of Reims, at Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne (Ill. 242), and in fact generally in Champagne, two columns were placed in the mouth of the radiating chapels. By this means the awkward trapezoidal space of the outer aisle was divided into a rectangle and two triangles, both easily vaulted. At bottom this was only a new variation of the old device the Carolingian builders had adopted four hundred years before at Aachen (Ill. 85, Vol. I). At Bourges (Ill. 243) the same principle (except that there were no chapels) was applied, not altogether successfully, to ribs curved in plan, like those of Morienval. In another group of monuments of which the ambulatory of Soissons (Ill. 244) is a capital example, the motive invented by the transitional builders at Poissy was developed. The vaults of the radiating chapel and of the ambulatory were combined into one, the keystone being placed about on a level with the outer edge of the aisle. This same principle was still further developed in the cathedral of Coutances (Ill. 245) and at Vitry (Seine). At St. Quentin where there were no radiating chapels, the vaults, on analogy with this construction, were



Ill. 237. — Reims. Exterior from North

Ill. 238. — St. Ouen of Rouen. Exterior



Ill. 239. — Bourges. Exterior

made to assume a form similar to those of a square east end vaulted on the chevet principle.

While the Gothic builders were thus experimenting with the ambulatory vault, a most important innovation was introduced into the design of the chevet. A polygonal was substituted for a curved plan. Polygonal choirs had frequently been erected on a small scale in the XII century, but the chevet of Soissons (1199–1212) was perhaps the first building of large dimensions to which this principle was applied (Ill. 244). After Amiens (1220) Gothic chevets were always polygonal.

The most important change the Gothic builders wrought in the design of the nave was the omission of triforium galleries. Paris (Ill. 226), Laon, St. Remi of Reims (Ill. 183), retained the old division into four stories; but in the XIII century the gallery passed out of use at about the same time that sexpartite vaults ceased to be employed. Soissons (Ill. 228) and Chartres (Ill. 229) established the type of interior design destined to prevail throughout the Gothic period — a type characterized by a nave of three stories with triforium arcade but no gallery. At Amiens (Ill. 219) the triforium and clearstory were bound together in a single composition by continuous shafts. This motive had already been tried in the XII century, as, for example, at St. Remi of Reims (Ill. 183), but always in naves with four horizontal divisions. When applied to a three-storied nave like Amiens, the effect was to reduce still further the importance of the horizontal lines, by substituting two great horizontal divisions for three. With the vast dimensions, especially of height, that Gothic buildings had now come to assume, this accentuation of the vertical, at the expense of the horizontal, was of great significance. The effect of the colossal dimensions was vastly increased, and the interior was given that soaring, aspiring character, so typical of Gothic architecture.

The motive was carried still further when the triforium came to be glazed, and thus made to form actually part of the clearstory. Such a construction was in a way the logical conclusion of the tendencies of Gothic art, since the wall surface was thereby still further suppressed and the third horizontal story of the nave absolutely eliminated. Furthermore, the

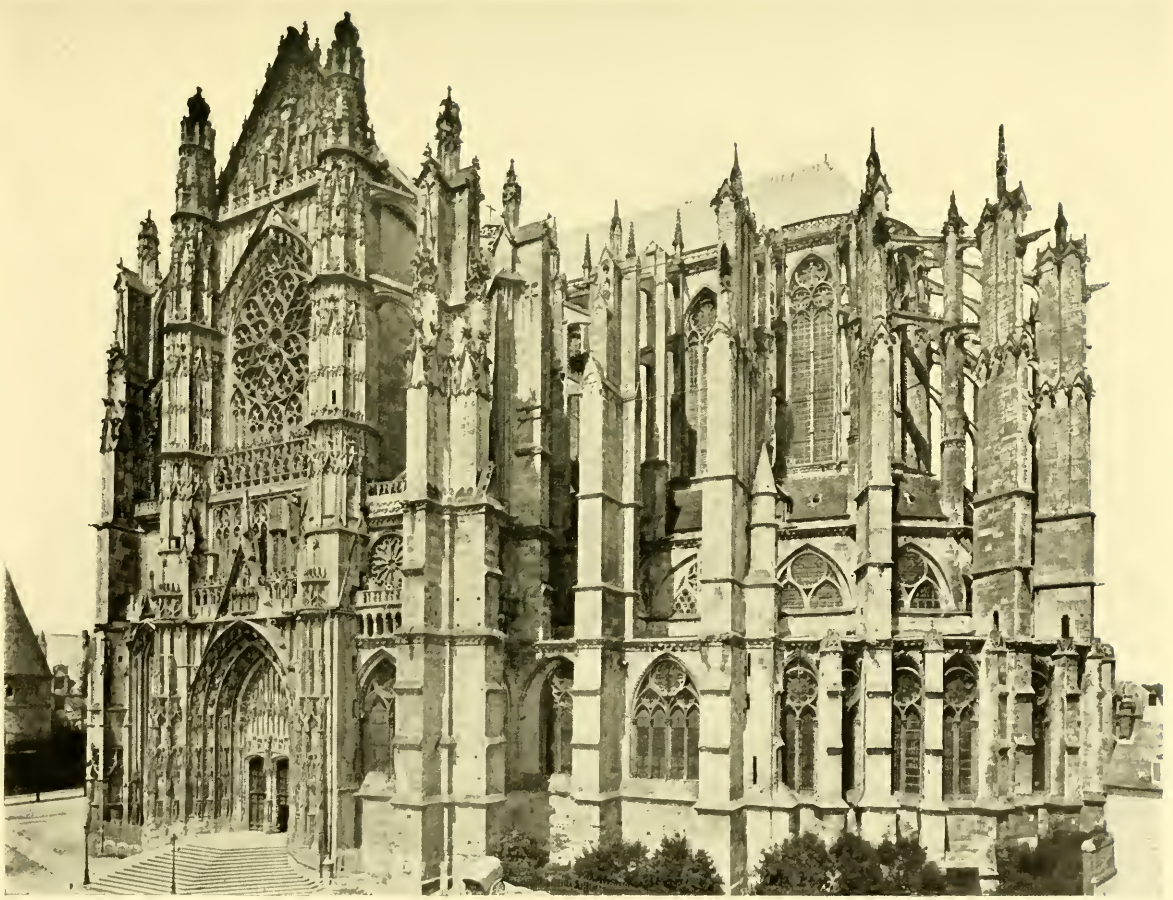
esthetic effect was one of entrancing loveliness (Ill. 246, 231). Nevertheless the introduction of the glazed triforium marked the first falling-off of Gothic architecture from strictly structural principles; the first sacrifice of logic to purely esthetic considerations. For the triforium arcade had been a structural feature, and could be omitted only by so far depressing the slope of the aisle roofs as to interfere seriously with the effective discharge of rain-water, or else by covering the aisles with conical roofs, a construction which caused interior valleys always difficult to drain.

Conical aisle roofs were first constructed over the outer ambulatory of Reims (Ill. 237), where the builders seem to have felt that a continuous lean-to roof over both aisles could not be given a sufficiently steep slope without unduly elevating the triforium. The first glazed triforium to be actually constructed was probably that of St. Denis (Ill. 246), erected c. 1231, although this example was soon followed by the choir of Beauvais (Ill. 231), built in 1225–72, and by the chevet of Amiens (Ill. 234), dating from 1257–79.

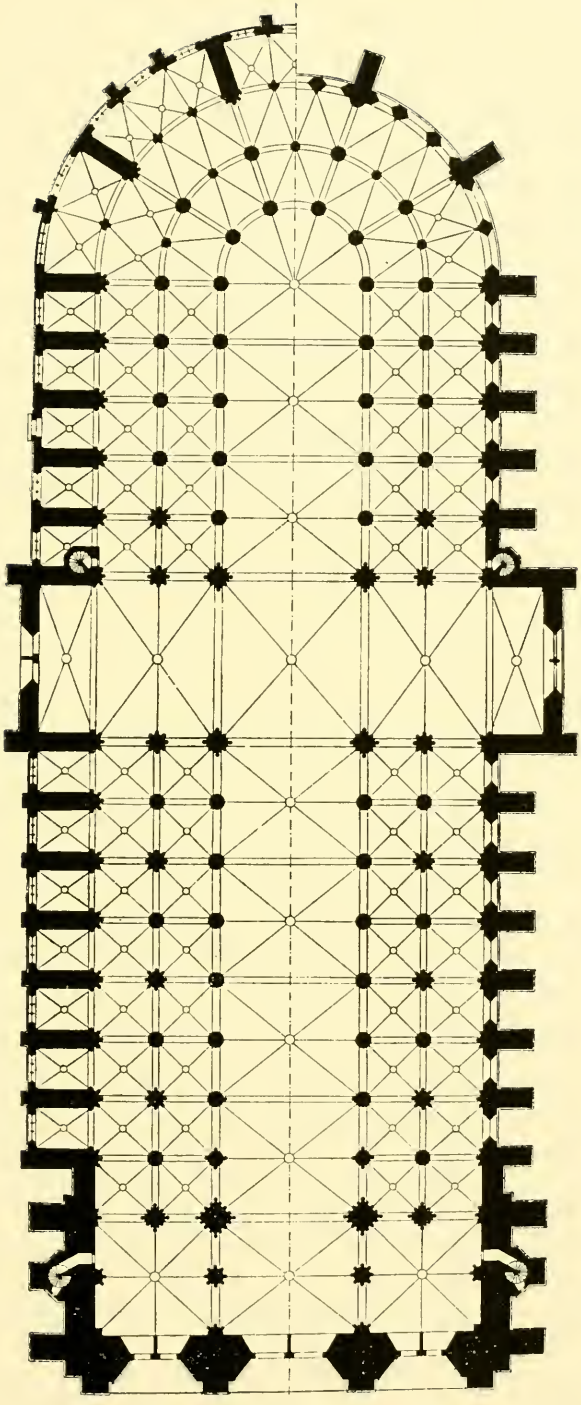
Apart from the broad course of development in the design of Gothic naves, stand several monuments whose dispositions are thoroughly exceptional. The most conspicuous of these is the cathedral of Rouen, of which the nave is so extraordinary in design, that it seems as if remnants of an earlier construction must have influenced the dispositions. The side aisles are separated from the nave by two rows of superposed arcades, the lower forming a sort of false triforium gallery below the true triforium. A design entirely analogous — and I believe the only one in France — occurs in the church of Eu.[1]

Other striking variations from the usual Gothic type are found in those churches of five aisles, in which the inner side aisles were made higher than the outer. Of this type Bourges (Ill. 233) is the earliest and probably the best known example, as well as the only one in which the pyramidal section is applied throughout the entire edifice. Since nave and inner side aisles of this cathedral are both supplied with triforium and clearstory, it results that the effect of the vertical lines is

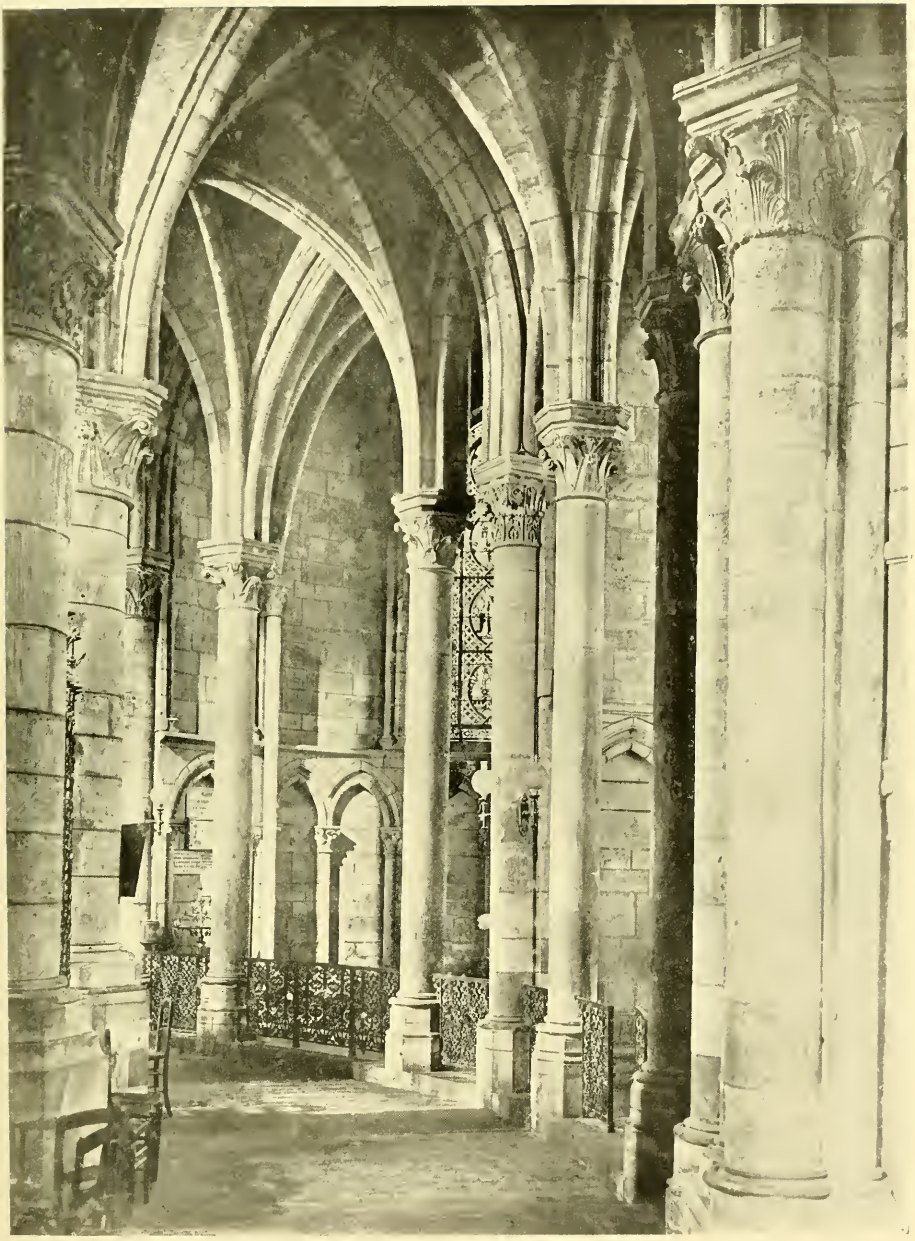
[1] Cf. the nave of the cathedral of Oxford, England.



Ill. 240. — Beauvais. Exterior



Ill. 241 — Paris. Plan. (From Dehio)



Ill. 242. — Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne, Ambulatory

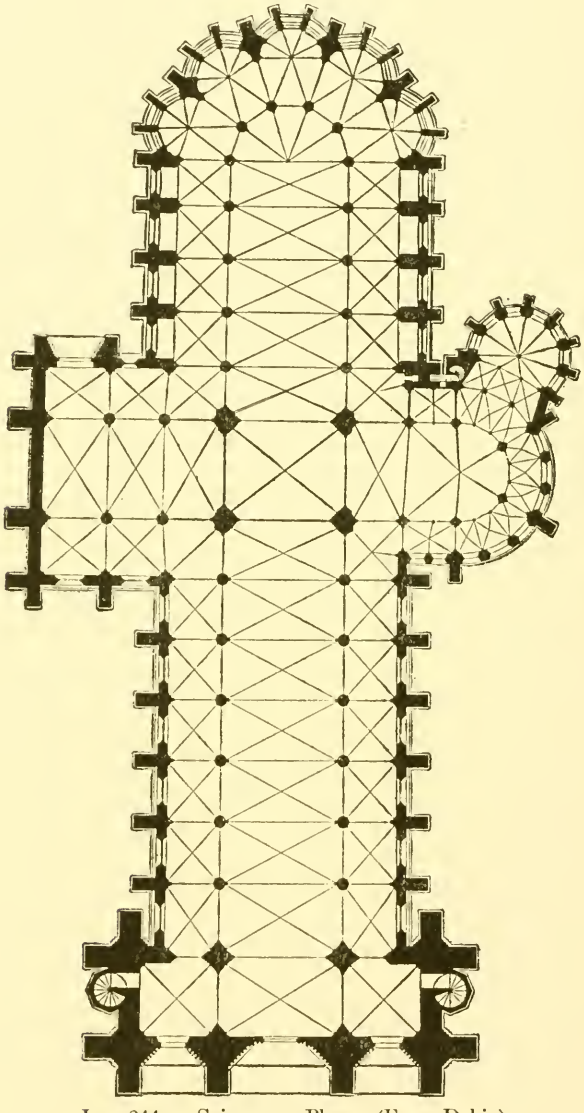
much marred by these five strongly marked horizontal divisions. To compensate for this defect, however, great depth and variety of perspective is obtained. In the choirs of Le Mans (Ill. 247) and Coutances, where the height of the five aisles was similarly proportioned, the design was greatly improved; but the pyramidal section was given its most perfect development in the cathedral of Beauvais (Ill. 231) — a monument which, notwithstanding its present unhappy condition, remains one of the most beautiful and impressive of all medieval cathedrals.

Throughout the Gothic period country churches continued to be roofed in timber, when the resources of the parish were insufficient to meet the expense of erecting a vault. Unfortunately, owing to the perishable nature of the material, hardly a single example of a timber roof of the XIII century has come down to us; and the one or two that have survived — *e.g.*, in the churches of Marigny (Calvados) and of Vannes (Aube) — have been so damaged that it is difficult to judge of their original character. There is no doubt, however, that they were richly decorated with painted ornament. Several fine examples of such roofs dating from the flamboyant period are extant, and it is probable that the wooden ceilings of the XIII century were similar in design.

The ground plan of the Christian church was not essentially changed by the Gothic builders. The most important innovation was the addition of side aisles to the transepts. The south transept of Soissons (Ill. 244) is one of the earliest monuments where this feature was introduced,[1] but it was adopted soon after at Paris (Ill. 241) and subsequently in all the great cathedrals. Another innovation was the custom of flanking the nave on either side by a row of chapels. Such chapels were erected at St. Spire of Corbeil as early as c. 1200; the nave chapels of Paris were begun about 1240; those of Évreux about 1246; and those of Amiens about 1292. In the XIV century chapels — constructed always to the detriment of the original edifice and not infrequently with funds badly needed for the construction of more essential parts of the building — were added to the great majority of cathedrals.

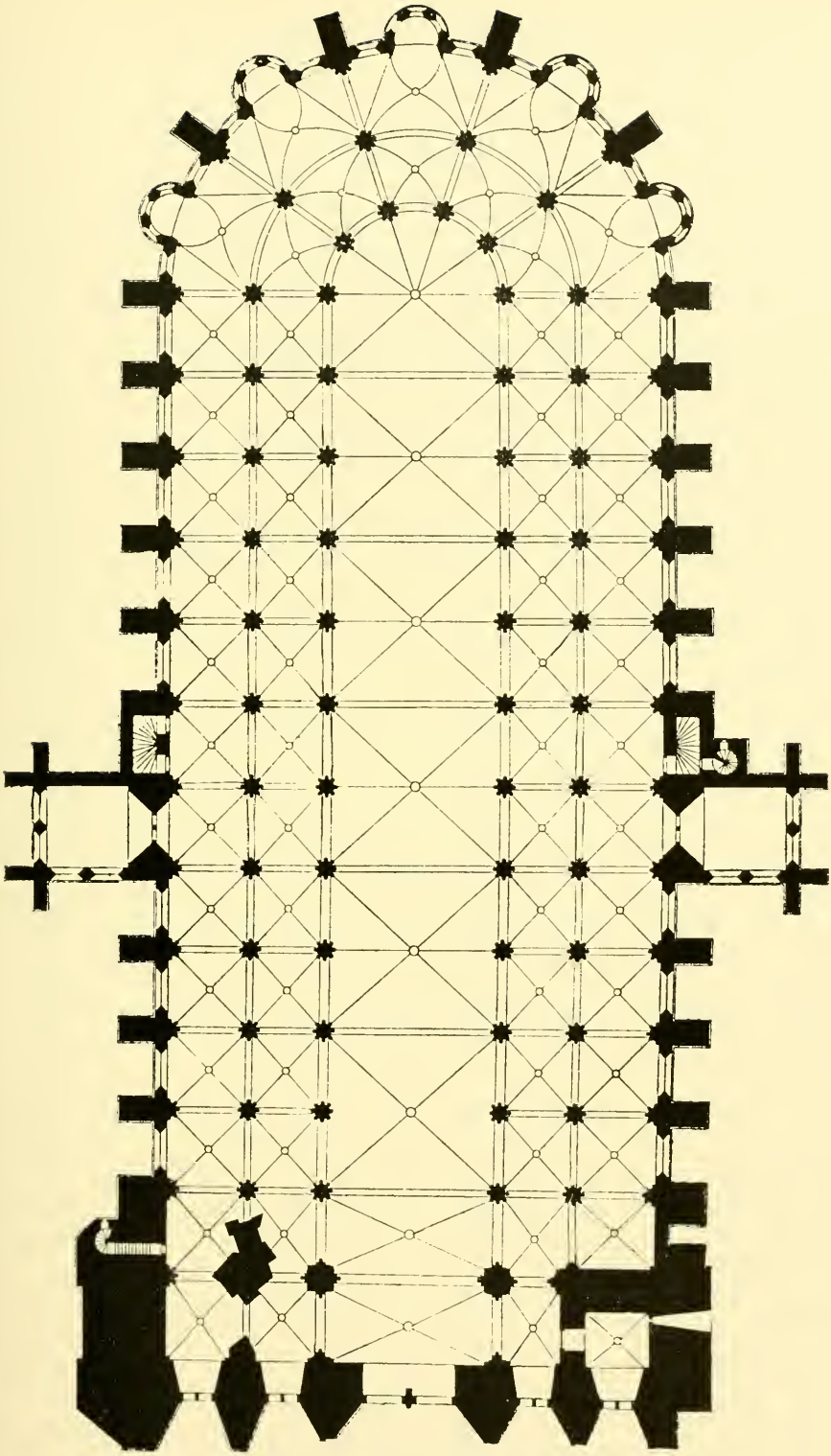
[1] The XI century church of St. Remi, Reims, seems to have had transepts with side aisles.

The Gothic plan, in which practically the only solids are the piers and buttresses, clearly expresses the skeleton character of the architecture. Even in paper drawings the story of bal-



Ill. 244. — Soissons. Plan. (From Dehio)

anced thrusts is told as distinctly and logically as in the superstructure of the building itself (Ill. 241, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251). Although the plan of each cathedral shows much



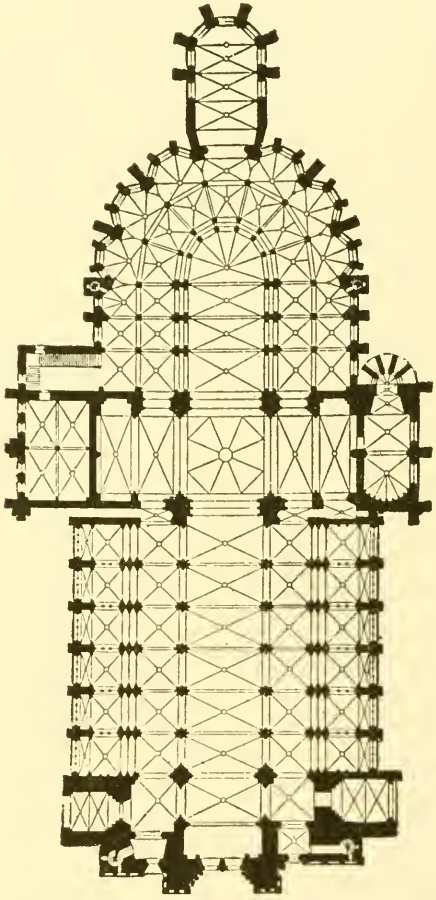
Ill. 243. — Bourges. Plan. (From Dehio)

individuality and many peculiar and original features due to the esthetic preferences of the master builders who designed it, a certain general progress and development may still be traced. Laon (Ill. 248) is to-day remarkable for its square east end, — a disposition common enough in parish churches, but unique among the great French cathedrals, — although this monument originally terminated in a chevet. Five aisles and a chevet without radiating chapels characterize the plan of Paris (Ill. 241). The plan of Bourges (Ill. 243) is similar to that of Paris, but the transepts are omitted. At Chartres (Ill. 249) the typical plan of the Gothic cathedral was first evolved, the plan that was destined to be still further developed at Reims (Ill. 251), and carried to perfection at Amiens (Ill. 250), where the proportion of solids to voids was reduced to its minimum. The many further variations subsequently wrought are of minor importance; the Gothic plan had been perfected.

A remarkable characteristic of Gothic planning is the freedom with which the builders placed a column or a corner on axis when convenience or necessity required. Modern taste, educated on works of the Renaissance, is apt to be shocked at this violation of the laws of the Medes, Persians, and Vignola. It must be admitted, however, that the Gothic architects violated convention with such restraint and delicacy that criticism is disarmed. Even the most confirmed classicist can hardly pretend to be offended by such designs as the piers on axis at Deuil (Seine-et-Oise) or at Jouy-le-Comte, or with the corners on axis in the triangular transept of St.-Jean-du-Corail or in the apses of Chennevières and St.-Eloi-de-Gy (Cher). In fact, probably not one person in a hundred, unless their attention were specially called to it, would even ever suspect that established usage had been violated in these cases.

In nothing did the Gothic builders achieve greater success than in the composition of the façade, and this success is so much the more noteworthy because the problem which here confronted them, as has been remarked, was one of extreme difficulty. The first of the great Gothic façades in point of dignity is undoubtedly that of Paris (Ill. 223), — a design of which no words can express the exalted beauty. Grandeur

of composition, nobility of silhouette, perfection of proportion, wealth of detail, infinitely varied play of light and shade combine to raise this composition, so majestic, so serene, to the place it has ever occupied in the heart of every one endowed with the slightest feeling for the beautiful.



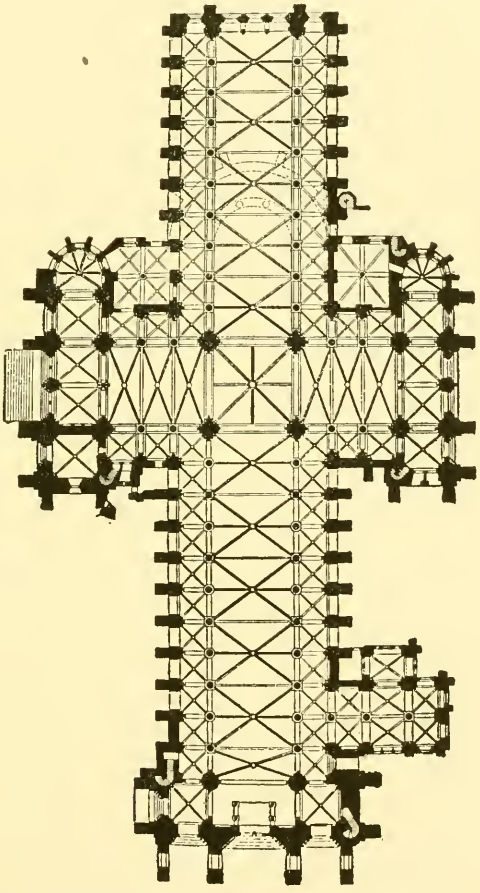
Ill. 245. — Coutances. Plan. (From Dehio)

Although lacking the exuberant richness of Amiens or Reims, the west front of Paris still unites all the elements that characterize the façades of the XIII century. The division into three parts by buttresses rising clear, sharp, incisive from the ground to the topmost summit of the towers, gives strongly marked vertical lines which add infinite strength and vigor to the composition;

Ill. 246. — St. Denis. Interior

Ill. 247. — Section of Le Mans. (From Dehio)

and in a three-aisled church (which Paris, however, is not) such a division expresses externally the three aisles of the interior. Twin towers flank the gable; below the nave vaults opens the great rose window. The horizontal divisions are formed by two galleries, — in reality nothing more than magnified



Ill. 248. — Plan of Laon. (From Dehio)

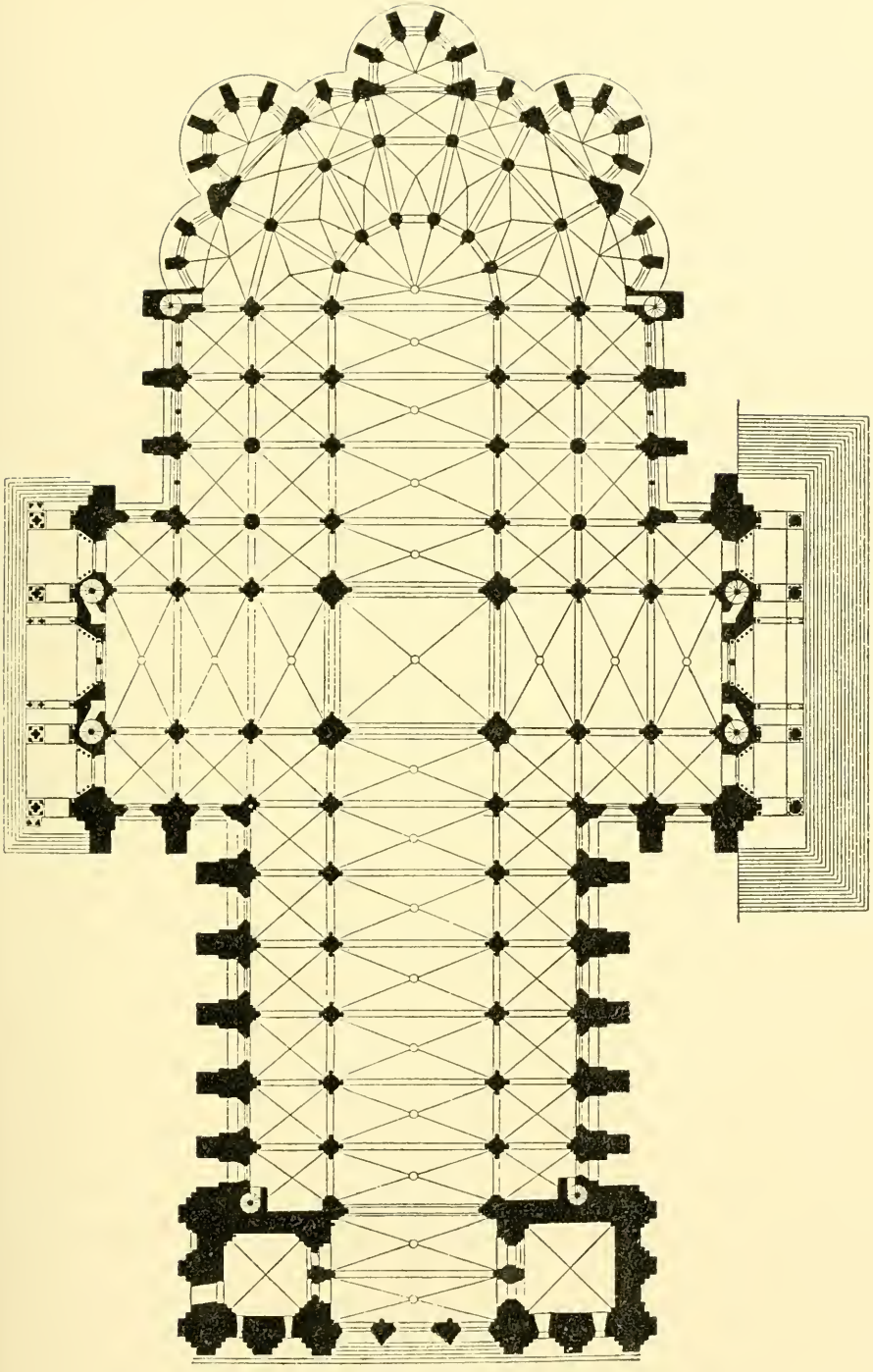
string-courses — one marking the height of the nave, the other the height of the side aisles. The lower gallery, known as the gallery of the kings, from the royal statues which adorn the niches, projects outward considerably from the upper part of the façade; in fact, the whole structure is given a pyramidal or sloping form, partly to gain greater stability, partly to thicken the lower part of the wall in which the great portals are pierced.

These mighty western portals are the glory of the French cathedral. Peopled with a countless host of statues, enriched with an infinite wealth of detail, they mark the utmost achievement of Gothic decorative art. The central portal of Paris is in six orders; the two side portals are only less sumptuous. No photograph can give an idea of the splendor and variety of this detail which is, nevertheless, always so strictly subordinated to architectural requirements.

The façade of Noyon (Ill. 252), while in no way possessing the majesty and beauty of the west front of Paris, is still not without a grandeur and an austere charm of its own. The design is peculiar in that the rose window is omitted and there is only a single gallery. The great interest and charm of this façade lies in the narthex porch which precedes it. This feature was developed into a series of projecting gables of matchless charm in the noble façade of Laon (Ill. 222), — a façade whose design, while lacking the repose and majesty of Paris, is still notable for its subtly moulded planes and varied surfaces, with their charming play of light and shade.

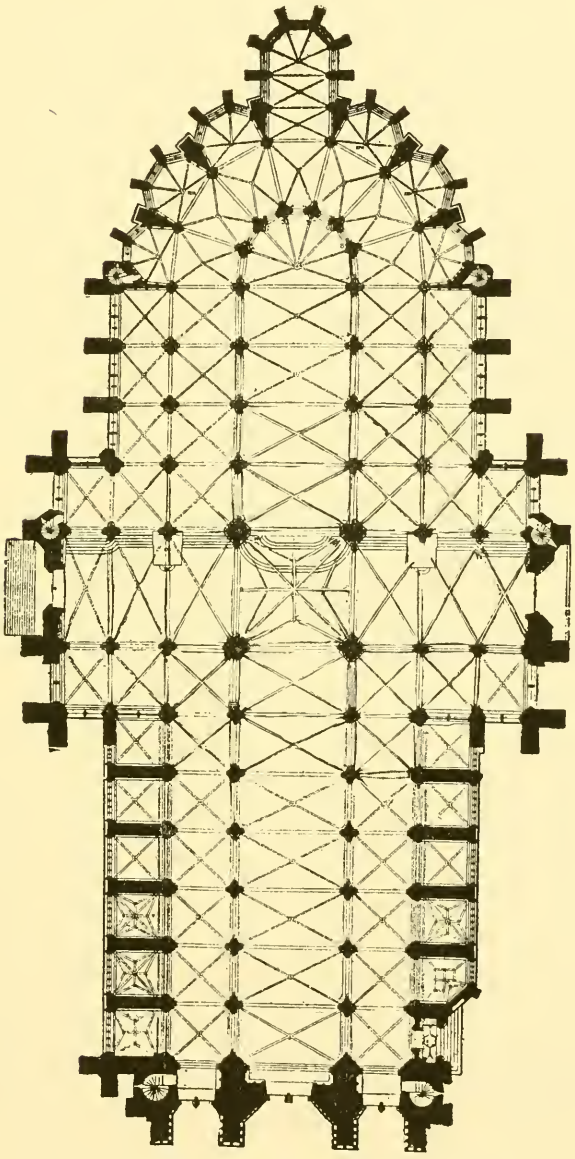
The superb façade of Amiens (Ill. 253), of which, unfortunately, only the three lower stories are of the XIII century, would doubtless have been the noblest of all Gothic frontispieces, had it been finished according to the original design. The portals in nine orders of extraordinary richness are among the most astounding compositions ever produced by Gothic art (Ill. 254). These splendid entrance-ways are filled from top to bottom with the finest productions of medieval sculpture; yet all this detail is strictly architectural in character, and never distracts the eye from the main lines of the edifice. The general design of this façade is peculiar in that both galleries are placed below the great rose window. The outer edges of the great buttresses are flush with the portals, but not obscured by them; and the retreats of the buttresses are crowned by splendid pinnacles. The detail of the entire composition is of unequaled excellence.

Full of poetry and imagination is the façade of Reims (Ill. 224). If the firmness and virility of Paris are felt to be lacking in this design, it is still impossible to quarrel with such a lovely



Ill. 249. — Plan of Chartres. (From Dehio)

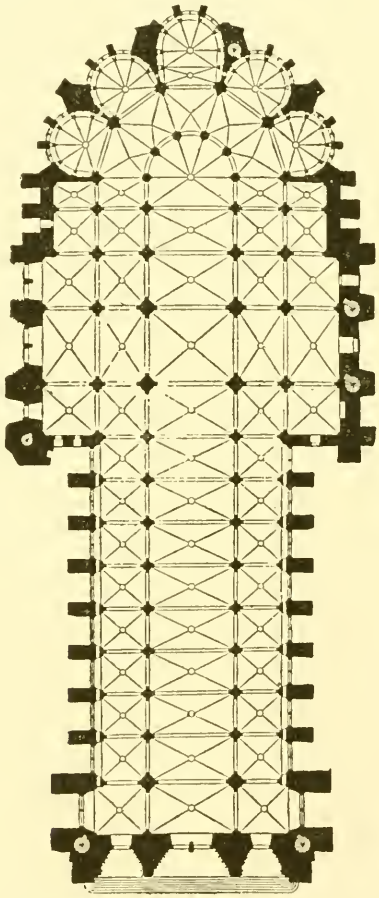
phantasy. Notwithstanding the exuberant wealth of detail with which this front is adorned, the main divisions are as



Ill. 250. — Plan of Amiens. (From Durand)

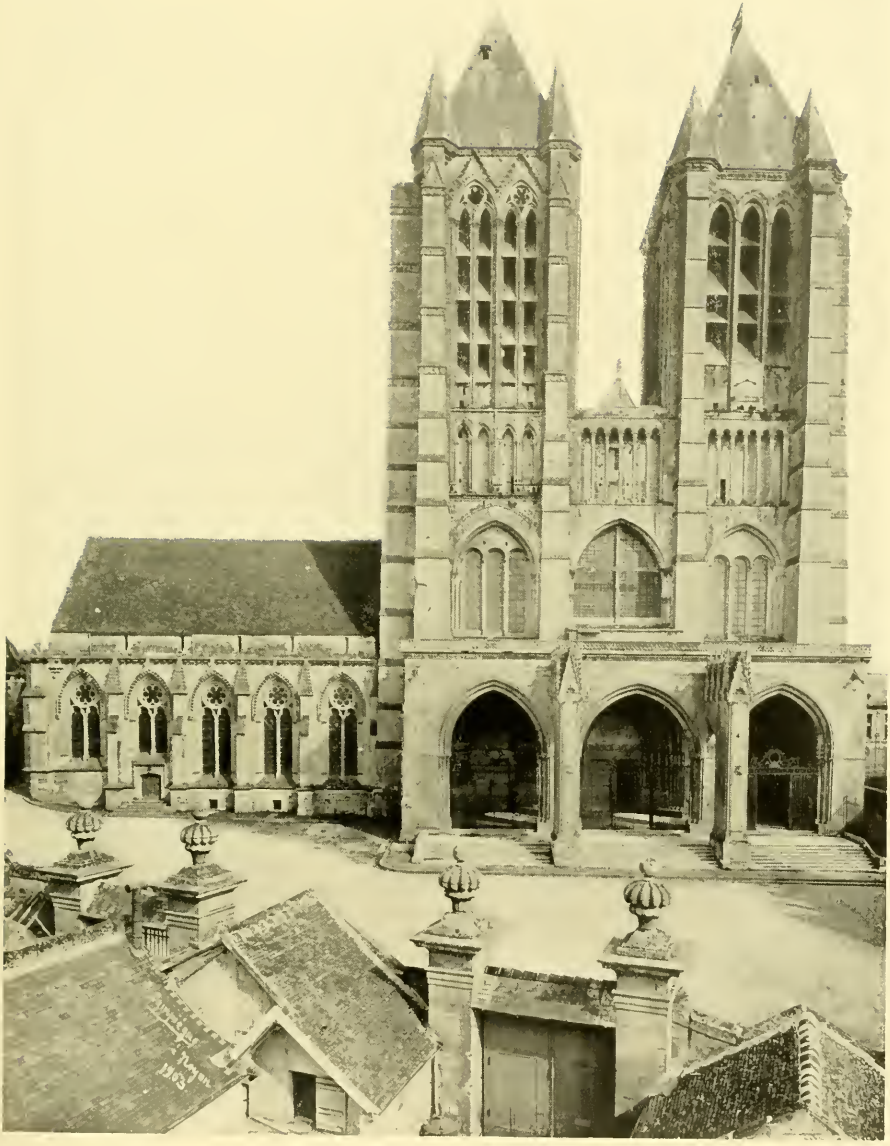
strongly marked, and even more simple than those of the façade of Paris, since there are only four, instead of five, horizontal

divisions. It is to be noticed that the gables of the portals of Reims, unlike those of Amiens, project beyond the buttresses, and are, as it were, wrapped around them. The lower parts of the buttresses thus seem to fade away. This disposition is unfortunate, since it destroys the all-important vertical lines of the façade and hides from sight an important structural member.



Ill. 251. — Plan of Reims. (From Dehio)

Transept ends were usually designed on principles quite similar to those which governed the composition of the west façade. Since, however, they were less important than the main front of the church, the design was ordinarily less elaborate, and the towers which were almost invariably intended to flank the central gable have seldom been carried above the roof.



Ill. 252. — Façade of Noyon

The most beautiful of all transept façades are those of Chartres (Ill. 256) with their exquisite porches, — the glorification of the narthexes of Laon and Noyon, — and their wealth of statuary eclipsing the west portals of almost any other cathedral. The Portail des Libraires of the cathedral of Rouen (Ill. 225), though unfortunately obscured by other buildings, is one of the finest transept-ends of the rayonnant period, and, while perhaps somewhat over-ornate, is none the less a design of great charm.

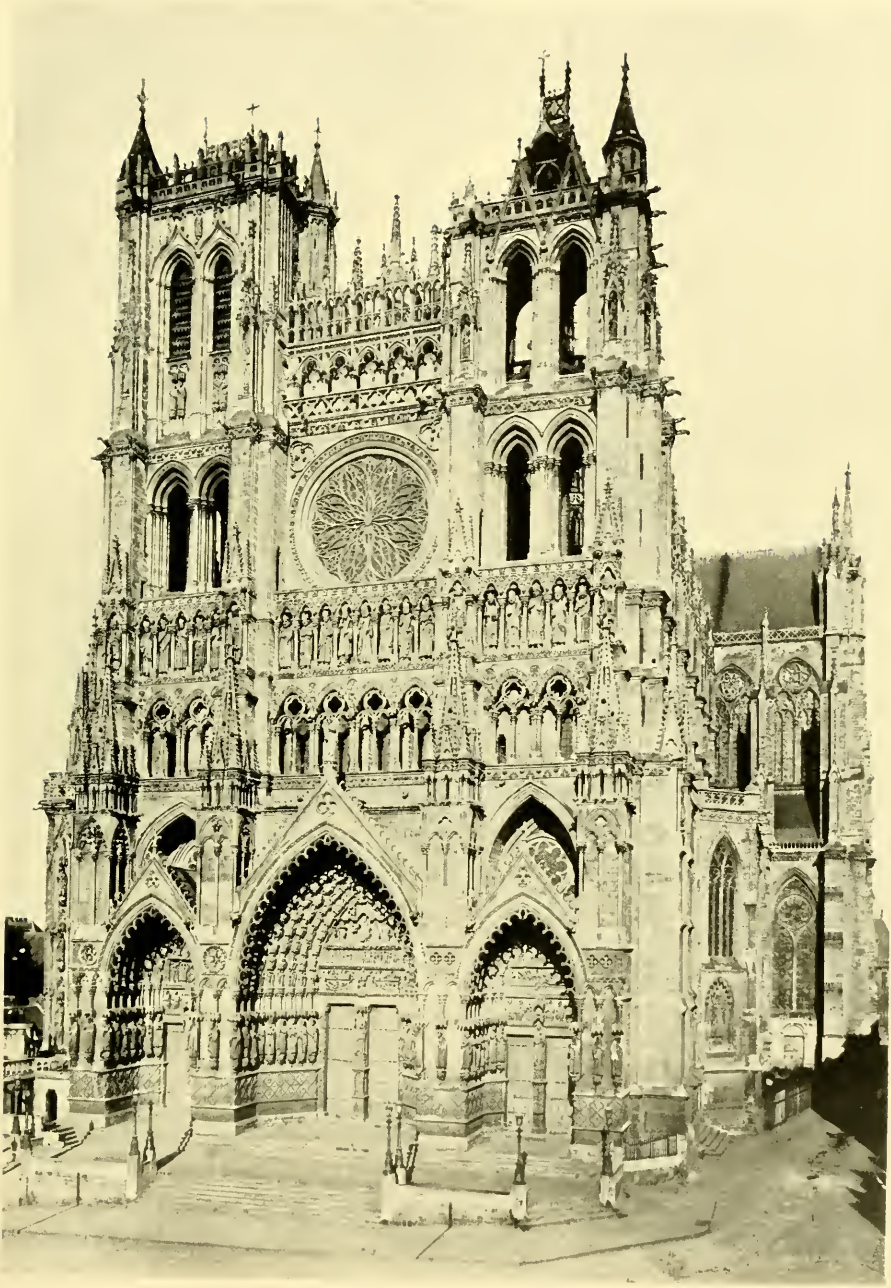
Of all the endless detail that adorns the exterior of the Gothic cathedral, whether in France or Normandy, no feature has won for itself a more universal or enduring place in the hearts of men, than the gargoyle. These fascinating grotesques, these lovable monsters, are not merely the chance imaginings of some disordered fancy. Beneath the outward humor, the queer assemblage of disordered members, there lurks a satiric quality — at times, strange as it may seem, even a grandeur, a tragic power — with which the Gothic sculptor seldom was able — or rather seldom cared — to imbue his more serious compositions. Moreover these myriads of strange beasts that grin and leer from every flying buttress, that climb everywhere among the eaves, that peek around the most unexpected corners, are not, as might be supposed, purely decorative carvings, but they perform the humble structural function of throwing far off from the walls the rain water gathered in the gutters. This water is ordinarily conducted along a groove cut in their back and discharged through the open mouth. Here again the genius of the Gothic artists happily united structure and decoration.

From a similar structural need developed the parapets which crown the cornices of the Gothic cathedral, and form so striking a feature of the exterior design. The passageways giving access to all the upper parts of the building required balustrades to protect any one using them from falling off. At Paris, Soissons, Chartres, such simple balustrades occur. At Amiens (Ill. 236) and Beauvais (Ill. 240) the balustrade was developed into a prominent external feature. At Reims the balustrade had become a mighty parapet, one of the loveliest features of the entire external design (Ill. 237).

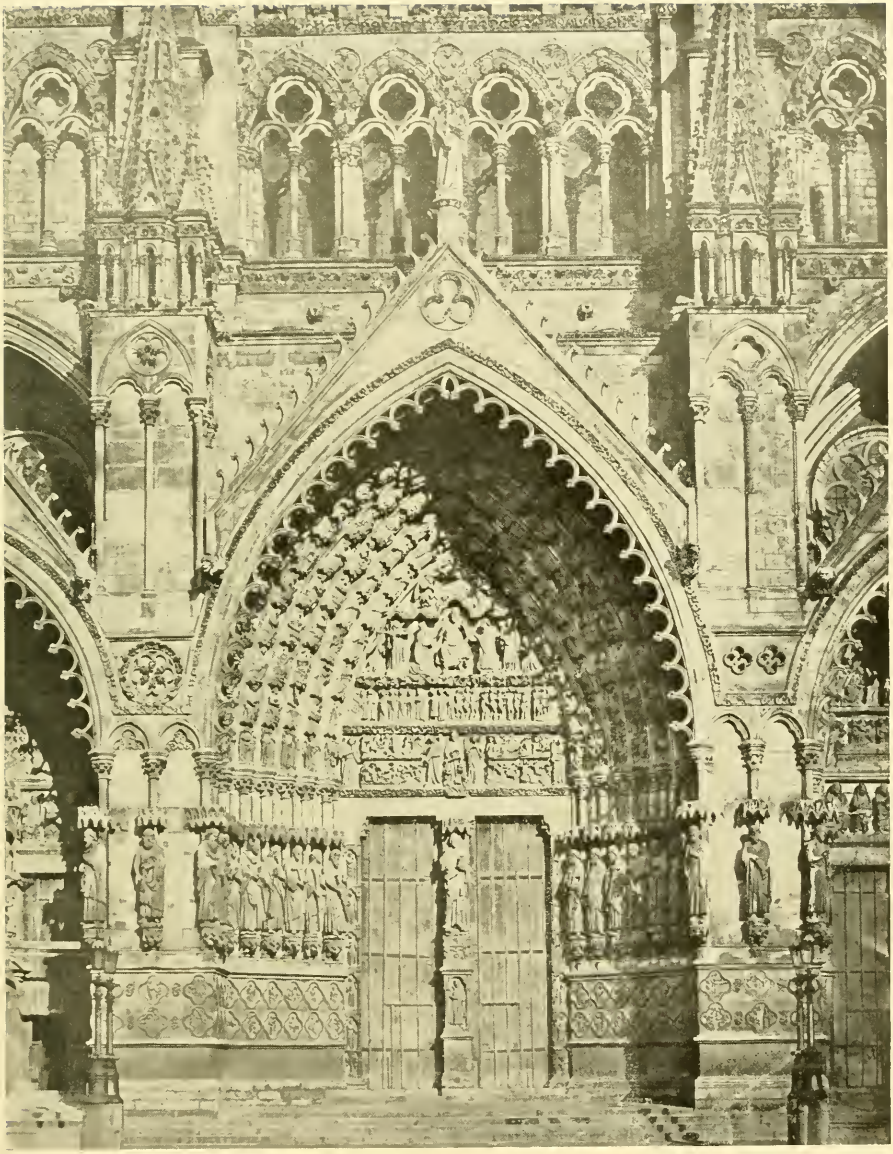
A similar logic would have required the use of balustrades in the interior passageways, along the galleries of the clearstory and triforium; and, in fact, such balustrades were freely employed in Normandy, where they became one of the most strongly marked peculiarities of the local Gothic school, although they were always avoided by the builders of the Ile de France, ever reluctant to accentuate the horizontal lines of their interiors. Normandy, situated midway between France and England, was always strongly influenced by the English style. Thus the Norman builders tended to renounce the extreme height and soaring vertical lines so characteristic of French Gothic, and seek instead greater richness of internal decoration. The elaborately ornamented balustrades of clearstory and triforium found in almost all Norman churches were the result of these tendencies. The cathedral of Séez (Ill. 232) gives an excellent idea of the effect of such strongly marked horizontal lines. Soon the balustrade came to entirely supplant the triforium, the latter being reduced to a concealed passageway. An early step in this direction was taken in the nave of the cathedral of Bayeux. How far the tendency had progressed by the XIV century is shown by the nave of St. Pierre of Caen (Ill. 259).

Another characteristic of the Gothic school of Normandy is the love of double walls, a feature directly derived from the interior passageways of the old Norman Romanesque. So fond were the Gothic builders of Normandy of the double tracery obtained by piercing openings of different design in the two surfaces of a double wall, that they never quite resigned themselves to adopt, even in the clearstory, the French idea of suppressing the wall surface. Thus the Norman structure always remained somewhat ponderous, and the supports were never made so light, nor the vault so lofty, as in the Ile de France.

Also characteristic of Norman Gothic is a peculiar type of façade differing widely from that current in the Ile de France. The cathedral of Coutances (Ill. 255) furnishes a noble example. As is usual in the Norman school there is no rose window in this façade; but in revenge, the sturdy towers have received and still retain their spires, and form one of the most picturesque architectural compositions of all Christendom.



Ill. 253. — Façade of Amiens



Ill. 254. — Central Portal of Amiens

The portals, without gables, are singularly poor compared with those of the Ile de France. The great weakness of this in common with all Norman façades, however, lies in the awkward manner in which the towers are disengaged. For the rest, the design differs from the French type in that the galleries are omitted, the façade below the gable being divided into two stories, of which the lower consists of the portals, the upper of great pointed windows. Singularly uncompromising and austere is the front of Coutances compared with the gracious charm of Reims (Ill. 224); yet the Norman composition, for all its restraint, is not devoid of poetry, and is full of vigor and originality.

The local school of Normandy excelled above all in the design of spires, in which it far outstripped even the Ile de France, where the towers but seldom received their crowning members. The XIII and XIV centuries have left in Normandy — especially in the département of Calvados[1] — a series of spires, which, although often attached to the meanest and most insignificant country churches, yet for inspiration of design and for perfection of proportion must rank among the greatest masterworks of architectural art. These Norman *clochers* are different from those of the Ile de France in that no octagonal drum is inserted between the square tower and the spire. The transition is effected by the familiar, but none the less satisfactory expedients of angle turrets and dormer windows. Perhaps the finest spire of all Normandy is that of St. Pierre of Caen (Ill. 257), a spire which is, indeed, perfection in its way. Other beautiful types may be found at Coutances (Ill. 255) and in the Abbaye-aux-Hommes (Ill. 133).

In the département of Manche another type of spire was developed, doubtless under English influence. The tower was cut off squarely and abruptly, and crowned by a balustrade, on which were set four corner turrets utterly inadequate to relieve the transition to the spire. The strong lines of these

[1] At Maizières, Rouvres, Norrey; at St. Pierre, St. Étienne and St. Sauveur of Caen; at St. Michel of Vaucelles; at St. Loup of Beauvais; at Bernières-sur-Mer, Secqueville-en-Bessin, Montivilliers, Ifs, Louvières, Asnières, Colombier-sur-Seulles, Basly, Tour, St. Pair, Huppain, Villiers-sur-Pont and in the cathedrals of Séez, Coutances, and Bayeux.

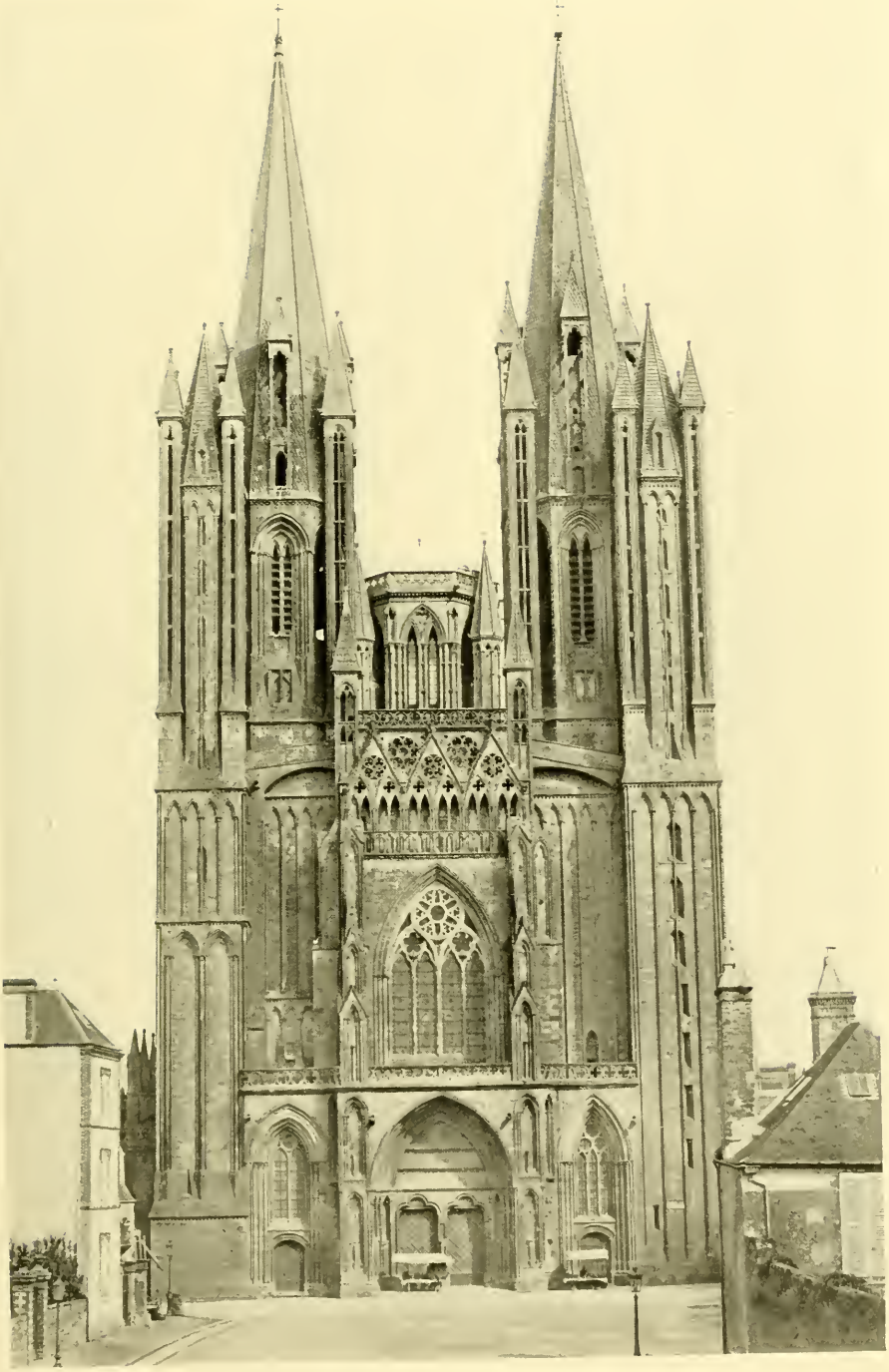
balustrades are extremely unpleasant, since they accentuate the transition from tower to spire, instead of softening it. Examples of such designs exist, *e.g.*, at Picauville and Colomby.

Other characteristics of the Norman school are the central lanterns almost invariably present, the sparing use of tracery and flying buttresses. There is also noticeable a constant tendency towards over-elaborate decoration, especially of the interior — an ear-mark of English influence. The wall spaces are often nearly covered with purely gratuitous carved ornament as at Séez (Ill. 232): the mouldings of the archivolts are indefinitely multiplied and often project; the abaci of the capitals are round; the profiles weak. In a word Norman Gothic architecture lacks the purity and virility of the school of the Ile de France. It presents, however, compensating features especially in its spires, and all in all must be considered as distinctly the most successful of the secondary Gothic schools.

The misfortunes of the XIV century, if they hastened the death of Gothic, were at least responsible for the evolution of a new type of architecture. "In this year [1358]," says Jean de Vinette, "many villages which possessed no fortifications, made veritable strongholds of their churches. Moats were dug to surround the sacred edifices, and the towers and spires were supplied with stones and engines of war, with a view to defending the town in case it should be attacked by brigands, as often happened." [1] Of the fortified churches that have come down to our day, the most beautiful, as well as the most famous, is the cathedral of Albi (Ill. 260), a monument which, of course, is situated in the Midi and is thoroughly Southern in style. In northern France, however, are extant several examples of small fortified churches, of which perhaps the best preserved is that of Chitry (Yonne).

The accessory ecclesiastical buildings have been so pitilessly destroyed in France that only a few broken fragments here and there have come down to us. Traces of the ancient cloisters survive at Laon, Noyon, St. Jean-des-Vignes de Soissons,

[1] Cit. Lavisse, *op. cit.*, IV[1], 132.



Ill. 255. — Façade of Coutances

and elsewhere; chapter houses at Noyon, Plessis-Grimoult, etc., but there is hardly a single well-preserved example of the ecclesiastical establishments of an abbey or cathedral in the Ile de France or Normandy. Mt.-St.-Michel is, indeed, an exception; but notwithstanding the unique interest and beauty of this abbey it is in no way typical of the average French monastery. The architecture is of the most pronounced Norman type and much more English than French in style. Furthermore, the strange and picturesque situation of this monastery, placed on the summit of a precipitous rock, necessitated modifications in the planning and disposition of the buildings. Extraordinary as is the interest of Mt.-St.-Michel, it would be a mistake to consider this abbey as in any way a typical French monastery.

French chapter houses seem to have been ordinarily square or rectangular in plan, like that of Noyon. In the circular plan of the chapter house of Plessis-Grimoult it is not unreasonable to suspect another instance of that English influence so noticeable everywhere in the Gothic architecture of Normandy.

In the domain of carved ornament, the arrival of the Gothic period was announced by the appearance of the crocket (Ill. 258, 261), a motive which originated in the turned-over edges of the leaves supporting the abaci of capitals. The Gothic sculptors immediately seized upon the crocket as *par excellence* the most fitting motive for the ornamentation of capitals, and, in fact, no supporting members more exquisite, more architecturally appropriate than these early crocketed capitals (Ill. 212) have ever been designed. It should be noticed that in the early capitals the crockets are not without structural significance. The four upper ones perform a distinctly utilitarian service in supporting the corners of the abacus, while those of the lower row are necessary to smooth the transition from the upper to the lower portions of the bell. Later, when the abaci were made octagonal, the crockets lost their structural significance, and became merely ornaments.

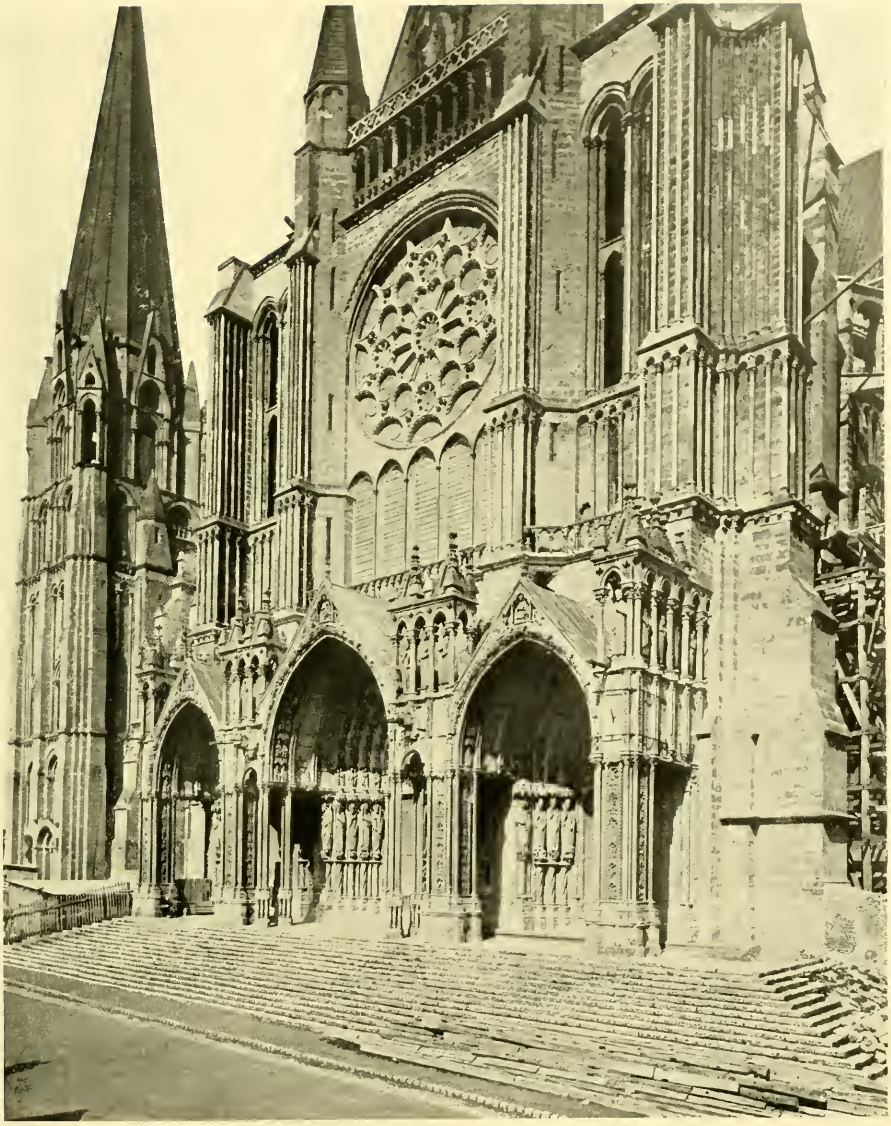
The crocket was used not only in the decoration of capitals,

but it was applied with the greatest freedom to the exterior of the edifice. Rows of crockets marked the lines of gables, the ridges of pinnacles, the jambs of doorways. The finials, which crowned all the pinnacles, were merely a variation of the crocket motive. On the towers of Paris (Ill. 223, 258), literally thousands of crockets mark the lines of windows and buttresses. Interior and exterior string-courses and archivolts, cusps and niches, were in the early Gothic period almost invariably decorated with the same motive. Indeed, the early Gothic architects employed the crocket lavishly whenever there was a strong line to be emphasized, since the conspicuous spots of light and shade so characteristic of this ornament at once caught and held the eye. The strong lines produced by the liberal use of the crocket contributed not a little to that unity and subordination of parts which is the crowning glory of Gothic architecture.

At the end of the first quarter of the XIII century the popularity of the crocket somewhat declined. In string-courses it was replaced by more naturalistic foliage; in capitals it still survived, but tended to lose its distinctive character and be transformed into floral ornament. The early round bulbous form came to be supplanted by groups of naturalistic leaves, at first of the most exquisite delicacy (Ill. 212), but tending to become more and more florid. At length the crocket lost its own individuality, and merged into the naturalistic capital (Ill. 262). On gables, on the angles of spires and pinnacles, the crocket enjoyed a somewhat longer existence, but here, too, it at last lost its original character, and often assumed highly naturalistic forms.

The flora which succeeded the crocket and the early conventionalized leaf-forms in the capitals, string-courses, and bands was infinitely varied; its tendency, however, was always in the direction of more and more direct imitation of nature.[1] At first these naturalistic forms were admirably restrained and

[1] Archaeologists who are also botanists have identified with much exactness the various species of Gothic flora, which are invariably taken from plants common in the neighborhood. According to M. Lambin the following are the more usually imitated plants. In the XII century, arum, nénuphar, iris, plaintain, fougère, vigne échauerée. In the XIII century, trèfle, renoncule, chélidoine, aucolie, hépathique, figurier, chêne, rosier. To these were added in the XV century houx, houblon, chardon, chou frisé, chicorée, algues marines.



Ill. 256. — South Transept-end of Chartres

Ill. 257. — Spire of St. Pierre of Caen

conventionalized as in the well-known string-course of Amiens (Ill. 219), but by the middle of the XIII century Gothic flora had broken from control, and had commenced to run riot in purely naturalistic forms, which, however lovely in themselves, were yet lacking in architectural propriety. How disquieting to the effect of the ensemble and how distracting to the eye is such naturalistic foliage may be judged from the nave of Reims (Ill. 230) — a monument which is nevertheless a comparatively early work, and one of the most tasteful examples of naturalistic decoration.

In the capitals of the last half of the XIII century, the structural function of the foliage was entirely forgotten. It is as if some one had twined about the column a wreath of flowers and leaves forming no part of the organic structure. The flora was designed with the purpose, not of forming an appropriate architectural member, but of reproducing natural forms exactly, in the most minute detail. As time went on the bulge of the bell was altogether eliminated, support and load became of the same size, the same shape. The abacus instead of projecting became merely a moulding applied to this continuous member. The capital thus lost its structural purpose, which had been to adjust the load to a support of different size and shape, and degenerated into a mere string-course destined solely to mark the springing of the arches. Since there was no reason for proportioning a string-course to the diameter of the column, the depth of the capital was gradually decreased until it became merely a little strip decorated with a few stray leaves or grotesque carvings (Ill. 235). In the flamboyant period was taken the logical step of omitting the capital altogether.

Side by side with the flora flourished the fauna of the Gothic cathedral. We have already said a word about the most important group of Gothic animals, the gargoyles, but the cathedral was also inhabited by many other monsters hardly less fascinating. The corbel-table, where Romanesque and transitional artists had found the freest field for grotesque carvings, passed out of use, c. 1200, being supplanted by the crocketed cornice; but corbels still continued to be carved into strange animals, or queer hunchbacked men; dwarfs supported on

their shoulders the pedestals of the great statues; queer beings, half man, half monster, held up the cornices; while over the balustrades leaned devil and griffin, pelican and elephant, looking out over the city now with a look of malignant hatred, now with an expression of infinite sadness and longing. In such figures (Ill. 258) the Gothic sculptor was at his best; he seems for once to have escaped from the tutelage of the theologian and with sublime freedom and joy in his work to have given unbridled rein to his imagination. These carvings, monstrous though they be, rise to a high plane of art. Under the strange conglomeration of eagle's head, man's arms and animal's body there is hidden a sentiment, a power of expression that is worthy of the most serious sculpture. Like everything else in Gothic art, these figures are infinitely varied in design; no two are alike in composition or expression.

The restraint so characteristic of all Gothic ornament was shown in the use of grotesque carvings. Notwithstanding the marvelous success of these decorations they are never used to excess, nor obtruded into undue prominence. From the middle of the XII until the XIV century they were wisely banished from capitals,[1] for the birds and even the animals which were occasionally introduced among the leaves, fruits, and flowers of the capitals and string-courses of the last half of the XIII century, are naturalistic representations rather than grotesques. When the grotesques did reappear in the capitals, they were no longer employed, as in the Romanesque and transitional periods, in a structural manner, the heads being made to form volutes or fleurons, and the whole figure being conformed to the shape of the bell. The growing taste for naturalism had long since eliminated the structural significance of the decoration of the capital, and the grotesques were applied as a narrow band of sculpture.

While the carved ornament of the capital was undergoing such modifications, the mouldings of the abaci were also being transformed. At the end of the XII century the abacus was square in plan; its mouldings while much varied were vigorous, and the upper member had always a rectangular profile. The

[1] Save in exceptional instances.

Ill. 258. — Detail of Balustrade, Paris

Ill. 259. — St. Pierre of Caen. Interior

first modifications were introduced in order to adapt the abacus more closely to the form of its superimposed load. The angles, which ordinarily projected a little, were cut off, at first very slightly, but more and more until by c. 1200 the abacus had become a regular octagon in plan. The next step resulted from the necessity of building out the center of the principal face of the abacus to project beyond the shafts of the system and the colonnette engaged on the pier. Soon all attempt was abandoned to preserve a regular or symmetrical form for the abacus, which adapted itself freely to the shape of its load, following closely the general form[1] of the latter but regularizing it. In arcades, where a cylindrical shaft supported a load of rectangular shape the abacus throughout the Gothic period was usually octagonal. The depraved and weak round abacus is exceptional in the Ile de France, though it is common in Normandy and England. The abaci of the capitals of the vaulting shafts were usually of rectangular form, but were regularly set diagonally, so as to follow more closely the profile of the ribs which they must carry (Ill. 219).

After the first quarter of the XIII century it came to be usual to still further soften the abacus by rounding or sloping the upper member, as in the capitals of the triforium of Amiens (Ill. 219). The moulding became highly complicated and generally less vigorous, the whole member declined in strength and importance. In Normandy, here as ever under English influence, the foliage of the capital was often omitted entirely, the bell, necking, and abacus becoming merely a series of mouldings turned as it were in a lathe. In the Ile de France, however, this strangely unpleasant form was common only in the last half of the XIV century (Ill. 235).

The profiles of bases followed a similar course of development during the XIII century. The great square plinths, which had added so much to the appearance of solidity and strength of the bases of the early Gothic period, were found to occupy overmuch floor space with their projecting angles. The corners were accordingly cut off, the plinth was given an octagonal plan, the griffes in consequence were much reduced, and

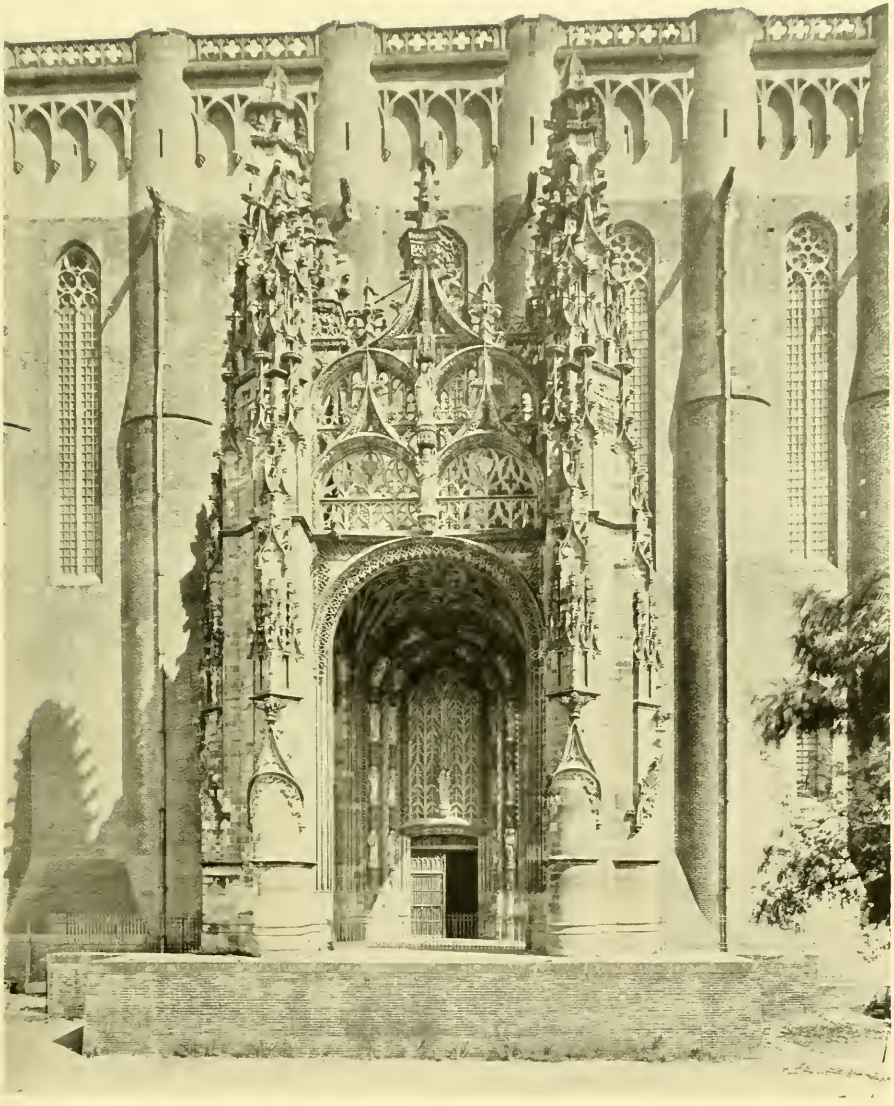
[1] For an excellent study of this point see Moore, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 124.

finally were omitted altogether. Later the diameter of the octagonal plinth was diminished so that only the corners were tangent to the superposed torus, whose curve widely overhung the sides of the plinth. Towards the end of the XIII century the height of the plinth was much increased. To avoid the appearance of too great slenderness it was consequently necessary to introduce spreading set backs, which were always finished with a sloping upper surface. The mouldings above the plinth continued to preserve roughly the characteristics of the Attic base. The lower torus was made, perhaps, somewhat flatter; the scotia came to be more and more deeply undercut; different variable lesser members enriched the profile (Ill. 263).

The mouldings of the ribs, string-courses, archivolts, and cornices merely followed to their logical conclusion the tendencies already manifest in the XII century. Everywhere greater refinement of profile, deeper and more skilful undercutting was introduced, but no radically new principles. The plate (Ill. 263) will give a sufficient idea of the general character of these profiles. Nothing is more exquisite, more full of delicacy and refinement, than Gothic profiles at their best. Yet these richly varied mouldings are all of comparatively simple design, for all are produced by various combinations of circles, though these be of many different diameters, and combined with intersections, straight lines, and even flattened curves. Only at the very end of the Gothic period, as at St. Satur (Ill. 235), was the essential character of the profiles radically transformed by the introduction of the prismatic moulding with its sharp points, its subtle double curves.

In the XIII century, the Gothic builders of the Ile de France refrained from employing extravagantly complex mouldings, and their profiles were always simple and dignified. As much cannot be said, however, for the Gothic of Normandy, which adopted the over-ornate mouldings of the English school. Drip mouldings were introduced into the interior, and the archivolts supplied with a fairly bewildering array of multiple members. In the decadent period such over-ornate profiles appeared also in France, as, for example, at St. Satur (Ill. 235).

One of the most striking features of rayonnant decoration



Ill. 260. — Albi. Exterior

was the use of open-work gables. The gables of the porches, which had from an early date been placed before the portals to protect the statuary, were first decorated with pierced rosettes — as at Amiens (Ill. 254) — then filled with open-work tracery, analogous to that of the windows. Of course such a construction was no protection against the weather; what had been originally a structural feature became a purely fanciful decoration. Yet some of these open-work designs must unquestionably be ranked among the loveliest conceptions of Gothic art. With such a wholly fantastic composition, for example, as the north transept façade of Rouen (Ill. 225), it is impossible to find fault, although it must be recognized that such a violation of structural logic bore within itself the germs of decadence.

A similar perversion of structural logic was the use of gables to surmount internal arches, as in the choir of Amiens; and hardly more defensible is the rayonnant custom of applying tracery to a blank wall surface as pure decoration. Such ornaments, however full of grace and beauty in themselves, proclaim the fact that Gothic architecture even as early as the second half of the XIII century had begun little by little to forsake those principles of strict logic and unswerving allegiance to structural needs, that had been the cause of its rise and greatness.

Although the XIII century has left some not inconsiderable fragments of colored mural decoration,[1] it is well-nigh impossible to know to what extent polychromy originally figured in the decoration of the Gothic church. The XIII century loved color above all else — not faint delicate hues, but the deep rich reds, purples, and blues that still glow in the stained glass windows. Gold, silver, and gems were extensively used in the manufacture of Gothic crucifixes, candelabra, and church furniture; the color of rubies and sapphires was intensely admired. Suger seems to have taken an even deeper interest in the gems of St. Denis,[2] than in the architecture of the abbey church. This delight in rich colors led the Gothic artists not only to adorn their churches with mural paintings, but also to paint the capitals, the details of the ornament, and even the statues. Of this color decoration — which must have been used

[1] At Ignol, Prély-le-Chétif, and Vezot. [2] *De Re. in sua Admin. gest.* XXXIII f.

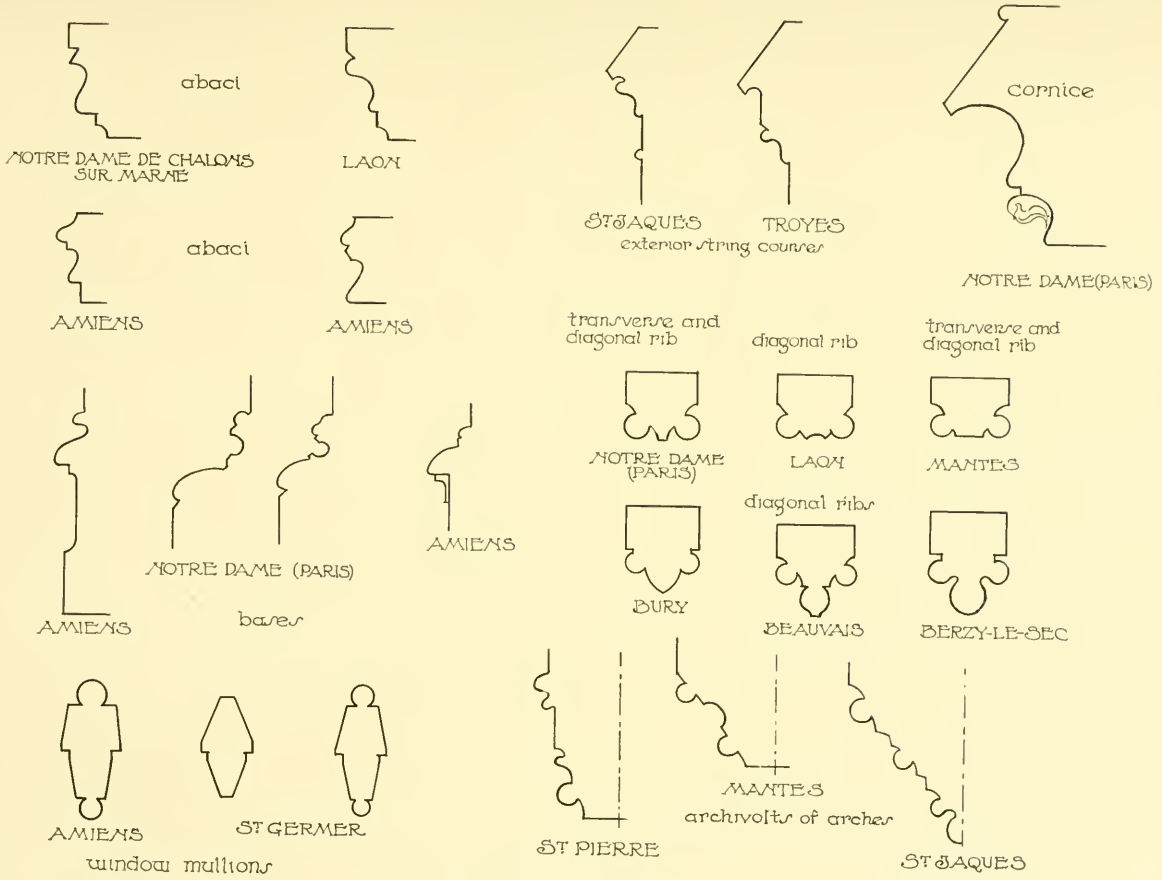
very lavishly — there are extant many indubitable traces. The range of tones was large, but gold was the color most prized of all. There is record of a large sum of money given to Chartres cathedral for the purpose of gilding a certain statue; and hardly one of the great cathedrals is without its statue of the Virgin retaining even to-day the appellation of the "Vierge dorée."

Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the original polychromy of Gothic architecture. Of these the most lamentable was that made by Viollet-le-Duc, in the Ste. Chapelle of Paris — a wholly unsuccessful undertaking which completely ruined one of the masterpieces of Gothic art. Other archaeologists have tried to restore on paper Gothic colored ornament from the illuminations of manuscripts or from stained glass windows. These theoretical restorations, as long as they are confined to books, are harmless enough exercises, but hardly of serious value. The Gothic colors have forever faded, and all attempts to imagine what they were like are vain. Of one thing only may we be certain. The artists who were able to conceive and execute the Gothic cathedral would never have marred it by the use of such colors as the modern restorers credit to their invention.

The stained glass of the XIII century is hardly distinguishable from that of the transitional era, being characterized by the same admirable principles of design, and by the same juxtaposition of small pieces of glass and color. In the ornamental patterns the same motives were perpetuated without alteration, and, strangely enough, the architectural features reproduced in the designs of the XIII century show the forms of transitional, rather than of Gothic architecture. On the whole, these windows of the XIII century are perhaps slightly less admirable in color than their predecessors of the XII century; the falling-off, however, is so slight as to be barely perceptible upon the closest study, and such glorious designs as are found in the clearstory windows of Reims, or in the rose windows of Paris, are unsurpassed by the noblest productions of the preceding age. Medallion windows continued in favor, except in the clearstories where the great height of the edifice necessitated

Ill. 261. — Capital from Refectory, St. Martin des Champs, Paris. (From Lenoir)

Ill. 262. — Capital from Refectory, St. Martin des Champs, Paris. (From Lenoir)



Ill. 263. — Gothic Profiles

that the figures should be made larger, in order that they might be seen from below. The most appreciable change from XII century work, however, lay rather in the sentiment and iconography of the composition. At times, as in that window of Bourges, in which the Virgin is represented as fainting at the foot of the cross, the more sentimental art of the XIV century is distinctly foreshadowed. Ordinarily, however, the artists continued to avoid the expression of emotion; they continued to be absorbed in didactic dogma and to neglect the human or dramatic interpretation.

At the end of the XIII century the art of stained glass began to decline. The beautiful simplicity of the early works disappeared, the figures became over-detailed, the ornaments more complex and elaborate. The leading was less studied; the abundant use of gray tones introduced out of motives of economy spoiled the rich coloring. Large figures came to supplant medallions not only in the clearstories, but in all the windows throughout the edifice.

In the XIV century the art of stained glass underwent a veritable transformation. The same naturalistic tendencies, which had altered so radically the character of sculpture and ornament, became prominent also in the design of the windows. The ancient transparent mosaics were supplanted by a sort of painting on glass which assumed ever more and more the character of a picture. While medallion windows did not entirely pass out of use during the XIV century, they were employed in ever decreasing numbers; the artists preferred designs with large figures, as allowing a more direct and naturalistic representation of the human form. The use of shades and shadows, unknown in the XIII century, was introduced, — timidly at first, but ever more boldly. The drawing on the glass became much more detailed, much more elaborate; relief and expression were obtained by various tricks and mannerisms of technique. To the simple primary colors which had formed the repertoire of the XIII century were added a whole range of delicate half tones, unusual tints; the deep blues, the simple greens and yellows, the blazing reds of the earlier age were replaced by magentas, faint tones of old rose and saffron that would ravish

the eye of a modern glass-maker. The major mode of color was replaced by the minor mode. In the design itself the backgrounds, consisting of architectural niches or realistic landscapes, came to occupy more and more prominent positions and to be treated in an ever increasingly naturalistic manner.

This evolution, which was in progress during the entire XIV century, reached its culmination by the year 1400. The windows of the Ste. Chapelle of Bourges,[1] dating from the first years of the XV century, show that by this time the transformation had been completed (Ill. 264) and that the Gothic blue and red color scheme had been entirely abandoned. The figures of these windows of Bourges are large, realistic, well-drawn. The pieces of glass are of large size; no attempt is made to blend the colors into a mosaic of small pieces. Architectural accessories are very prominent in the composition: vaults, traceried windows, gables, balustrades, adorn the canopies in which stand the carefully detailed figures. The leading is concealed as much as possible. In fact, this glass of the end of the Gothic period is distinguishable from that of the flamboyant era only by the disposition of the figures, which are placed in niches, instead of being arranged in dramatic groups, and by the colors, which are richer, less brilliant, less hard than those of the half-Renaissance glass of the XVI century.

If stained glass reached its zenith in the XII century, sculpture matured only in the Gothic period. However much we may admire the sentiment and architectural character of the figures of the west portal of Chartres, the XII century idea of treating the human form as an ornamental motive whose proportions, like those of the acanthus-leaf or rinceau, might be varied or distorted at will to suit architectural conditions, is so far removed from present-day standards, that the average spectator will turn with relief to the more naturalistic representations of the XIII century. The realistic tendencies of this period, carried to excess in the XIV century, were destined in the end to be the undoing of Gothic sculpture, as they had been the undoing of Gothic ornament and stained glass, but in the early Gothic period they had not yet acquired undue prominence.

[1] Now preserved in the crypt of the cathedral.

Ill. 264. — Stained Glass Windows of the Ste. Chapelle of Bourges, now in the Crypt of the Cathedral. (From Méloizes)

The perfect adjustment between the rival forces of convention and nature was perhaps found in the sculptures of the façade of Amiens. These figures, although executed with a freedom sufficient to allow the sculptor to achieve the utmost possibilities of his art, are still strictly architectural in character (Ill. 265, 266).

The technique of the statues of the XIII century is usually excellent. The best of the figures of Amiens show correct proportions and an anatomy which, if never impeccable, is at least only rarely disquieting (Ill. 266). The deeply undercut drapery no longer falls in purely conventional lines, but is evidently studied from nature, although it is not precisely realistic in character, a certain amount of conventionalization being retained. Thus the drapery of the figures of Amiens still accentuates strongly the vertical lines. The figures themselves also stand in symmetrical attitudes. The personages represented on the jambs always hold themselves rigidly upright; there is never any leaning to one side, any lateral motion of the hips; the weight is always evenly distributed on both feet. The arms, however, move freely and gracefully. In such details as the treatment of the hair, the sculptors show perfect mastery of the technique of undercutting, and not seldom careful study of antique models.

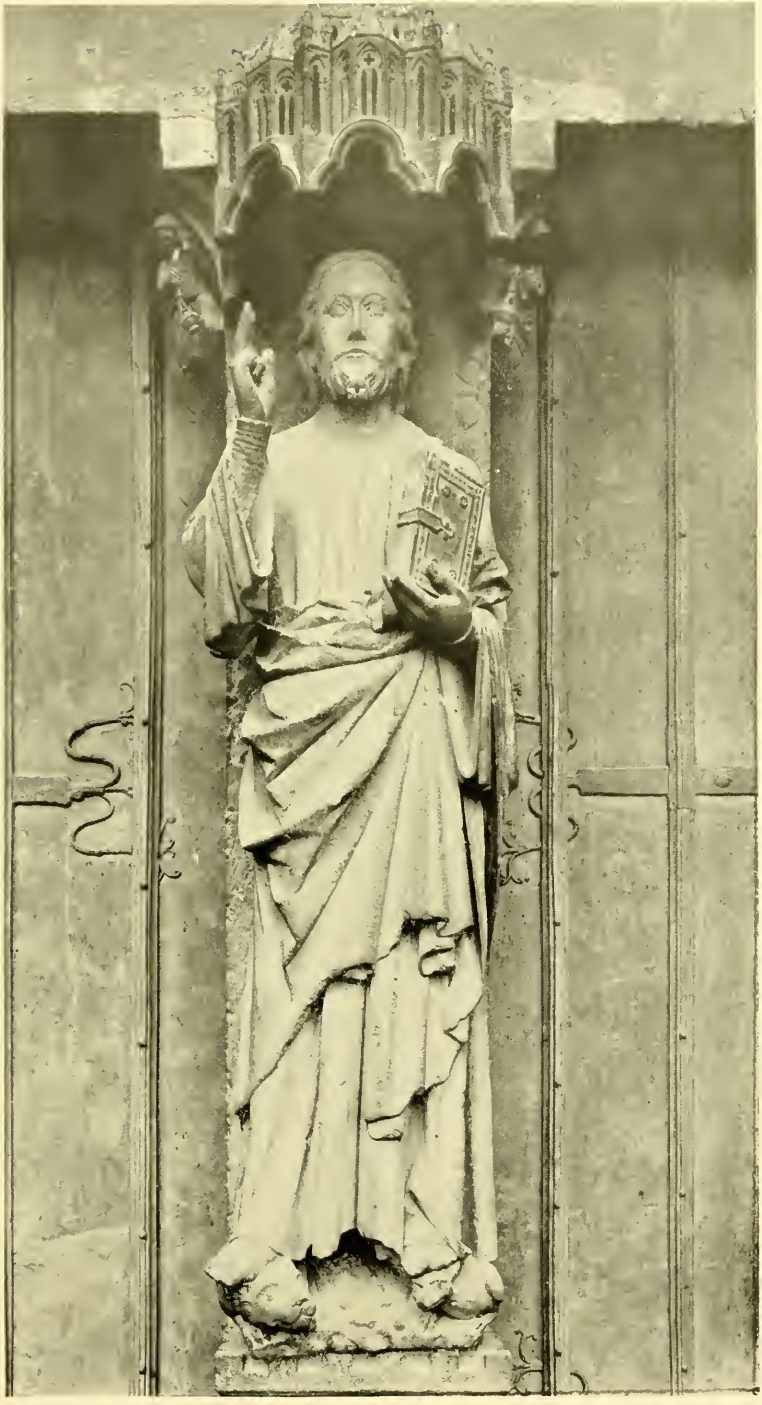
In the expression of the faces, it was perhaps impossible for the Gothic sculptors to do more than the XII century had already done. The same celestial gentleness, the same Christian joy, the same happy serenity, characterizes the sculptures of the two epochs. The figures grouped on the main portal of Amiens all partake of the dignity, of the kindliness of the central figure of the Beau Dieu (Ill. 266). Yet the statues of Amiens are more sharply individualized than those of Chartres. For example, the remarkable figure of St. Dominic (the second from the left, Ill. 265) was certainly studied from nature and is full of character. Elsewhere on this same façade the warrior courage of St. George, who faces death to conquer it, is contrasted with the meek resignation of St. Stephen, who awaits his end without flinching; the scholar and erudite St. Jerome, lost in mystic contemplation, is distinguished from the benignant and practical St. Martin, the good shepherd to his flock.

Nevertheless no distinct attempt at portraiture was made before the end of the XIII century; the expression characterizes rather the types of mind that the various saints symbolize, than their individual personalities. The sculptors aim, not to represent the saints as they actually appeared, but to suggest the various types of character which might attain salvation.

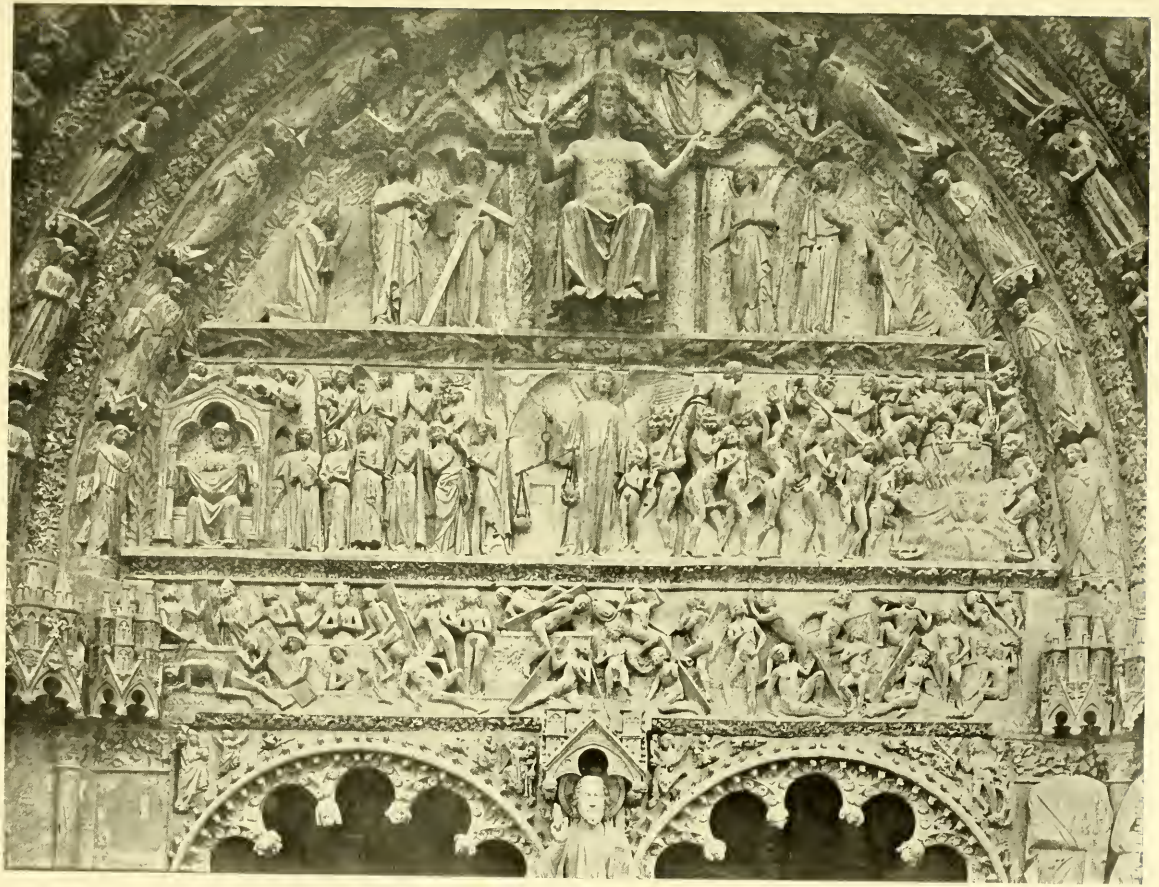
While the Gothic sculptors were capable of producing works of the highest merit, they occasionally fell far below this standard. Many of their figures, whether judged from the standpoint of technique or of sentiment, are decidedly inferior. Compare, for example, the statue of St. Warlus (fifth from the left-hand edge, Ill. 265) with that of St. Dominic. It should in justice be said, however, that the Gothic artists seldom perpetrated anything so bad as this figure of St. Warlus, and the general average of Gothic sculpture is remarkably high.

The sculptures in relief of the best period show tendencies similar to those which characterized compositions in the round. The individual figure the Gothic sculptors in relief emancipated from the architectural trammels that had governed the proportions and anatomy of the reliefs in the tympanums of Chartres, for they seem to have felt that by making the figures sufficiently small they could be given easy and varied postures without disturbing the architectural character of the composition. Action was, accordingly, constantly represented, although violent motion was avoided. The Gothic sculptors were successful above all in the filling of the enormously difficult fields allotted to them. Nothing could be more awkward or embarrassing from a plastic point of view than to design a composition to fill the quatrefoils of which the Gothic builders were so fond; yet this task the sculptors accomplished, often with entire success, filling these difficult spaces with charming genre scenes, veritable little masterpieces in their way (Ill. 265). However, the lofty and narrow pointed tympanums of the portals it was found necessary to divide into horizontal zones. Since the resulting horizontal lines did not harmonize well with the surrounding architecture, in the best period the artists seldom allowed themselves more than three divisions; later, however, when sculpture came to free itself from architectural trammels,

Ill. 265. — Sculptures. Porte St. Firmin, Amiens



Ill. 266. — Le Beau Dieu of Amiens



Ill. 267. — The Last Judgment of Bourges

Ill. 268. — Reims. Statues of South Jamb of Central Portal

this number was increased to five or even seven. The skilful manner in which the early artists composed so difficult a field with so few subdivisions, is worthy of all admiration (Ill. 267).

In the second half of the XIII century, Gothic sculpture became more realistic in character. The figures of the façade of Reims are as nearly perfect technically as any which the Middle Ages produced, but they are distinctly less architectural than those of the façade of Amiens. The great figures of the jambs are no longer arranged in rigid rows strictly subordinated to the vertical lines of the edifice, but are broken up into groups of two or three statues portraying persons engaged in conversation with each other, or even in action. Thus the visitation is represented by two perfectly delightful figures, Mary and Elizabeth, who stand talking together in the most easy and natural manner. Except for the sublimely beautiful face of Mary, this group is hardly idealized at all. The draperies, which are far richer than in the early Gothic period, fall in such soft clinging folds as to recall the Greek draperies of the V century. The folds of the garments are elaborate and minute; all attempt to accentuate their vertical lines has been abandoned. Similarly the posture of the figures has become freer; the weight is no longer distributed evenly on both feet, but one knee is usually bent, and the body, instead of holding itself rigidly upright, leans or bends to one side or the other. The faces, like the entire figure, have lost their heroic cast, and have become soft and tender. The growing love of realism had led the artists to abandon all effort to represent their saints as superior to human beings (Ill. 268).

Thus even in such exquisite compositions as the sculptures of the façade of Reims or of the south transept portal of Amiens, we feel that we are face to face with the first signs of decadence. The idealism and the architectural character which had given early Gothic sculpture its inimitable character have begun to yield to realism. It was only a question of time before the sublime Beau Dieu of Amiens should be transformed into a commonplace French bourgeois. Yet the first step in this descent to Avernus was full of seductive charm.

In the XIV century the decline was in full progress. Al-

though but few examples of sculpture dating from this unhappy period have come down to us, it is evident that the art was rapidly losing its architectural character and becoming ever more realistic, ever less ideal, ever softer. The sculptors came to be interested above all in the dramatic presentation of their subjects, and sacrificed the architectural lines to obtain suitable spaces for the display of sculptured narrative. At length sculpture rebelled absolutely against the restrictions of architectural art, and at the end of the Gothic period it was evident that the day when the two must forever part company was not far distant.

LIST OF GOTHIC MONUMENTS

Monuments of the First Class

AMIENS, Somme. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 219, 234, 236, 250, 253, 254, 265, 266, 289.) The most important documentary evidence for the date of Amiens is the inscription that was formerly placed in the labyrinth of the pavement. This inscription, preserved in several ancient documents, may be translated as follows: "In the year of grace 1220 this work was first begun. Evrard of blessed memory was then bishop of this diocese and Louis, son of Philippe the Wise [*i.e.*, Philippe-Auguste] was king of France. (Sic.) He who was master builder was called Master Robert and surnamed de Lusarches. Master Thomas de Cormont succeeded him, and afterwards his son Master Regnault, who caused this inscription to be here placed in the year 1288."[1] The only other evidence for the date of the commencement of the cathedral is another inscription placed over the Portail de la Vierge Dorée, but this, unfortunately, seems never to have been copied until

[1] Memore quant leuvre de l'eglise de cheens fu commenchie et si comme il est escript el moilon de le maison Dedalus:

En lan de grace mil IIc
Et xx fu leuvre de cheens
Premierement encommenchie.
Adonc yert de cheste evesquie
Evrart evesques benis
Et roy de France Loys
Qui fu filz Phelippe le sage.
Chil qui maistre yert de l'oeuvre
Maistre Robert estoit nommes
Et de Lusarches surnommes
Maistre Thomas fu apres luy
De Cormont et apres
Ses filz maistre Regnault qui mettre
Fist a chest point chy ceste lettre
Que lincarnacion valoit
XIIIc ans XII en faloit.

Arch. de la Somme, *Chapit. d'Am., Reg. aux Distrib.* II., fol. 247, cit. Durand I, 23.

it had become too effaced to be legible, and it has now been restored in such a fashion that it is impossible to trace the original characters. It seems, however, to confirm the first in that the words Robert and the date 1220 have been made out. From the style of the architecture it is clear that the construction began with the nave. Work must have progressed rapidly, for in 1228 this portion of the building had been completed as far as the clearstory level, and in 1236 the vault had been finished and the façade constructed up to the height of the string-course just above the rose window. The choir was commenced without delay; in 1240 the ambulatory chapels were finished; in 1247 the chevet had been completed as far as the triforium string-course. From 1247–57, however, ensued a period of inactivity during which little progress seems to have been made. In 1258 the cathedral suffered from a fire, traces of which could until recently be seen in the chapels of the chevet. It was only after this fire that the upper part of the choir was erected; however, these portions seem to have been begun immediately after 1258, and in all probability the chevet was practically finished by 1279, for it is known that at this date the relics were translated into the new sanctuary with much pomp. The first nave chapel — that of Ste. Marguerite, the easternmost on the south side — was added as early as 1292; the corresponding chapel on the north side is but little later. The remaining chapels were added subsequently at various times during the XIV century, until the row was completed by the erection of the two western ones in 1375. There is no documentary evidence for the dates of the construction of the upper portions of the two transept façades, but the southern, with the exception of its rose window, may be assigned to the very end of the XIII, or first years of the XIV, century; the northern must be somewhat later. In 1366 work on the southwestern tower was resumed at the cornice which crowns the rose window, and the structure was soon carried to completion; the northwestern tower was not finished until 1401 or 1402. The upper gallery connecting the two towers was originally constructed about this same time (1402), but it was completely transformed in the XIX century by Viollet-le-Duc. The nave of Amiens, as it stands to-day, is the most beautiful, as it is certainly the most typical example of French Gothic architecture, and it is hardly too much to say that for inspiration of conception, for perfection of proportion, and for purity of detail it is equaled by no other edifice ever erected by the hand of man. In actual dimensions the height of this nave is surpassed, among all the medieval churches, by Beauvais alone. (Durand; Von Bezold.)

PARIS, Seine. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 223, 226, 227, 241, 258.) The first stone of the existing edifice was laid in 1163 by Pope Alexander III, during the episcopacy of Maurice of Sully (1160–96). "In the year of our Lord 1177. Maurice has already long been bishop of Paris, and has much labored and persevered in the construction of the church of the said city, the choir of which is now finished, with the exception of the great vault. If this be completed, there will be this side of the mountains no other work which can be compared with it."[1] — "In 1182 the

[1] An. dn̄i. 1177. Mauricius ēps Parisien̄ iam diu est q̄ multū laborat et p̄fecit in aedificatione ecclesie p̄dicte ciuitatis: cuius caput iam p̄fectū est, excepto maiori tectorio q̄d opus si p̄fectū fuerit, nō erit opus citra montes cui apte debeat cōpari. — Sigeberti, *Cronicon*, p. 147, cit. Inkersley.

legate Henry, aided by the bishop Maurice, consecrated the altar of Notre Dame." [1] Three years later (1185) the legate officiated in the choir which consequently must have been finished. At the death of Maurice in 1196 it is probable that the nave was also nearly completed. In 1210 the façade was commenced with the north portal (the Portail de la Vierge); part of the sculpture of an older edifice was incorporated in the Porte Ste. Anne. By 1223 the façade had been built up to the height of the openwork gallery uniting the two towers; it was entirely finished in 1235. Between 1235 and 1240 the cathedral suffered from a severe fire which necessitated very extensive restorations. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to increase the size of the clearstory windows by suppressing the second triforium of oculi and to alter the flying buttresses. The original flying buttresses had consisted of two flights of double struts; — that is, the piers which divide the double aisles had been carried up through the roof so as to form buttresses to the vaulted triforium gallery, and, rising above the roof of this gallery, they had been reinforced by the double flying buttresses spanning the outer aisle and in turn had reinforced another pair of struts spanning the triforium gallery, and abutting the clearstory walls. The lower strut of the outer flight appeared above the aisle roof, but the lower strut of the inner flight was concealed beneath the roof of the triforium. The reconstructed flying buttresses, which still exist, clear both aisles in a single flight. The original design of the interior of the nave with its triforium of cusped oculi may still be seen in the bay adjoining the transepts, where owing to the powerful thrusts exerted by the vaults of the crossing, it was deemed unsafe to remodel the clearstory. Between 1245 and 1250 the construction of the lateral chapels of the nave was begun, chapels which seriously mar the external effect of the church by concealing the salient buttresses. When the chapels adjoining the transepts had been erected it was found that the façades of the latter, which up to this time had projected very slightly from the wall line, were outreached by the chapel. To remedy the resulting incongruity the old façades were demolished and the transepts prolonged; at the same time the Porte Rouge and the chapels of the choir nearest the transepts were added. In 1296 the chapels of the ambulatory were begun. — Paris is the earliest of the great Gothic cathedrals — a fact reflected in several imperfections of adjustment which show that architecture had not yet entirely emerged from the era of inexperience and experiment. But while lacking the polish of Amiens or Reims, this cathedral is unsurpassed for purity of detail, for vigor and virility of conception. In plan the edifice is remarkable for its five aisles — a disposition found in few other French Gothic churches. The ambulatory was originally without radiating chapels, and since those which have been added are shallow, merely filling in the space between the buttresses, this portion of the plan differs as radically from Amiens or Chartres as it does from Noyon or Sens. The church was originally planned for a quadripartite, not a sexpartite vault; hence the system is ill adjusted to the existing vault ribs. Curiously enough, however, the piers between the side aisles are alternately heavy and light, the heavier ones being surrounded by colonnettes. The piers of the main arcade are cylindrical ex-

[1] 1182. Henricus legatus altare sanctae Mariae Parisiensis consecrat una cum Mauritio praesule — *Gall. Chris.*, Vol. VII, col. 78.

cept in the two westernmost bays: on the easternmost of these piers a single colonnette is engaged; on the westernmost, four. The façade, as a whole, is perhaps the most impressive produced by Gothic art, though unfortunately much of the statuary, destroyed in the Revolution, has had to be replaced by modern imitations. (Viollet-le-Duc; Bauchal.)

Ste. Chapelle. "On April 25, 1248, this church was dedicated by the venerable Odo, bishop of Tours, in honor of the holy crown of thorns of our Lord and the life-giving cross."[1] This lost inscription preserved in "Gallia Christiana" establishes the date of the consecration of the edifice which was probably begun in 1245.[2] Two chapels were placed one directly above the other: the lower, designed for the retainers of the king, had a nave and two very narrow side aisles; the upper consisted of a single aisle with a polygonal apse. The walls were formed of a blazing mass of glass, — in fact the whole construction, which has not inaptly been described as a vast jewel case to hold the relics acquired by St. Louis, was undoubtedly one of the *chefs-d'oeuvre* of Gothic art. The Ste. Chapelle, however, underwent the heavy fate of falling into the hands of Viollet-le-Duc for restoration, with the result that it retains to-day neither its original beauty nor its archaeological interest. Whatever may be thought of the artistic value of the existing edifice as a modern experiment in polychromy, it must be admitted that it has been somewhat too dearly bought by the destruction of one of the finest achievements of medieval design.

St. Germain-l'Auxerrois. This monument, although it has suffered severely from restorations, which affected especially its statuary, still remains a fine example of several of the medieval styles: the fine tower is of the XII century; the main portal, the choir, and the apse are of the XIII century; the western porch is said to date from 1435; the transepts with their remarkable portals are of about the same time; and the greater part of the façade, the nave, the side aisles, and the chapels of the chevet are flamboyant. The dimensions are large. There is a complete set of lateral chapels and a single side aisle. (Beale.)

St. Séverin consists of a nave, double side aisles, a complete set of chapels, a chevet, and a double ambulatory. Like St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, the church is a patchwork of many different constructions. The portal of the west façade formerly belonged to the church of St. Pierre-aux-Boeufs, but was set up in its present position in 1837. The three western bays of the nave, an exquisite design of the first quarter of the XIII century, are supplied with round piers, simply moulded archivolts of a single order, quadripartite vaults whose ribs rest on three shafts springing from the abaci of the piers, a triforium, and a clearstory with simple tracery. With the exception of the chevet rebuilt in 1684 the remainder of the edifice is of the flamboyant period, and is characterized by disappearing mouldings, pendants, and bizarre tracery. (Hessling, 31.)

St. Julien-le-Pauvre. This interesting little church, erected at the end of the XII

[1] Anno Domini 1248, VII Cal. Mai. dedicata est ecclesia ista a venerabili patre Odone Tusculanensi episcopo in honore sacro sanctae coronae epineae Domini et vivificae crucis. — *Gall. Chris.* VII, col. 239.

[2] 1241 according to Dubois, *Hist. Eccl. Parisis*, Lib. XV, Cap. IV, p. 356.

century, was unfortunately disfigured in 1635. Originally, the edifice consisted of a nave eight bays long, two side aisles, and three apses. The vault was probably quadripartite, except in the two eastern bays, where the alternate system which survives indicates a sexpartite vault; the western bays, however, have been so much altered that it is impossible to determine with certainty the ancient dispositions. The system seems to have been logical. Triforium and flying buttresses were omitted, but a clearstory existed. The details, especially the capitals, are of surpassing beauty. (Hessling; Lenoir; Gonse.)

St. Leu et St. Gilles was erected in the XIV century, but the choir and the apse were reconstructed in 1611–20 and again in 1865. The façade was entirely disfigured in the XVII century.

Abbaye Ste. Geneviève. The tower, which formerly stood to the south of the church, survives, and may be assigned to c. 1200. (Lenoir.)

REIMS, Marne. *Église Métropolitaine Notre Dame.* (Ill. 224, 230, 237, 251, 268.) The oldest part of the existing edifice is the arch to the right of the central portal of the north transept façade, evidently part of an earlier edifice, and doubtless erected c. 1180 when the ancient cathedral was made over. This ancient cathedral was burned in 1210.[1] "In 1211, on the same day of the year (that the fire had taken place) they commenced to build for the archbishop new walls upon foundations of great width and depth."[2] It should be noticed that there is no authority for the tradition that a consecration took place in 1215, a tradition which, though evidently erroneous, has found its way into many of the handbooks. According to M. Demaison the choir was not finished until 1241. Work on the nave must have been begun at once, for the sketches of Villard de Honnecourt prove that this was well advanced by the middle of the century. The age of the façade has been much discussed. It was formerly unquestioningly believed that the dates 1381 engraved on the lower string-course and 1391 cut upon the face of the tower at the height of the gallery of the kings were authentic records. To reconcile these with the evidently earlier style of the architecture, M. Gonse and other archaeologists advanced the theory that the façade had been moved forward several bays and reconstructed stone for stone in the late XIV century. These descriptions have recently, however, been shown by M. Demaison to be totally without authenticity, and in fact to be no more ancient than the XVIII century. This archaeologist, therefore, assigns the lower half of the façade on its style to the last half of the XII century (1255–90), and believes that the monument was entirely finished in the course of the XIII century with the exception of the western gable and the towers. The latter were in construction in 1406, but were still unfinished twenty years later. A fire which occurred in 1481 necessitated

[1] *Chronicle* of Elnon (Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores V, p. 16); *Chronicle of St. Nicaise of Reims* (*Ibid.*, III, p. 85); Renier, a monk of St. Jacques of Liège (*Ibid.*, XVI, p. 663); Anonymous Chronicler of Laon (*Recueil des Historiens de la France* XVIII, p. 714). A single authority — Aubri de Trois Fontaines (Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores XXIII, p. 892) — gives the date 1211.

[2] MCCXI. Eodem die, anno revoluto, parietas de novo super fundamenta magne profunditatis et latetudinis ceperunt institui ex parte domini archiepiscopi. — *Chronicle of St. Nicaise* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Scriptores XIII, p. 85.)

repairs that absorbed all the resources of the chapter, and thus prevented the erection of spires. The gables of the transepts were finished only after this fire. The ground plan of Reims is extremely massive as compared with that of Amiens, but the upper portions, on the contrary, are extraordinarily light — a fact which seems to show that the original design was changed perhaps for esthetic reasons, or possibly because the improved technique of the second quarter of the XIII century made it possible to secure the requisite stability with lighter masonry than had been deemed necessary in 1211. Externally, this cathedral has always been recognized as one of the supreme achievements of Gothic art; the façade is rivaled only by that of Paris; the flying buttresses are unequaled. If the interior yields slightly to Amiens in the purity and perfection of its detail, compensation is to be found in the clearstory windows which retain the ancient class in all its splendor. In statuary Reims is the richest of all the cathedrals, and is said to contain over two thousand separate figures. (Demaison; Le Cerf.)

CHARTRES, Eure-et-Loire. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 190, 215, 218, 229, 249, 256.) The date of the construction of the west façade of Chartres is one of the most discussed and most puzzling of the problems of medieval archaeology. It is known that the old basilica of Fulbert, finished in 1028 and restored by Thierri after the fire of 1031, was burnt in 1134. Works of reconstruction were in progress seven years later (1141), or before, for the canon Salomon, who died in September of that year, is mentioned as having contributed towards the expenses of this,[1] but in 1144 the reconstruction had not yet been completed since it is well established that the cart cult originated at Chartres, "while the towers were being built."[2] By 1150, however, at least the portals must have been finished, for on January 12th of that year Richer, archdeacon of Châteaudun, who "adorned the entrance of this church with a statue of the Virgin Mary beautifully painted with gold,"[3] died. Such is the slender documentary evidence bearing upon the question. The internal evidence of the monument itself shows that the towers originally must have stood in front of the façade, for the lateral faces, now inside the church, were evidently designed as exterior walls, and show unmistakable signs of having stood exposed to the weather. It is therefore necessary to conclude that the façade has been moved forward from behind the two towers to a position flush with their western edge. On the basis of these facts, and on the style of the various parts of the western end the history of this portion of the building may be reconstructed as follows. The north tower, begun about 1134, or immediately after the fire, was built isolated before the façade. In 1144–45 a new façade was undertaken to the westward of the ancient one, the nave being prolonged one or more bays. This second façade, which is the one we still have, was placed tangent to the eastern edge of the northern tower; the southern tower was then begun, symmetrically with the northern one, and consequently also projecting beyond the façade. By 1150 the two towers had arrived at the second story.

[1] *Gall. Chris.* VIII, col. 1199.

[2] See text cited above, p. 159.

[3] . . . decoravit etian introitum hujus ecclesie imagine Beate Marie auro decenter ornata. — *Cartul.* III, p. 19.

About 1180, for some unknown reason, it seems to have been resolved to move the façade forward to its present position. After this had been done work was resumed on the southern tower which was finished and crowned by its spire. This had hardly been completed, however, when a fire entirely destroyed the ancient cathedral with the exception of the west end, portions of which were preserved in the new edifice immediately begun: "In the year 1194, on the 11th day of June, the church at Chartres was devastated by a wonderful and miserable fire, so that the walls were ruined and destroyed and overthrown upon the ground, and it was necessary to repair the church from its foundations and build a new structure." [1] The construction progressed rapidly during the first half of the XIII century, and the consecration was celebrated in 1260,[2] though the transepts and the chapel of St. Piat were not finished before the XIV century and the northern spire was erected in 1506–12, as is known from an inscription. Beneath each of the western towers is preserved a rib vault of great interest; the northern, we have seen, may be dated 1134, the southern, 1145. The statues of the west portal are the most precious monuments we possess of the sculpture of the XII century; they must date certainly from earlier than 1150 and probably from about 1145. The transeptal portals are exquisite compositions with an unrivaled wealth of sculpture and detail. In fact the statuary and stained glass of this cathedral are its greatest claim to fame, for internally the proportions are less happy than those of Amiens or Reims, and the choir was much damaged in the Renaissance. At Chartres was established for the first time the fully developed Gothic plan — a plan which was radically different from any which had been produced before. (Bulteau; Lefèvre-Pontalis; Lenore.)

St. Pierre. "In the first week of September, 1134, the Lord our God punished many sins by fire. For the ancient and wealthy cities Le Mans and Chartres were burned. . . . At Chartres the abbey of St. Peter was destroyed, and the venerable monastery of the monks was wiped out, the cloister and the other buildings being completely ruined." [3] It is safe to conjecture that the reconstruction of the abbey began with the conventual buildings, as was almost the invariable rule in the Middle Ages. At all events a passage in Gallia Christiana states: "the abbot Fulchery (1150–71) built the choir of the church as it is seen to-day. Before this Hildnard had undertaken the construction of the nave. Stephen I who became abbot in 1172 adorned the church with stained glass windows, and placed the hand of completion upon it." [4] But only six years afterwards, in 1178, "the City of Chartres was burned

[1] Anno igitur ab incarnatione domini MC nonagesimo quarto, cum ecclesia Carnotensis III idus junii mirabili et miserabile fuisset incendio devastata, ita ut conquassatis et dissolutis postmodum parietibus et in terram prostratis necessarium foret a fundamentis reparare et novam denuo aedificare ecclesiam. — Mss. in Vatican, published by Bulteau I, 97.

[2] *Gall. Chris.* VIII, col. 1160.

[3] 1134. In prima septembris septimana Dominus Deus noster multa per ignem peccata puniit. Cenomannis enim et Carnotum antiquae et opulentae urbes consumptae sunt. . . . Carnoti monasterium S. Petri apostoli combustū est et venerabilis monachorum conuentus, claustro cum reliquiis officiniis destructo, dispersus est. — Order. Vital., Lib. XIII, p. 899.

[4] Fulcherius 1150–71. Is basilicam chorum, qualis hodieque cernitur, extruxit. Interea vero basilicae navim promovebat Hilduardus. Stephanus I sedabat anno 1172. Ecclesiam vitreis fenestris ornavit, eique sepremam manum imposuit. — *Gall. Chris.* VIII, col. 1226.

together with the monastery of St. Pierre."[1] The reconstruction which followed this new disaster seems to have progressed very slowly. The existing edifice is of three distinct epochs. The choir aisles, which must date from 1150 or earlier, show that the ancient chevet was furnished with a system precisely similar to that of Noyon, with sexpartite vaults, and with supports consisting of piers alternating with columns. One bay of the southern ambulatory has a clumsy rib vault: the arches are pointed, the ribs straight in plan with square unmoulded profile relieved only by chamfering on the edges. The remaining bays are covered with groin vaults, supplied with transverse arches springing from capitals placed lower than those of the main arcade. All the arches are thus brought approximately to the same level, without stilting. The second period of construction comprises the nave, a curious design which exhibits a strange lack of uniformity even in apparently contemporaneous parts. Below the triforium the two sides are entirely unsymmetrical. The lower portions doubtless date from the end of the XII century, but the clearstory and the fine double flying buttresses seem to be later than those of the cathedral. The choir, also supplied with flying buttresses, forms the third and last strata of the construction. It is said to have been finished about 1310.

St. André. In 1108 this parish church became the seat of a monastery,[2] but the present edifice was probably not erected before the second quarter of the XII century. Apparently it never contained any vaults, for there are no buttresses, aisle responds, or vaulting shafts. The three pointed windows of the façade are probably an addition of c. 1175. The church is now desecrated and difficult to study.

BEAUVAIS, Oise. *Église Cathédrale St. Pierre.* (Ill. 227, 231, 240.) The history of this monument presents no difficulties. Begun in 1225, the choir was finished only in 1272. Twelve years later, in 1284, the vaults fell, and the ruin of the edifice was so complete that for forty years the canons were obliged to celebrate their offices in the Basse Oeuvre while the necessary restorations which involved an almost complete rebuilding of the structure were being executed. Not until 1500 was work begun on the transepts; these were finished in 1548. Instead of proceeding to erect the nave, the canons now undertook to build a tower 153 meters high over the crossing; but the piers of the crossing, lacking the abutment that the nave would have furnished had it existed, yielded, and in 1573 the whole tower came crashing down. This unfortunate history has given the text for much moralizing and much sentimentality on the part of modern writers. There can, however, be no doubt that, if the cathedral of Beauvais as designed in 1225 could have been made to stand, it would have been unequaled among Gothic monuments. Broken and mutilated torso as it now remains, it still retains a compelling beauty, a power to excite the emotions unsurpassed by its happier rivals. As originally planned the rectangular part of the choir consisted of three bays of great breadth, with quadripartite vaults. In 1284 it was found necessary to divide each of these bays into two by adding an

[1] An. dñi 1178. Ciuitas Carnotū cōbusta est et monasteriū beati Petri de Valle. — Sigeberti, *Chronicon*, p. 149.

[2] *Gall. Chris.* VIII, Col. 1212.

extra pier in the center and making the vault sexpartite. Of the two aisles of the ambulatory, the inner is loftier than the outer and supplied with a clearstory and triforium; the outer is supplanted in the chevet by a series of chapels, placed, like those of Paris, between the buttresses. The triforium is glazed and united by continuous mullions into a single composition with the soaring clearstory. Externally the superb flying buttresses are double in a twofold sense. The façades of the transepts are perhaps the masterpiece *par excellance* of flamboyant architecture, but, strangely enough, the interior design of this part of the edifice, with its wavy mouldings and debased detail, is exceptionally poor. (Von Bezold.)

St. Barthélemy contains some débris of architecture of the XIV century.

BOURGES, Cher. *Église Cathédrale.* (Ill. 214, 233, 239, 243, 264, 267, 288.) There appears to be no precise evidence for the date at which this cathedral was commenced, but the construction was undoubtedly begun not far from c. 1195. The crypt was first attacked and then the ambulatory and choir. The style of the floral ornament leaves no doubt that the construction was interrupted after the aisles of the chevet and the east bay of the choir had been finished; moreover, the passage in the aisle triforium is blocked off at this point. However, works were soon resumed — probably c. 1215, — and the ancient choir — one double bay longer than the present — was completed. Here occurred a much longer and more serious delay, which M. de Kersers believes lasted for forty or fifty years. When works were recommenced, perhaps c. 1275, the character of the design was radically altered in detail, though for the sake of harmony the general scheme of the first plan was preserved. For the four pointed lancets of the aisle triforium in the choir, there were substituted in the western bays two groups of two trefoiled arches placed under a single relieving arch whose tympanums are all pierced with trefoil or quatrefoil openings. Furthermore the aisle clearstory in the western bays was given simple, but real, tracery; the triforium of the nave, more acutely pointed arches and its tympanums, quatrefoils; and the lancets of the nave clearstory were almost turned into tracery, the central one being made smaller than its mates (instead of larger as in the choir) and being surmounted by larger circular windows. This nave could hardly have been finished before the XIV century, but as early as 1313 it was found necessary to reconstruct the vaults. The façade was completed by Duke John about 1390. In the existing edifice certain fragments of an earlier construction of about the middle of the XII century survive — notably the north and south lateral portals and certain capitals of the choir. As Bourges stands to-day it is in many ways unique among French cathedrals. There are five aisles, the outer pair of different heights; there is no transept; the double ambulatory has radiating chapels of little depth. The inner aisles have clearstory and triforium, so that the composition is divided into five stories — an arrangement not altogether happy. Unpleasant too are the curved ribs of the ambulatory vault. The nave vault is sexpartite; the piers all of similar section are alternately heavy and light. Three light shafts widely separated are carried to the ground in all the piers; from the main capitals rise alternately three and five shafts. The flying buttresses are double. While Bourges in certain of its details perhaps falls below its sister cathedrals, it possesses a charm of perspective, a poetry, that at

once place it in the front rank of Gothic designs. And with the single exception of Chartres, no Gothic church contains so rich a treasure of stained glass. (De Kerses II, 125.)

St. Pierre-le-Guillard. This edifice of the first quarter of the XIII century consists of a nave, two side aisles, a chevet, an ambulatory, and five radiating chapels. The vaults have been remade in the XV century, but it is evident that the original ones were sexpartite, and that the intermediate shafts were supported on corbels placed exactly over the summits of the arches of the main arcade. The alternate systems are formed each of a single shaft rising from the ground to the springing of the vault, where the ribs are gathered on the capital. There are no capitals at the impost level. The chevet is supplied with a fine set of flying buttresses with slight pinnacles. (De Kersers II, 194.)

St. Fulgent. The choir of this church has been destroyed, but the wooden-roofed nave still survives. (De Kersers II, 209.)

Notre Dame-de-Sales. This church of the XIV century, pillaged and burnt by the Protestants in 1562, was repaired a century later. Some parts of the building of the XIV century still survive. (De Kersers II, 218.)

Chapelle St. George. A gable of this chapel of the XIII century survives in the building, No. 10, Rue Trompette. (De Kersers II, 258.)

LE MANS, Sarthe. *Église Cathédrale St. Julien.* (Ill. 221, 247). "The most holy body of St. Julien and the relics of the other saints were translated into the church on the 17th day of September, 1093, in the eighth year of the ordination of that bishop [Hoël] on the very day that he himself had planned, had God granted him life, to consecrate the church."[1] The reconstruction, whose completion is recorded in these words, affected only the choir, the transepts, and the two easternmost bays of the nave. The arcades of the latter as rebuilt in 1093 are still extant. In 1110 the reconstruction of the remainder of the nave was begun, but the aisle walls of the XI century were preserved; on the 25th of April, 1120, the consecration of this part of the edifice was celebrated.[2] However, "Hildebert, because the works on the church had been unduly protracted, was anxious to see it consecrated in his own time, and accordingly hastened the dedication beyond what was justified by the actual condition of the church, much of which was necessarily still unfinished."[3] This church was ruined by fire not long after, for in Orderic Vitalis we read: "In the first week of September, 1134, the Lord our God punished many sins by fire. Le Mans

[1] Translatum est autem corpus sanctissimum beati Juliani et aliorum sanctorum reliquiae in eamden basilicam XVI Kalendas Novembris anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo XCIII; ordinationis autem ejus episcopi VIII, in qua videlicet die, si Deus sibi vitam concederet, ipsam basilicam statuerat dedicare. — *Gesta Hoëlli* (Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 314).

[2] Anno plane Domini millesimo CXX in octobis Paschae, die scilicet majoris litaniae, consecravit eam in honore et nomine sanctae et gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae et beatorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii et piissimi confessoris Juliani. — *Gesta Hildeberti* (Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 317).

[3] Hildebertus autem opus ecclesiae quod per longa tempora protractum fuerat, suo tempore insistens consummare, dedicationem ultra quam res exposcebat accelerans, multa inibi necessaria inexpleta praeteriit. — *Ibid.*, p. 317.

and Chartres, ancient and wealthy cities, were burned. Also the cathedral church of Le Mans, which was very beautiful, was destroyed, but the casket containing the body of St. Julien, priest and confessor, though with much difficulty was safely carried to the monastery of St. Vincent the Martyr."[1] The restoration necessitated by this fire commenced with the reconstruction of the nave and transept. Since the date 1145 is inscribed upon one of the stones of the upper part of the crossing, it is probable that this rebuilding was begun at least as early as 1137. Thanks to a skilful alteration of the lower parts of the structure, the entire character of the design was changed. The nave walls, blackened by fire, disappeared beneath a new coating of stone; a vault was thrown across the nave; and the transepts were entirely remodeled. Only the ancient side aisles were retained unaltered. The consecration took place in 1158; from that time to this the nave has undergone no appreciable alteration, though the choir was entirely reconstructed in the Gothic style between 1218 and 1254, the southern transept was rebuilt in 1395, and the northern between that time and 1430. As the nave now stands the system of three shafts carrying five ribs is alternate and continuous. The pointed quadripartite vaults of the nave are of the Lombard type, each bay of the nave corresponding to two bays of the side aisles. The triforium is formed of a continuous arcade. Above the pointed archivolts of the main arches may be seen the old archivolts of 1120, which were evidently in two orders, and rested on columns without system. The two easternmost bays (of 1093), on the other hand, were characterized by piers on each of which were engaged two colonnettes to carry the extra order of the archivolts and a shaft continued to form a system. The side aisles have groin vaults with transverse ribs; their windows (of the XI century) are plain in contrast to those of the nave (of the XII century) which are shafted and moulded. Some ruins of the north tower of the XI century still stand. The seven-sided chevet, one of the masterpieces of Gothic architecture, is supplied with a double ambulatory and a complete set of deep radiating chapels. The supports are of the same number on both sides of the inner ambulatory, but in the outer wall the number is doubled, the vaulting compartments thus being made alternately rectangular and triangular as at Aachen. Like Bourges the inner aisles are higher than the outer, but the design is improved by omitting the triforium in the nave. Externally the noble flying buttresses are unique in being divided into two converging flights over the outer ambulatory. (Ledru; Lefèvre-Pontalis.)

LAON, Aisne. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 217, 222, 227, 248.) Two consecrations of the cathedral of Laon took place during the XII century, one in 1114, the other in 1157. No portion of the existing edifice, however, can be earlier than c. 1165, and strange as it seems that a new construction should have had to be begun so soon after the dedication of 1157, we are forced to conclude that such a rebuilding must have been necessitated by some fire or other disaster of which no record has come down to us. In the martyrology of the cathedral it is stated that Bishop Gaul-

[1] 1134. In prima septembris septimana Dominus Deus noster multa per ignem peccata puniit. Cenomannis enim et Carnotum, antiquae et opulentae urbes consumptae sunt. Tunc Cenomannis episcopalis basilica, quae pulcherrima erat, concremata est, et feretrum sancti cum corpore Pontificis et Confessoris Juliani difficulter in monasterium Sancti Martyris Vincentii translatum est. — Orderic Vitalis, Lib. XIII, p. 899.

tier (1155–74) "gave to the church of Laon two dorsal tapestries on which the twelve months and the twelve signs (of the zodiac) were beautifully embroidered. And he also gave to the work at Laon a hundred pounds besides twenty pounds of good money that he had given every year since the commencement of that work."[1] This is the only text which refers to the construction of the cathedral in the XII century, but a notice of 1205 shows that in the early XIII century the edifice had not yet been entirely finished: "In 1205 Jean de Chermizy, a noble, with the consent of his mother Gertrude, gave in perpetuity to the church Notre Dame of Laon, land for quarrying and extracting stones for the construction and chapels of the said church. . . ."[2] Moreover, in 1221, relics were still being carried through the country to raise funds for the building,[3] and in 1225 the side portal opposite the old Hôtel-Dieu was referred to as the "new portal" — novo ostio.[4] It is therefore safe to conclude that the construction begun as early as 1165 lasted until near the end of the first quarter of the XIII century. The oldest portions of the actual building are the transepts and the first three bays of the choir. The first five bays of the nave seem to have been next attacked, and then the remainder of the nave and the façade, of which, as is evident from the sculptures, the southern portal is earlier than either the central or the northern. The cathedral terminated originally in a semicircular chevet with ambulatory-excavations executed in 1857, the fact that the bases of the columns of the fourth bay in the choir are slightly out of line, and several capitals now in the eastern bays of the sanctuary evidently having come from the original chevet, leave no doubt on this subject. Now, since the stone of the eastern bays of the choir is from the quarries of Chermizy, which were given to the church, as has been seen, in 1205, it must have been in the XIII century that the primitive chevet was destroyed, the choir prolonged, and the present square east end erected. It is conjectured that this change was made for the purpose of increasing the length of the choir, which had doubtless been found too small to accommodate the canons. The Chapelle des Fonts on the south of the nave dates from the beginning of the XIII century; the two transeptal absidioles, in several stories, which must have been erected about the same epoch, probably replaced the apsidal chapels destroyed when the choir was prolonged. All the other existing chapels are inserted between the buttresses, and were added in the late XIII, or the XIV, century. Those of the nave seem to be somewhat earlier than those of the choir. The transepts were altered in the XIV century, but from the beginning were supplied with side-aisles — the earliest example of this feature in the Ile de France — and these aisles are carried across the ends so as to form tribunes in quite the Norman manner. Norman, too, is the central lantern surmounted by a

[1] Dedit ecclesie Laudunensi duo tapeta dorsalia in quibus xii menses et xii signa pulcherrime sunt intexta. Dedit novissime operi Laudunensi centum libras preter vigenti libras bone monete quas eidem operi ab initio contulerat annuatim. — *Matyr. et Nécrol.*, fo. 168, II Id. Julii, cit. Bouxin, 25.

[2] Johannes nobilis vir de Chermisi, dedit in eleemosynam in perpetuum ecclesie Beate Marie Laudunensis, assensi Gertrudis matris sue, terram ad fodiendum et extrahendum lapides ad opus et officinas ecclesie supradicti. . . . anno Dni 1205. — Archiv. Nat., *Cart.* L. 731, cit. Bouxin, 32.

[3] *Cart. du Chap.*, fo. 233, 2d column, and fo. 234, 1st column, cit. Bouxin, 33.

[4] *Ibid.*, fo. 137, cit. Bouxin, 33.

tower. The great glory of Laon is its superb group of five towers — an ensemble still without rival among Gothic monuments, although the superb southwestern spire was unfortunately destroyed in the Revolution. Notwithstanding the fact that the vaults are sexpartite throughout except in the two western bays of the nave where the tower piers necessitated two quadripartite vaults, there is no alternation of supports, the piers being all cylindrical, save that in the five eastern bays of the nave the alternate columns are surrounded each by five colonnettes, one supporting the system, and the other four, each one corner of the abacus. The flying buttresses are of a single strut and gabled; they also fail to express the alternately heavier and lighter thrusts of the vaults. The system of alternately three and five shafts rises from the abaci, which in the intermediate piers are octagonal. The gallery is surmounted by a triforium, the nave being thus divided into four stories. The details of the carving, the capitals, etc., are among the most exquisite that have come down to us. Altogether Laon resembles Paris more closely than any of the other of the French cathedrals, but is of unique interest for its towers, its square east end, and its unrivaled detail. (Bouxin.)

ROUEN, Seine-Inférieure. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* (Ill. 225, 269, 274.) Of the church which it is known was consecrated in 1063 nothing remains, although many portions of the present edifice — the northwestern tower (tour St. Romain), the two chapels of the chevet, those of the transepts, portions of the nave, and the two doors of the west façade opening upon the side aisles — must be earlier than the fire of 1200, which is the next recorded event in the history of the cathedral. Since a letter of Bishop Hugh[1] implies that in 1145 works were in progress upon the cathedral, we may assign to approximately this date the lower story of the Tour St. Romain and its octopartite rib vault, which is without wall ribs. Somewhat later (c. 1175) is the upper story of the tower, whose rib vault is not domed, and is supplied with wall ribs. The portals seem to be of about the same time (c. 1175). As for the structure of the XIII century, the history is much less obscure. "In this year [1200] on April 10th, Easter Monday, the church of Rouen was entirely burned together with all its bells, its books, and its ornaments; and a great part of the city and many other churches perished at the same time."[2] Works of restoration seem to have been begun immediately, for it is certain that they were in progress in 1204,[3] though it is by no means clear when the building was completed. Since, however, important ceremonies were held in the cathedral in 1223, and in 1235 Bishop Mauritius was buried in the choir, it is probable that the edifice was practically finished before the second third of the XIII century. The two transept façades date from about 1278; in 1302 the foundations for the present lady chapel was laid; the entrance-way to the "Portail des Libraires" was erected c. 1484; and the Tour-de-Beurre was constructed in 1487. The central tower was rebuilt in 1514 in con-

[1] Cited above, p. 156.

[2] Hoc anno quarto Idus Aprilis in nocta Paschae combusta est tota ecclesia Rothomagensis cum omnibus campanis, libris, et ornamentis ecclesiae et maxima pars civitatis et multae ecclesiae. — Labbe, *Novae Bibliothecae* I, p. 370, cit. Allinne-Poisel, 66.

[3] See Deville, 81.

sequence of a fire, but the iron spire with which it is now crowned is a monument to the bad taste of the XIX century. According to Dom Pommeraye the existing façade was erected in 1509–30. The nave of Rouen is an archaeological puzzle. The irregularities of the design, the introduction of a false triforium — a feature paralleled only in the church of Eu, — the curious dispositions of the true (upper) triforium, and certain round arches in the clearstory (especially noticeable externally) can be explained only on the theory that certain portions of an older edifice were retained in the rebuilding of the XIII century, notwithstanding the fact that the details of capitals and mouldings are strikingly homogeneous. A full system of five shafts rises from the ground. The choir, which seems to have retained little or nothing of XII century architecture, is of simpler design; it is characterized by columnar supports and by a system resting on corbels placed just above the abaci; the false triforium of the nave is omitted. The vaults throughout the church are quadripartite. From an esthetic standpoint the interior of Rouen is less satisfactory than that of any of the other great Gothic churches. The division into four stories is not happy, nor are the proportions harmonious. The details, although not as extravagant as in many examples of the Norman school, still lack the purity of the Ile de France; the mouldings of the archivolts, while they do not project, are over-elaborate; five colonnettes are engaged upon the main piers. Yet the cathedral is not without its points of great interest: the transept façades are perhaps the finest examples of rayonnant tracery that have come down to us; the Tour-de-Beurre and the western façade are masterpieces of the flamboyant style; and the chapel St. Jean-Baptiste furnishes one of the earliest extant examples of flamboyant architecture. (De la Balle; Allinne-Loisel.)

Abbaye St. Ouen. (Ill. 238.) Jean Marcdargent, abbot of St. Ouen, commenced the present edifice in 1318. His epitaph furnishes precise information on this subject: "Here lies brother Jean Marcdargent or Roussel, formerly abbot of this monastery, who commenced to build anew this church and constructed the choir, the chapel, the piers of the [central] tower, and a great part of the transept of the said church."[1] Since Jean Marcdargent died in 1339, the construction must have advanced rapidly. After the first bay of the nave had been erected, however, works were brusquely interrupted. Two more bays of the nave were built in 1396, but then ensued another long delay. The construction was again resumed in 1439, when the rose windows of the transepts were completed. The nave was finished by the abbot Bohier[2] (1491–1515), and the lower parts of the western façade with its rose window by the legate Cibo before 1545. As originally planned this façade would have been flanked by twin western towers set at an angle. These towers, however, remained unfinished until the XIX century, when Viollet-le-Duc erected the present towers and gable in direct contradiction, not only to all good taste, but to the known intentions of the medieval builders. The choir of St. Ouen is one of the finest examples

[1] Hic jacet frater Johannes Marcdargent alias Roussel quondam abbas istius monasterii qui incepit istam ecclesiam aedificare de novo et fecit chorum et capellas et pillaria turris et magnam partem crucis monasterii antedicti. — Dom Pommeraye, cit. Inkersley, 107.

[2] *Gall. Chris.* XI, col. 153, 154, cit. Inkersley, 117.

of pure rayonnant design that has come down to us. The tracery is exquisite; the flying buttresses are double in a twofold sense with finely developed pinnacles; capitals are not altogether omitted, but have become much reduced; the system is carried through from vault to pavement without interruption; the triforium is glazed and united in a single composition with the clearstory. With the exception of the window tracery, the nave, although over a century later, is practically identical in design with the choir and possesses the same refinement and delicate beauty. The central tower is one of the most exquisite achievements of flamboyant art. (De la Balle; Von Bezold.)

COUTANCES, Manche. *Église Cathédrale.* (Ill. 245, 255.) Of the church of Geoffry, built 1030–56, the towers, which like those of Jumièges had a square base and octagonal upper stories, still survive, though hidden from sight, and the entire length of the clearstory gallery still exists almost intact in the walls of the existing nave. Although texts establishing the date of the present structure are wanting, the style of the edifice makes it seem probable that the nave was begun in 1208 by Bivien of Champagne, and completed with its side aisles by the same bishop. Hugh of Morville who succeeded (1238–48) and his two successors doubtless built the transepts, the lantern, the choir, and the double ambulatory. Subsequently the three portals and the lower parts of the façade were erected, and Silvestre de la Serville (1371–86) is believed to have completed the edifice by constructing the open-work gallery connecting the two towers and the six lateral chapels of the nave. The piers of the chevet consist of coupled columns, as at Sens. The side aisles of the nave are single, but the ambulatory is double, the inner aisle, more lofty than the outer, being supplied with triforium and clearstory. Except in the chevet the system of three shafts rises from the ground, the wall rib, without capital, springing from the clearstory string. The clearstory wall is far from being eliminated. The mouldings of the archivolts of the main arches are slightly more complicated than those of contemporary edifices in the Ile de France, but do not project; they are carried on three shafts engaged on the piers. Vaults with ridge ribs, thoroughly English in character, surmount the choir. In the choir the central aisle has no triforium, a simple balustrade being carried around below the clearstory; but in the nave a triforium exists, and this, as well as the clearstory, is supplied with a balustrade. The lady chapel dates only from the XIV century. The façade, which must rank as one of the grandest compositions of the Middle Ages, betrays the influence of the local school in its shafts, its lack of a rose window, and its octagonal towers. As the central porch projects a considerable distance, it reaches beyond the buttresses whose lower portions are consequently lost from sight. The western towers with their superb spires and turrets are among the most strongly individualized conceptions of Gothic art; unfortunately the octagonal central lantern with its four angle turrets has never received its spire. The flying buttresses of the chevet, like those of Paris, consist of a single strut clearing both aisles in a single flight. (De la Balle.)

LISIEUX, Calvados. *Église Cathédrale St. Pierre.* Of the church, whose reconstruction was begun in 1050, but which was destroyed in 1136 by a fire that consumed the entire city, some débris is preserved in the present edifice, commenced

by Bishop Arnoult on his return from the Holy Land (1143). When that bishop died in 1181, the nave, the two arms of the transept, the lantern, and a large part of the main façade had been constructed, and the church was entirely finished when his successor, Jourdain de Hommet, died in 1218. Only eight years after, however, the edifice was damaged by fire. The necessary restorations were carried out by William of Pont-de-l'Arche, who at the same time undertook other works of embellishment, notably the construction of the two lateral chapels of the chevet. It was perhaps this same bishop who erected the western towers, of which, however, only the northern survives, the southern, as is known from an inscription, having been rebuilt in 1579. The lateral chapels of the nave and the lady chapel are of the XV century. In style the present building departs so widely from the Norman type that it might almost have been built upon the soil of the Ile de France. The vault is quadripartite; the supports are all columns; the system of three shafts rises from the octagonal abaci; the flying buttresses are simple, with finials, but no pinnacles; the transepts have eastern aisles; the supports of the chevet consist of coupled columns engaged together; and the windows are without tracery. (De la Balle; Von Bezold.)

ÉVREUX, Eure. *Église Cathédrale Notre Dame.* Of the cathedral built by Geselbert and consecrated in 1077,[1] nothing survives, this edifice having been destroyed in 1119 as is known from a passage in Orderic Vitalis: "In 1119 King Henry came to the diocese of Évreux, and commenced to storm the city. The King said to Bishop Audin, 'Don't you see, my Lord Bishop, that we are repulsed by the enemy and can overcome them only with fire? True, if the city is burned, the churches will be destroyed and great loss will fall upon the innocent. Therefore, my Lord Bishop, consider carefully and then tell us whether it seems better to you to burn or not to burn the town. But remember that if by means of the fire the victory shall fall to us, the injury to the church of God shall be lavishly repaired, and the houses of God, I think, shall be rebuilt better than before.' The bishop hesitated anxiously before such a decision. But at length, on the advice of prudent men, he decided that fire should be kindled and the city burned. Therefore, Radulph de Guader first set fire on the northern side, and the flames spread at once throughout the city and destroyed everything (for it was in the dry season of the autumn). Then the church of St. Sauveur was burned and the famous hall of the glorious virgin mother Mary, whom the bishop and chapter served. But the king and all his peers gave in humility an indemnity for the burning of the church to the bishop, and promised openly other gifts from their own possessions for its restoration."[2] With these resources the reconstruction must have progressed

[1] Orderic Vitalis, Lib. V, p. 548.

[2] Henricus rex pagum Ebroicensem adiit et Ebroas cum valida manu impugnare coepit. Rex dixit ad Audinum Episcopum — "Vides ne, domine praesul, quod repellimur ab hostibus nec eos nisi per ignem subjugere poterimus? Verum, si ignis immittitur, ecclesiae comburentur et insontibus ingens damnum inferetur. Nunc ergo, Pastor ecclesiae, diligenter considera et quod utilius pospexeris, provinde nobis insinua. Si victoria nobis per incendium devinitus conceditur, opitulante Deo ecclesiae detrimenta restaurabuntur. Unde, domus Dei, ut reor, in melius reaedificabuntur." — Haesitat in tanto discrimine Praesul anxius. Tandem prudentum consultu praecepit ignem immitti, et civitatem concremari. Radulphus igitur de Guader

rapidly, for in 1139 we read that "Audin, bishop of Évreux, held office for twenty-four years, and rebuilt from the foundations the church of Notre Dame, which had been burnt in his time." [1] Of this edifice, the main arcades of the two western bays of the existing nave are a remnant. The remaining arcades, which consist of sixteen round arches each supported on a pier surrounded by twelve colonnettes, are evidently later than 1139, being apparently about contemporary with the lower portions of the cathedral of Bayeux, and must have belonged to a restoration of which we have no documentary knowledge. At all events the church was again burned at the end of the XII century — probably in the disorders of 1194 — and new works of restoration were begun at the triforium level of the nave in 1202. Progress, however, must have been slow, for the triforium on the south side, as is evident from its style, must date from c. 1225, while the clearstory can hardly be earlier than c. 1240. Four nave chapels were added in 1246–47, but these were afterwards rebuilt in the XV century. From 1298 to 1310 the new choir was in construction; it was completely finished before 1327, for one of the donors of the stained glass died at that date. A fire which occurred in 1355 seems to have done little damage to the cathedral. The building was finally completed by the construction of the transept and central tower in 1446–75. The choir of four bays, which terminates in a seven-sided chevet surrounded by a single ambulatory with a complete set of radiating chapels, is characterized by a glazed triforium, rayonnant tracery, and superb flying buttresses. Doubtless because the old Norman plan was preserved, the transepts are without side aisles. The transept façade, finished in 1510, is a superb composition comparable only to that of Beauvais. The fine flying buttresses of the nave were destroyed by Viollet-le-Duc, who substituted the present sorry constructions. (Fossey; De la Balle; St. Paul.)

TROYES, Aube. *Église Cathédrale St. Pierre et St. Paul.* (Ill. 277.) In 1188 the city of Troyes was devastated by a terrible fire which injured also the cathedral. It seems, however, to have been only in 1208 that the bishop Hervée undertook to erect the edifice which still survives. The choir was finished by 1223, but the construction must have been faulty, for only four years later (1227) the building was very seriously injured by a wind storm. A bull of Gregory IX which mentions this disaster implies that the ruin was very serious. In 1233 the work of repairing the cathedral was undertaken by Nicolas de Brie, but progressed so slowly that it was completed only by Jean d'Auxois II in 1314. At about the same time the crossing and transepts were erected. In 1342 Jean d'Auxois V presented a sum of money

a parte aquilonali primus ignem iniecit, et effrenis flamma per urbem statim volavit, et omnia (tempus enim autumni siccum erat) corrupuit. Tunc combusta est basilica sancti salvatoris, et celebris aula gloriosae virginis et matris Mariae cui praesul et clerus serviebant. Rex et cuncti optimates sui episcopo pro ecclesiarum combustione vadimonium suppliciter dederunt et uberes impensas de opibus suis ad restaurationem earum palam spoponderunt. — *Ibid.*, Lib. XII, p. 852.

[1] 1139. Audinus Ebroicensis Episcopus XXIV annis Ebroicensem diocesim tenuit et basilicam beatae Dei genetricis Mariae, quae tempore illo combusta fuerat a fundamentis reparavit. — *Ibid.*, Lib. XIII, p. 919.

for the "completion of the church"; in 1364 the chapter made a bargain with Thomas, master builder, "to superintend the works on the church." The dedication solemnized in 1429 probably celebrated the completion of the great central flèche, which unfortunately no longer exists, having been destroyed in the XVIII century. At the end of the first quarter of the XV century, the nave was in construction; in 1450 it had been finished as far as the third chapel. Considerable difficulty, however, must have been experienced in raising funds, for in 1452 Nicolas V granted indulgences in favor of the church, and in 1457 relics were carried through the diocese. In 1496 the vaults were finished. In 1506 the foundations of the west façade were laid; in 1511 work on the tower St. Paul was begun; and in 1526 the Gothic portions of the west end were completed as they exist to-day. Troyes is a cathedral much neglected by travelers, but of exceptional interest. The ambulatory, a superb example of the purest Gothic style, possesses details of exquisite perfection, and still retains almost undamaged its original glass. Beautiful too are the upper portions of the chevet, of which the glazed triforium and clearstory also contain ancient glass. The nave has five aisles and a complete set of lateral chapels. Although flamboyant in style, the design is simple and restrained, and harmonizes well with the Gothic choir. The system consisting of round shafts is carried to the ground; and capitals are not omitted. It is only when the prismatic profiles of the archivolts or ribs are considered, or the flamboyant tracery of the clearstory and triforium, that the visitor becomes conscious of the late style of this portion of the edifice. The west end, one of the finest of flamboyant façades, is, notwithstanding its unfinished state and the unfortunate mutilations to which it has been subjected, a composition of remarkable interest. (Patenôtre.)

St. Urbain. (Ill. 220.) The documentary evidence for the building dates of this church is unusually full. Urbain IV founded it in 1262 in honor of his patron saint, "in the desire," he quaintly says, "that the memory of this name might remain forever in the city of Troyes, even after the dissolution of our body." Works must have proceeded rapidly, for a series of texts of from 1265 to 1270 imply that at least a substantial part of the edifice was completed. Thus in 1265 a bull of Clement IV granted indulgences to all those who should visit the church on the day of St. Urbain, or on the day of the consecration of the main altar. Another bull of Clement issued in 1266 threatened with excommunication the abbess and nuns of the Notre Dame who had burst open the doors of St. Urbain and smashed the altar, for it seems the canons of St. Urbain and the nuns of Notre Dame lived at perpetual warfare with each other, and not infrequently descended to physical violence. In 1267 indulgences were granted to those who should contribute money for the completion of the church. Of the same year there is extant a bull of Clement requiring the abbot of Montieramy to force a certain Jean Langlois, formerly master builder of St. Urbain, to give an accounting of the funds entrusted to him for the expenses of the construction. In 1268 there was more difficulty with the nuns of the Notre Dame, who appeared with several armed men "to break up the ceremony of the consecration of the new cemetery." The evidence supplied by these scattered notices is confirmed by a bull of 1276 issued by Innocent V, granting indulgences to those who should visit the church

of St. Urbain on the day of its approaching consecration. It is therefore impossible to doubt that at this date the monument was finished substantially as it still exists, though the style of the edifice is so remarkably advanced that it has much puzzled archaeologists. For St. Urbain, perhaps the lightest and most fragile of all Gothic constructions, represents the acme of rayonnant architecture, and were not its dates firmly established might well be assigned to an epoch at least fifty years later. The building consists of a polygonal apse, a choir with side aisles, transepts with side aisles, and an unfinished nave of three bays also with side aisles. In the western portions capitals are omitted, and in the vestibule ogee arches occur: — both features so characteristically flamboyant that it is strange indeed to find them in a XIII century church. (Von Bezold.)

Ste. Madeleine. The choir was consecrated in 1519; the rest of the church, which consists of a nave and transepts, both supplied with side aisles and covered with sexpartite vaults, may be assigned to c. 1175, and is of extraordinary interest for certain remarkable analogies with the Gothic style of England. Thus the dog-tooth moulding is lavishly employed; the abaci of the capitals of the vaulting shafts and of the triforium are round; and the archivolts in three orders are of complicated profile. The system consists of a single shaft much narrowed above the triforium. The aisle vault is highly domed, but its ribs, though heavy, have advanced profiles; the wall ribs are in many cases omitted, and always fade away before reaching the capitals. Three colonnettes carrying the orders of the archivolts are engaged on the piers. The capitals of the latter are analogous to St. Remi of Reims or Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne. Pointed arches are used throughout in the ground story. Above the triforium string the design of the nave differs from that of the transepts. In the nave the triforium consists of an arcade of four arches in two orders; the archivolts of the outside order are pointed, those of the inside order, round. The crocketed capitals, which may be assigned to c. 1200, are supplied with round abaci of which the top member instead of being a plinth is a torus. The bases overhang the octagonal plinths even at the corners. Above the triforium and at the level of the capitals of the vaulting shafts is placed a heavy corbel-table. This extraordinary feature probably indicates that there was originally a flat wooden roof erected at this point, although the capitals of the vaulting shafts, which are finely crocketed and have round abaci, seem entirely analogous to those of the triforium. The original vault has been replaced by a modern imitation, which, however, presumably reproduces the original dispositions. The wall ribs are round-arched, and spring from the clearstory corbel-table. In each bay the clearstory is pierced by two round-arched shafted lancets. The west end is supplied with five lancets of different heights fitted under a round arch in a manner peculiarly English.

St. Jean, which is classed as a "monument historique," is of several different epochs. The tower is said to date from the XII century, part of the nave and the fine portal from the XIV century, the remainder of the edifice including the fine glass from the XVI century.

SOISSONS, Aisne. *Église Cathédrale.* (Ill. 207, 212, 228, 244.) For the date of construction of the southern transept, the oldest part of the existing edifice, the only

documentary evidence is a deed of gift in which it is recorded the bishop Nivelon (1176–1207) ceded the chapter part of his garden.[1] Presumably this bishop, finding that the choir of his cathedral, which had been built about the middle of the XII century, was still in good condition resolved to accomplish the necessary enlargement of his church by rebuilding the south transept. Since the style of this transept is obviously earlier than that of the existing choir, which, it is known, was terminated in 1212, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis is certainly correct in assigning the former to the years 1180–90. This date is further confirmed by the fact that the chapel St. Jacques, which forms the upper story of the chapel of St. Martin, was founded in 1190.[2] At all events, soon after the completion of the transept it was determined to rebuild the entire edifice, and the foundations of a new choir were laid before the end of the XII century. Roul d'Oulchy, prevôt of the chapter from 1193 to 1208, donated the chapels of St. André, St. Corneille, and St. Cyprien. The canons celebrated mass for the first time in the new choir on Sunday, the 13th of May, 1212, as is known from a doggerel inscribed upon the ancient screen.[3] After this the construction of the nave was attacked, and finally the north transept was rebuilt, the latter being completed probably about the middle of the XIII century. As the church exists to-day, the southern transept, supplied with a semicircular end and a side aisle carried completely around, differs radically in design from the remainder of the edifice. A large chapel in two stories opens off to the eastward. The vaulting of the central aisle, the division into four stories, the high vaulted gallery, and the triforium recall Noyon. The shafts are banded; except a few round-headed windows, the pointed arch is consistently used. Wall ribs are used in all the vaults; in the curved bays of the side aisles the diagonals are curved in plan. The existing flying buttresses were added after the completion of the transept. This portion of Soissons, one of the most ethereal of all XII century designs, is the highest expression of that fairy-like, Saracenic phase of Gothic art that had first come into being at Noyon. Like Noyon, however, this transept lacks the elements of grandeur which are found in so striking a degree in the nave and choir of this same church of Soissons. For when the reconstruction of the choir was taken up, only a very few years later, no attempt was made to retain in the new work the dispositions of the old. Quadripartite vaults were employed instead of sexpartite; the triforium gallery was omitted; the height of the vault increased; for grace and daintiness was substituted power and grandeur. A peculiarity of the choir is the arrangement of the vaults of the ambulatory: each of the shallow radiating chapels is united with the corresponding compartments of the ambulatory in a single octopartite vault, whose center is placed nearly in line with the outside edge of the ambulatory. In the central aisle the system of five shafts rests upon the polygonal abaci of the columns, which are supplied with a single shaft engaged on the side of the nave. (Lefèvre-Pontalis.)

[1] Quamdam partem curiae suae in qua sita est dextra crux ecclesiae nostrae cum capella sancti Martini. — Bibl. Nat. Collection Baluze XLVI, p. 467, cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

[2] Arch. Nat. L. 742, No. 13, cit. Lefèvre-Pontalis.

[3] Anno: Mill | enno: biscen | teno: duod | eno: hunc | intrare: c | horum: ce | pit: grex | canonico | rum: te | rcio: idu | s: maii.

SÉEZ, Orne. *Église Cathédrale.* (Ill. 232.) A cathedral at Séez was dedicated March 19, 1126, but of this nothing survives. The sole documentary evidence for the date of the present structure is the following epitaph: "Here lies Jean of Bernières, formerly bishop of Séez, prudent, modest, and gracious; the builder of the church of Séez and defender of its rights, who died on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1292."[1] To judge from the style of the architecture, the nave was probably begun about the middle of the XIII century; by 1292 it must have been entirely finished, and the construction of the choir already begun. The church as it stands to-day, if it falls short of the greatest achievements of Gothic art, is still full of grace and beauty. Internally the design is characterized by the absence of a lantern, by a system of a single shaft engaged on the cylindrical piers and carried to the level of the springing, by the main arcade proportionately very high, by a low clearstory, and by a triforium consisting of three sets of coupled arches in each bay. The façade shows the influence of the local school in its lack of a rose window and in the shafting on the towers, which are crowned by charming spires. Although the central porch has great projection, it does not overlap the heavy western buttresses. The flying buttresses are double, without, however, highly developed pinnacles. While the clearstory wall is omitted, arcading of open-work tracery thoroughly Norman in character is retained inside the glass. The design of the choir is distinguished from that of the nave by the gables which surmount the arcades and by the glazed triforium. (Dumaine; De la Balle; Cotman.)

AUXERRE, Yonne. *Église Cathédrale St. Étienne.* William of Seignelay (1207–20), seeing that cathedrals were being rebuilt on all sides, saved up a sum of money for the reconstruction of his which menaced ruin. In 1215 he demolished the old choir and began a new, of which the construction had progressed considerably[2] at the time of his death in 1220. Although the biographer of Henri de Villeneuve (1220–34), who succeeded William, does not mention that this bishop continued the cathedral, the stained glass of the choir makes it almost certain that such was the case, for in the great windows at the end of the chevet may still be seen the figure of an Agnus Dei bearing a standard which is nothing else than the reversed seal of the bishop. Henri was buried (1234) in the choir of the cathedral, which must consequently have been finished at this time. From this moment the construction must have been pursued slowly, for although the style of the first bay of the nave is clearly that of the XIII century, the following five bays could hardly have been erected before the XIV century. During the early part of the Hundred Years' War building was entirely abandoned, being resumed only in 1413, when the southern portal of the transept was begun. In 1470 the western bays of the nave were attacked, but the façade was finished only in 1550. — Of the church as it stands to-day, the most interesting part is the choir — a noble example of the pure Gothic style, so much the

[1] Hic jacet Johannes dictus de Berneria quondam episcopus Sagiensis, prudens, modestus, gratiosus, aedificator ecclesiae Sagiensis, et ejus jurium defensor, qui obiit die Jovis in coena Domini videlicet 18 Kal Maii 1292. — Epitaph originally in cathedral preserved by Marigny and cited by Dumaine, p. 26.

[2] Lebeuf, Vol. I, pp. 339–360, cit. Inkersley.

more delightful that it still retains its ancient glass. The ambulatory, with only a single apsidal chapel, is covered with vaults analogous to those of St. Remi of Reims and Notre Dame of Châlons-sur-Marne; the polygonal chevet, however, is supplied with vaults of the Noyon type. Although the high vaults are quadripartite at present, the church was evidently originally planned for a sexpartite vault. The transepts, and those bays of the nave which date from the XIV century, are characterized by a system of shafts rising from the ground and receiving the ribs on small capitals. The portals are of the XIV century; the remainder of the façade, including the single tower, is flamboyant. (Porée; Nodier et Taylor; Inkersley.)

Abbaye St. Germain. Since his church had been severely damaged by two fires, Jean de Joceval, abbot of St. Germain († 1277), resolved to rebuild the monument. It is probable that works progressed rapidly at first, for Hugh of Guilly, dean of the chapter, was buried in 1289 at the end of the nave before the choir door. The construction was soon interrupted, however, — probably after the choir had been completed — but was resumed by Gaucher Dignon in 1309. In 1362 the Pope Urbain V gave to complete the building the sum of 4,541 gold florins from the papal treasury. This would seem to have been sufficient to finish an edifice already nearly constructed; yet it is recorded that in 1398 Hugh of Barlore gave 900 pounds for the vaults. The abbey is thus largely a monument of the XIV century, but unfortunately it has been much mutilated. The tower St. Jean is a fine Romanesque structure, surmounted by a flèche of the XII century. The church itself is notable for its high clearstory with flying buttresses and rayonnant tracery. (Nodier et Taylor.)

St. Eusèbe. The nave is said to have been rebuilt c. 1280; the octagonal tower, which rises directly over the altar and which forms a lantern internally, is of the XII century; the ambulatory is of the XIII century. The great flying buttresses supporting the tower were added in the flamboyant period. (Nodier et Taylor.)

BRAISNE, Aisne. *St. Yved.* This abbey of the order of Prémont, built by Agnès, wife of Robert of Dreux, is said to have been consecrated in 1216.[1] The transepts project the distance of one bay beyond the side aisles, which, however, terminate in semicircular apses two bays to the westward of the crossing. The seven-sided choir is without side aisles, but is supplied with nine radiating chapels. Both these dispositions are unparalleled. Except in the lantern which rises over the crossing, the vaults are quadripartite throughout; some of the shafts rise from the pavement, others rest upon the capitals of the monocylindrical columns. The eastern part of the choir is designed in the first manner, while the piers of the two western bays of the nave and of the transept are of the latter form. The nave has fine flying buttresses. (Von Bezold; Moore, 121.)

Monuments of the Second Class

MEAUX, Seine-et-Marne. *Église Cathédrale.* It is known that the princess Marie de France, who was buried in the cathedral in 1198, was a large benefactress of the church, and doubtless most of the work of the XII century in the existing edifice formed part of the building to which she contributed. At all events, a very thor-

[1] *Gall. Chris.* IX, 489

ough-going reconstruction was undertaken in 1268. Work seems to have progressed slowly, however, until the XIV century, when Jeanne of Navarre bequeathed a large sum to continue the works. In 1321 and 1331 chapels were founded. Jean du Drac, who occupied the episcopal throne from 1458 to 1473, commenced the northern tower, but this was not completed until c. 1530. The same bishop also continued the nave, and his arms may still be recognized in the dragons rampant on the third pier. Jean Shuillier, bishop from 1483–1500, whose arms may be seen on the fourth pier, must have carried forward the work of his predecessor. The canon Jean de Marcilly, who died in 1506, constructed at his own expense the portal beneath the northern tower, and founded the chapel of the Annunciation. Another canon founded in 1512 the chapel of the Visitation and built the northern side aisle. — The cathedral of Meaux, as it exists to-day, consists of a nave shorter than the choir (being only five bays long), double side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a chevet, and an ambulatory whose outer aisle is replaced, to the eastward, by five radiating chapels — the only chapels in the cathedral. Although the southern tower has never been erected, the façade with its rich sculpture is a masterpiece of flamboyant design. The gables, of which only the northern is ogeed, have flamboyant tracery, but no open-work. The northern tower, surmounted by a flat balustrade with four angle turrets, seems reminiscent of English perpendicular work. Although the main body of the edifice was almost entirely reconstructed in 1236 et seq., the original system of the XII century may still be made out in the choir, while the eastern bay of the nave on the south side and the easternmost two on the north side, together with the two bays on the west side of the north transept, largely retain their original forms. From these fragments, it is evident that the primitive church was supplied with quadripartite vaults resting upon a complete set of ribs and reinforced by flying buttresses. (Taylor; Moore, 120.)

ST. SATUR, Cher. *Abbaye.* (Ill. 235.) The construction of this abbey was begun in 1361, but in 1405 works were interrupted and never resumed.[1] The existing edifice, which consists of a five-sided chevet, a choir four bays long, an ambulatory and radiating chapels, ends abruptly at the crossing; all except the westernmost bay was undoubtedly completed by 1367. The diagonals of the ambulatory vault are curved in plan. There is no triforium, but the lower part of the clearstory windows are walled up to afford space for a lean-to roof over the aisles. The piers consist of a number of very small engaged colonnettes, each with its separate uncarved capital, though in some of the less important shafts the capital is omitted altogether. The spaces between the shafts, which tend to assume the forms of prismatic mouldings, are continued from pier to archivolt. Almost equally prophetic of flamboyant design are the bases with high and slender plinths which spread out over one another and tend to intersect. The vaults of the choir never seem to have been reinforced by flying buttresses. This monument is without question the best example that has come down to us of the style of the middle of the XIV century, and is of great value in showing to just what point Gothic had advanced at the time of the introduction of flamboyant art. (De Kersers VII, 50.)

[1] Arch. du Cher, Fonds de St. Satur. Inv. de 1656, f° 13, cit. De Kersers VII, 50.

GOURNAY, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Hildevert*, though half remodeled in the early Gothic period, still retains considerable portions of its original Norman architecture. It consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir of four bays. The nave, the northern absidiole, the east end of the choir, and the two half piers of the latter are the most ancient parts of the existing edifice, and are assigned to c. 1100 by Ruprich-Robert. From them it is evident that the Norman church was characterized by groin-vaulted side aisles, unmoulded archivolts in two orders, and square piers with engaged shafts. There was no gallery. The transepts and choir, reconstructed in the style of the Ile de France, are supplied with a continuous system of three shafts, the wall shaft being stopped at the triforium string. The two eastern bays of the nave at present have sexpartite vaults; the other vaults are quadripartite. These vaults all rest on corbels, and no attempt is made to adjust them to the original uniform system. Externally, the Gothic façade is flanked by two towers and supplied with a projecting central porch. (Ruprich-Robert; Moore, 103; Cotman; Benoist, 84.)

EU, Seine-Inférieure. *Abbaye St. Laurent.* While traveling in France in 1181, Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin, was taken mortally ill as he happened to be passing Eu; being told that the abbey belonged to the congregation of St. Victor, he went thither, and was presently overtaken by death. The people rushed to his tomb to offer prayers; he was at once popularly hailed as a saint; and when his body was found in 1186 uncorrupted he was duly canonized (1226).[1] "Meanwhile the church in which the holy body was lying seemed all unworthy of the Queen of Heaven and her so honored guest, and threatened ruin because of its age. Therefore it was torn down to the ground, and the tomb of the saint remained in the open air, trampled under foot by bird and beast. But soon, under the inspiration of heaven, that that holy body might not remain without honor, it was taken up and reburied in the crypt before the altar of St. Léger, and it was here placed on Thursday, April 17th, 1186."[2] It was doubtless immediately after this event that the construction of the existing edifice was begun. Since the relics were translated into the church in 1227, it is fair to assume that the new building was substantially finished by this time. In 1426 the building was so severely damaged by lightning that repairs were still incomplete in 1451. As the monument stands it is of great interest as one of the earliest Gothic monuments of Normandy. The simple exterior (except the flamboyant additions to the chevet and portals) is severely simple; the interior is an exceptionally pure example of the early Gothic style. The nave is eleven bays long; the transepts do not project. (De la Balle; Inkersley; Benoist.)

MANTES, Seine-et-Oise. *Notre Dame*, for the date of whose construction we have no documentary evidence, consists of a western transept across which the main

[1] *Gall. Chris.* XI, col. 293, cit. Inkersley, 76.

[2] Ecclesia siquidem in qua sanctum corpus jacebat quae nimirum coeli regina tantoque ejus hospiti minus sufficiens videbatur et sua vetustate miniabatur ruinam. Unde factum est ut diruta solo tenus tumulus beati viri remaneret sub divo bestiis et avibus conculcandus. Moxque consilio coelitus inspirato, ne minus honorifice remaneret, assumptum est sanctum ejus corpus et ante altare sancti Leodegarii, in cripta reconditum est et locatum quinto decimo calendas maii, feria quinta, anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo sexto. . . . cit. De la Balle.

arcades of the nave are carried, a nave of three double bays, two side aisles, a chevet, and an ambulatory originally without radiating chapels. The most extraordinary feature of the edifice is the triforium gallery, of which the eastern bays are covered by a series of barrel vaults with axes at right angles to that of the nave, and which was originally lighted by a series of oculi, though many of these have now been altered into rayonnant windows. In the western (later) bays of the nave the gallery is supplied with a groin, and not a barrel, vault. This gallery also has a balustrade — an unusual feature in this region — but there is no upper triforium. The high vaults are sexpartite, the supports being alternately piers and columns; they are reinforced by uniform flying buttresses with gables but without pinnacles. The lancet windows have no tracery. Externally, the façade is remarkable for the fine twin towers which flank the western gable. This church may be assigned to the end of the XII and to the beginning of the XIII centuries. (Von Bezold; Johnson.)

CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE, Marne. *Église Cathédrale St. Étienne.* There seems to be no documentary evidence for the building dates of this monument. The east end is clearly the earliest part of the existing structure, and may be assigned to the fourth decade of the XIII century. Notwithstanding the fact that the choir, which is only one bay long, has been sadly mutilated in the times of the Renaissance, when the original supports were replaced by the existing Doric columns and the vault most lamentably decorated, many Gothic details of great purity and beauty survive. At the fifth bay of the nave (counting from the east), there is noticeable a sudden change of style; west of this point the capitals become naturalistic and disappearing mouldings are introduced, although the window tracery still remains the same. The system of the nave consists of three shafts rising from the octagonal abaci of the monocylindrical piers and of two wall shafts rising from the triforium string. Altogether, this nave with its double flying buttresses and its perfect rayonnant tracery must be considered as among the most important examples we possess of the architecture of the XIV century. Two towers, both now deprived of spires, flank the choir; the northern, in part Romanesque, seems the only surviving fragment of the cathedral said to have been erected in 1147. The existing façade is a work of the Renaissance; the portal of the southern transept is modern.

ST. LOUP consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir and a three-sided apse. This monument is a superb example of rayonnant art

FÉCAMP, Seine-Inférieure. *Abbaye.* The abbey of Fécamp was burned on June 28, 1170;[1] the reconstruction, however, seems to have been immediately begun, for a new church was dedicated only eleven years later.[2] However, this consecration must have taken place long before the edifice was completed, for works were still in progress as late as 1219.[3] Interrupted at this date, the construction was carried to completion only the better part of a century later (1297). Fécamp, one of the purest examples of the Gothic style in Normandy, is a monument of great interest. The

[1] An dñi 1170 combusta est Fiscanensis ecclesia quarto kalendas Julii quarta feria post octavos pentecostes. — Sigebert, *Chron.*, p. 138, cit. Inkersley.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[3] *Gall. Chris.* XI, col. 209.

vaults are quadripartite; in each bay three shafts rise from the pavement, but the wall shafts are not carried below the triforium string, and receive capitals at the top of the stilt. The main portal of the XVII century is characterized by desperate poverty of invention; the lady chapel dates from the XIV and XV centuries. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

ST. QUENTIN, Aisne. *Église.* This collegiate church, whose dimensions are almost large enough for a cathedral, was perhaps designed by Villard de Honnecourt. The western tower, at least in its lower parts, is earlier than the main body of the church, and originally stood isolated as a campanile. It is known that in 1113 a reconstruction of the church of St. Quentin was projected, and that the choir was even begun, but it is not clear whether this building was ever completed. At all events the choir of the present structure was erected in the early XIII century. Hardly had it been finished, however, when the upper parts showed signs of yielding, and the vaults began to crack. It was found necessary to strengthen the buttresses and flying buttresses and insert longitudinal tie-rods. In 1257 these alterations were concluded and the choir dedicated. In 1316 new cracks appeared in the masonry; the ruin of the choir was averted only by reinforcing all the piers and columns. The construction of the northern transept was begun in 1334. In 1394 the high vaults of the choir had to be renewed. The southern transept was commenced in 1400; the nave was erected between 1400 and 1470. From 1468 to 1474 new works of restoration became necessary in the choir, and iron tie-rods across the central aisle had to be introduced. However, not even this entirely secured the stability of this part of the structure, though the building still stands. The choir of St. Quentin, in addition to its unfortunate history, is of interest for its remarkable plan, which includes double transepts (the eastern pair no higher than the side aisles), a polygonal chevet, double side aisles, and a complete set of radiating chapels. In the mouth of each of these chapels are placed two columns, so that each compartment of the ambulatory vault is divided into six parts. (Von Bezold; Gomart.)

ST. LÔ, Manche. *Notre Dame*, said to have been built between 1297 and 1497, is a most impressive monument. The interesting façade is flanked by two towers, of which the northern is of the early XIV century, the southern, with its portal, of the XV century. These towers are both octagonal and supplied with angle turrets and spires of the XVII century. The porches are recessed, not built out; the buttresses of the façade, being of slight projection, do not reach below the first story. The portals are remarkably unsymmetrical: the northern one, which is round-arched, is the widest; the central one is pointed and somewhat narrower: the southern is acutely pointed and very narrow. As usual in Normandy there is no rose window; the second story of the façade is formed of three great pointed windows, all equally large. The choir, which has an ambulatory, is characterized by monocylindrical supports with disappearing mouldings. The design of the interior, in general, is very irregular. There is no triforium: the clearstory windows are small. The edifice contains, it is said, fine glass. (De la Balle; Benoist V, 26.)

CAEN, Calvados. *St. Pierre.* (Ill. 257.) The spire of this church, con-

structed in 1308, is perhaps the finest Gothic spire ever designed. It is without internal supports from base to summit, being, in fact, nothing but a hollow pyramid. The tower stands to the south of the façade, which is remarkable for its great portal built, it is said, shortly before 1384. This portal is characterized by rayonnant tracery and open-work gables. The nave also dates in part from the XIV century, but the vault was constructed at a later epoch when other alterations as well were executed in a decadent style. The system of five shafts rising from the ground to the level of the springing of the vaults is crowned by small capitals with round abaci. Monocylindrical piers, on which are engaged the shafts of the system and a single colonnette beneath each of the archivolts, support the main arcade. The capitals carved with naturalistic foliage, genre scenes, etc., are very small; the archivolts are moulded with extreme richness in the Norman manner. A heavy balustrade runs the entire length of the triforium. The vault, which has multiple ribs and pendants, seems approximately contemporary with the choir. The latter is surrounded by an ambulatory and radiating chapels, all in the most florid and decadent style. Renaissance and flamboyant motives mingle freely, and no excess of unmeaning ornament is spared. (De la Balle.)

St. Sauveur (formerly Notre Dame-de-Froide-Rue) consists of two parallel naves each ending in its own apse. It is probable that only the northern of these naves existed in the XIV century. The spire, which imitates rather than rivals that of St. Pierre, dates from the XIV century, and the exterior gallery on the south wall is a masterpiece of flamboyant lace-work. (De la Balle.)

St. Sauveur-du-Marché. The tower of this desecrated edifice dates from the XIII century, and is ornamented with zig-zags, guilloches, and billets, — all extraordinary decorations for this epoch. The nave which seems to have been constructed in the XV century, has cylindrical columns, vanishing mouldings, and a triforium consisting of a heavy balustrade. The choir, begun in 1530, was finished, it is said, in 1546. (De la Balle.)

St. Jean. Neither the western tower of the XIV and XV centuries, nor the central tower of the XVI century, has ever been finished. The plan of the church is cruciform, but the choir of the XV century is longer than the nave of the XIV century. The edifice has been restored several times since 1842. (De la Balle.)

ORBAIS, Marne. *Abbaye.* The nave of this Benedictine abbey has been entirely destroyed, but the choir, the transepts, the ambulatory, and five radiating chapels survive. A barrel vault covers the rectangular portion of the lady chapel — a most remarkable disposition. The ambulatory vaults have broken diagonals; the chevet — notwithstanding the quadripartite vault — is vaulted in the same manner as that of Noyon. The system rises from the abaci of the circular piers. The clearstory, which is pierced by grouped lancets surmounted by an oculus, is combined into one composition with the triforium, and is reinforced by well-developed flying buttresses. With the exception of the one remaining mutilated bay of the nave the monument may be assigned to c. 1200. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 27.)

LONGPONT, Aisne. *Abbaye.* This abbey, now in a picturesque state of

ruin, belonged to the Cistercian order, but aside from the towerless façade shows none of the distinctive peculiarities of Cistercian churches. It is said to have been consecrated in 1237. The nave was nine bays long, the transepts had three aisles, the seven-sided chevet was supplied with an ambulatory and radiating chapels. The design is similar to that of Soissons except that there are no colonnettes engaged on the round piers, and the triforium is blind. (Von Bezold.)

Monuments of the Third Class

SENLIS, Oise. *St. Pierre.* The rich flamboyant façade of this desecrated edifice is characterized by a central gable flanked by turrets, and dates from the end of the XV century. Near the northern transept rises a tower whose lower parts are Romanesque, but which is crowned by a crocketed spire of the middle of the XV century. The choir dates from the XIII century; the nave, of which the projected vaults have never been executed, was constructed between 1400 and 1430. (Dupins, 13.)

St. Vincent consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, a fine lateral tower, and a rectangular choir. The style of the edifice seems to be that of the early XIII century. The pointed arch is consistently used, and the church is vaulted throughout, though many of the vaults are without ribs. There is no tracery; the buttresses, however, are well developed. A Renaissance portal has been added to the west façade, but it is said that the old Gothic entrance still exists underneath. (Magne; Johnson.)

St. Frambourg. This desecrated church, which is said to have been begun in 1177, consists of a single-aisled nave and a semicircular apse. The vaulting is sexpartite, the chevet vault being disposed as at Noyon. With the exception of the wall shaft, which stops at the impost level in the alternate piers, the system is continuous. The windows are without tracery. The façade is furnished with an enormous rose window which has been walled up. (Johnson.)

ST. RIQUIER, Somme. *Abbaye.* "The abbot Peter III [1457–60] at once devoted himself heart and soul to the restoration of his church and monastery. He paved the church with stones brought from Holland, and he attended to repairing and leading the roof. He built the tomb in the lady chapel in 1460 and many other things. The buildings were destroyed [*i.e.* damaged?] by storms and especially by the Burgundian War, but owing to the incredible zeal of the new abbot [Peter IV] they were completely restored and in a better fashion by 1479. Peter IV died and lies in the lady chapel; over his tomb is this epitaph: 'This Peter founded the rock of the church on many foundations and decorated it with many ornaments and restored the old arches.' . . . Eustache II repaired the building that had shortly before [1487] been destroyed by the devouring flames. He built the lady chapel and adorned the church with vaults. He died in 1517."[1] It is usually said that

[1] Petrus III le Prêtre, 1457. Statim Petrus ecclesiae et monasterii reparationibus se totum contulit, ecclesiam pavimentis ex Hollandia delatis stravit, ejusque tigna plumbo et tegulis tegi curavit. Sepulcrum in sacello beatae Mariae 1460, multaque alia construxit. Tempestatum ac praecipue belli Burgundici sorte destructa aedificia, meliorem in modum incredibile abbatis zelo renovata absoluta fuissent 1479. Obiit et in sacello beatae Mariae sepultus jacet, cum

the edifice was entirely rebuilt after the fire of 1487. Such, however, does not seem to have been the case, for in the choir survive many fragments (the lower part of the piers of the crossing, the eastern side of the transept, etc.) which from their style must evidently date from the end of the XIII or beginning of the XIV century. The remainder of the church is a typical example of flamboyant architecture. To judge from the style, by the death of Eustache (1517) the choir, the transepts, and the lower part of the nave must have been finished. The nave clearstory was erected soon afterwards but on an altered plan. (Von Bezold.)

BREUIL-BENOÎT, Eure. *Abbaye* consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, transepts, a polygonal chevet, an ambulatory, and radiating chapels. The construction was probably commenced as early as the end of the XII century, for the dedication, it is said, was celebrated by Richard, bishop of Évreux, in 1224. The extremely oblong vaulting compartments are covered with quadripartite vaults, which are reinforced by flying buttresses well-developed but deprived of all ornament. A simple balustrade replaces the triforium. The cylindrical piers are each surrounded by four engaged octagonal colonnettes. The central one of these colonnettes receives no capital, but ends in a corbel supporting the three shafts of the system. Crockets and square abaci characterize the capital. The nave of this interesting monument is in excellent preservation, and the ruins of the choir are very picturesque. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

SENS, Yonne. *St. Jean.* While there is no documentary evidence for the building dates of this abbey church, whose nave has been destroyed but whose choir is still intact, the style is evidently that of the first years of the XIII century. The polygonal chevet is supplied with an ambulatory and a single apsidal chapel. Although the windows are grouped, there is no tracery. Since there are no flying buttresses and the present vaults date only from the XV century, it is probable that in the Gothic period the church was roofed in timber.

GONESSE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a choir with ambulatory but without radiating chapels. The choir, which is covered with sexpartite vaults and supplied with flying buttresses, seems to be the oldest part of the existing structure, and may be assigned to the end of the XII century. In the easternmost bay the piers are of square section with a shaft let into the angles, a plain pilaster supporting the main transverse rib, and round shafts on either side carrying the diagonals; the intermediate supports consist of coupled columns like those of Sens. The cinquepartite ambulatory vault is supplied with broken ribs and the chevet vault is of the same type as that employed at Noyon. The nave is evidently somewhat later than the choir, for its triforium can hardly be earlier than the second half of the XIII century. It is at present roofed in wood, but since the system is alternate, vaults were doubtless projected. A tower, contemporary with the choir, rises over the southern side aisle. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 10; Moore, 119.)

hoc epitaphio: "Hic Petrus petram ecclesiae multis fundamentis solidavit, plurimis ornamentis decoravit, veteranas arces restauravit. . . . Eustachius II. Reparat aedificia voracibus flammis recens destructa 1487. Sacellum beatae Mariae aedificari, ecclesiam fornicibus ornari fecit Interiit anno 1517. — *Gall. Chris.* X, col. 1259, 1260, cit. Inkersley, 118.

VINCENNES, Seine. *Sainte Chapelle du Château.* This monument begun by Charles V (1364–80) and Charles VI (1380–1422) remained nearly a century uncompleted, being at last finished by François I (1515–47) and Henri II (1547–59). The architects of the Renaissance, however, scrupulously preserved the Gothic design in ensemble and in detail, so that it is now impossible even to perceive at what point the works were interrupted. The edifice consists of a single-aisled nave and a polygonal apse. Design and details are alike exquisite. The tracery is rayonnant in the apse, flamboyant elsewhere. The capitals are of very diminutive size. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 81.)

AUBIGNY, Cher. *St. Martin.* This monument, which is assigned by M. de Kersers to the early years of the XIII century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a three-sided apse. The monocylindrical piers are surrounded by four colonnettes which almost stand free: The system is uniform, but the vault in the nave is sexpartite, even though the spacing of the piers would have given a quadripartite vault nearly a square plan. This system is further peculiar in that the diagonal and wall ribs spring from capitals placed lower than those of the transverse ribs. In the alternate piers both wall and diagonal ribs are gathered on a single shaft, which is carried only as far as the main capitals, although the transverse shaft is continuous. The present triforium consists of a series of doors; since the thresholds of these are much worn it is probable that a wooden gallery formerly existed. One of the southern portals, although the detail is fully Gothic, is round-arched. The chevet vault is of the Noyon type; the extreme eastern and western bays of the choir are covered with quadripartite rib vaults. The unfinished western tower is of the XV or XVI century; the principal portal is of the XV century; and the various chapels were subsequently added at different times. Externally the flying buttresses are placed at different levels corresponding to the alternately high and lower springing of the ribs. (De Kersers.)

PACY, Eure. *Église.* This beautiful monument under a plain and unadorned exterior conceals an interior that is a veritable gem of early Gothic art. The construction was doubtless begun in the last decade of the XII century, and it is probable that the monument, with the exception of the transept vaults which were not erected before the XIV and XV centuries, was entirely finished by c. 1210. The entire church is only six bays long, and the length of these bays diminishes as the west end is approached. The simple plan comprises a nave, two side aisles, nonprojecting transepts, and a choir. Pointed arches are used throughout. The system consists of a single shaft resting on a corbel above the abaci of the cylindrical piers. The diagonals usually rest on corbels at the clearstory level, though in certain piers the three shafts are carried to the ground. Though the quadripartite rib vaults are of the fully developed Gothic type with wall ribs, there are no flying buttresses. The triforium in the nave is much developed, but the clearstory is low, each bay being pierced by two small windows. The details throughout, and especially the capitals, are exquisite. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

GISORS, Eure. *St. Gervais et St. Protais* is one of the most interesting religious edifices of Normandy. A church dedicated in 1119 was destroyed by a fire kindled by Robert de Candos in 1224. Thanks, however, to the liberalities of the

queen, Blanche of Castille, the church was soon raised from its ruins, and on May 12, 1249, Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, celebrated the dedication of the new edifice. It is probable that only the choir and the tower were finished at this time, for the nave, the side aisles, the chapels, and the façade evidently date from the XV and XVI centuries. The dimensions of the church are almost those of a cathedral; there are five aisles, three towers, and an ambulatory. In the choir the supports are columns, and the system is logical. The nave and especially the façade are characterized by a mixture of Renaissance and flamboyant motives. On the southern side of the nave the flying buttresses of ogee form are treated with open work. The southern aisle internally is characterized by lierne vaults, disappearing ribs, and columns ornamented with strange spiral paneling. (De la Balle; Moore, 122; Benoist II, 81.)

CHAMPAGNE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, which may be assigned to the last years of the XII century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts (which retain their Romanesque absidioles), and a square east end. The central tower, with its groups of angle shafts and slender colonnettes, is a masterpiece of early Gothic design. The façade without towers is simple and effective; the rose windows are filled with early tracery, and the flying buttresses are supplied with gables. Internally, on the abaci of the monocylindrical piers rest three shafts which carry the five ribs of the quadripartite vault. The clearstory and triforium are combined in a traceried composition, of which the oculi of the clearstory form the upper part. (Baudot; Johnson; Moore, 173.)

DIVES, Calvados. *Notre Dame.* With the exception of certain fragments of the XI century, this monument belongs entirely to the XIV and XV centuries. The exterior, without flying buttresses and with great unbroken wall surfaces, shows unmistakable English influence. For the rest, the edifice is remarkable for its square east end, its transepts without side aisles, its square donjon-like tower. Some of the carving in the flamboyant portals is of exquisite delicacy. (De la Balle.)

CHAMPEAUX, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* The transepts, the oldest portion of this monument, are assigned to the end of the XII century; the nave and the tower to the first half of the XIII century; and the choir to the second half of the same century. The plan of the church forms a Greek cross, and comprises a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a square chevet, an ambulatory, and eastern chapels. A single tower stands to the westward. The vault is sexpartite; the alternate supports are monocylindrical; the intermediate consists of two very slender columns coupled in the transverse sense. The wall shaft receives a capital at the top of the stilting. In the intermediate piers, two shafts resting on the abaci of the capitals of the main arcade carry three ribs; in the alternate piers, three shafts carry five ribs. The alternate piers are reinforced by flying buttresses. The triforium consists of a series of great traceried oculi similar to those of Paris; the clearstory is pierced with lancet windows. The archivolts of the main arcade are unmoulded, and the bases abnormally high. Groin vaults cover the side aisles. (Baudot; Moore; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 39.)

NORREY, Calvados. *Église.* This beautiful little monument, which, unfor-

tunately, has never been finished, consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts with chapels, a fine central tower whose spire has never been completed, a chevet, an ambulatory, and two apsidal chapels, crowned externally with curious spires recalling those of St. Nicolas of Caen. The well-developed flying buttresses are thoroughly French in style, but the capitals with round and polygonal abaci, the naturalistic foliage, and the excess of unrestrained ornament, which characterize the interior, seem English. The ambulatory vault has broken diagonals. This monument may be assigned to the third quarter of the XIII century. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 39.)

CHAPELLE-SUR-CRÉCY, Seine-et-Marne. *Église*, which consists of a nave, two side aisles, and three apses, was erected c. 1210, but altered in the flamboyant period. Of the latter epoch are the first three bays of the gallery on each side of the nave. The vaults, reinforced by well-developed flying buttresses, are quadripartite; the five ribs are carried on a system of three shafts rising from corbels placed just above the capitals of the monocylindrical piers. The arches of triforium and clearstory are trilobed; the latter are filled with simple plate tracery. (Baudot; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 46.)

GRAND-ANDELY, Eure. *Notre Dame.* The greater portion of this monument — the west façade, the nave, the choir, and the side aisles — may be assigned to the middle of the XIII century. In the XV century the low central tower was added, and about the end of the same century the southern transept was constructed. The line of lateral chapels on the south side of the nave seems to have been added in the XVI century — at the same time the triforium, clearstory, and flying buttresses were rebuilt, — while the northern transept up to the clearstory level, its façade, and the two chapels which flank it were built between 1550 and 1575. Internally, the nave is characterized by a continuous system of three shafts, capitals with square abaci, and fine glass of the XVI century. The façade, flanked by two towers, is supplied with three recesses (two of which are blind), but has no buttresses. Fine details and jambs consisting of shafts standing in front of an arcade — an English motive — are the distinguishing features of the central portal. The east end is square. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

THIERVAL, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, which may be assigned to c. 1210, is entirely covered with quadripartite vaults, whose transverse and diagonal ribs — the wall ribs are omitted — are carried on corbels. The lofty clearstory is pierced in each bay by three lancets, but the triforium has plate tracery. A single colonnette is engaged on the aisle side of the square piers. The buttresses are heavy; the flying buttresses, well developed. The octagonal tower, which is only one story high, is characterized by shafted angles and pointed windows. (Baudot.)

LOUVIERS, Eure. *Notre Dame.* The existing nave and choir doubtless belonged to the church consecrated in 1226,[1] but the tower, which has almost the appearance of a donjon, was added in 1336 during the English occupation. According to notes in the parish register, the outside walls (including presumably both the present double side aisles) were reconstructed in 1493–96. The existing edifice

[1] *Gall. Chris.* XI, col. 584, cit. Inkersley, 81. — De la Balle states (without citing his authority) that a text of 1341 gives the dates of construction as 1218 or 1220.

consists of a nave, double side-aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The system rises from the octagonal abaci of the monocylindrical piers. Remarkable features of the interior design are the triforium with flat lintels and trilobed arches, and the clearstory with trilobed arches and plate tracery. The vaulting is quadripartite. The southern portal is a gorgeous piece of flamboyant lace-work in which the hanging arch and flattened ogee curve occur. (De la Balle; Benoist; Cotman.)

CHIRY-OURSCAMP, Oise. *Abbaye d'Ourscamp.* The vaults of this ruined abbey have all fallen, but the choir with its ambulatory — which is double up to the point where the radiating chapels begin — are still in fair preservation. Cylindrical piers and a continuous system of three shafts characterize the chevet. The monument may be assigned to the end of the XIII century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

FERRIÈRES, Seine-et-Marne. *Église*, which may be assigned to c. 1200, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and three polygonal apses whose vaults are of the same type as that of the chevet of Amiens. From the octagonal abaci of the monocylindrical piers rise three shafts carrying the five ribs of the quadripartite vaults. The wall rib has a capital at the top of the stilting. Flying buttresses are concealed beneath the aisle roofs. The triforium consists of a continuous arcade, the clearstory of a series of oculi. There is simple tracery in the western rose window; elsewhere there is none. (Baudot; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 44.)

MONT-NOTRE-DAME, Aisne. *Église Collégiale* is in a poor state of preservation. The choir, which was supplied with an ambulatory, and the transepts disappeared in a fire of 1568, but their foundations together with the ancient crypt, which, although it has been called Carolingian, can hardly be earlier than the second quarter of the XII century, survive. Also three bays of the nave still stand, without, however, their vaults which fell in 1642. From these ruins it is evident that the ancient edifice, which may be assigned to c. 1230, contained a western narthex flanked by two towers, a fine clearstory with simple tracery, and cylindrical piers on each of which was engaged a single colonnette. (Lefèvre-Pontalis; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 54.)

CHITRY, Yonne. *Église* is of especial interest for its fortifications, which consist of four flanking towers and a trench surrounding the edifice. The church properly so-called consists of a long narrow unadorned nave said to date from the XIII century and a single side aisle added at the beginning of the XIV century. (Quantin.)

BOUGIVAL, Seine-et-Oise. *Notre Dame* consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles which end in chapels flanking the choir, a choir of a single bay surmounted by a tower, and a five-aisled apse. The tower, which is the most interesting part of the monument, is surmounted by a spire with four angle turrets. A developed chevet vault covers the apse. In the nave the system of three shafts rises from the abaci of the cylindrical piers; there are no flying buttresses; the clearstory windows are oculi. The portal has lost all artistic and archaeological value through restoration. The apse, the choir, and the tower may be assigned

to the closing years of the XII century; the nave is of the XIII century. (Lambin, 83; Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

Monuments of the Fourth Class

AMBLENY, Aisne. *Église* consists of a nave of four bays, two side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal apse. The nave, which is assigned to c. 1220 by M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is characterized by pointed arches in the main arcade, monocylindrical piers with crocketed capitals, and slender shafts rising from the abaci to support the ribs of the vaults. The side aisles, also vaulted, are of the same period. Over the crossing is a well-preserved rib vault, which is assigned to the last third of the XII century. With the exception of the vault of the southern transept rebuilt in the XIII century the transepts and their vaults are contemporary with the crossing. The choir, erected in the XVI century, is a monument of the Renaissance. The façade with its fine gabled portal and the central tower are of the XIII century. (Lefèvre-Pontalis II, 114.)

ARDENNES, Calvados. *Abbaye.* It is known that c. 1213 the vaults of this abbey fell, killing the abbot and twenty-five canons.[1] A complete rebuilding must have been begun, to judge from the style of the existing edifice, about 1250. Jean de Blond (1297–1324) advanced the construction energetically, but the edifice cannot have been finished until long after his death, for the present façade must date from the middle of the XIV century, while its rose window is evidently even later. This façade has octagonal turrets. Otherwise the exterior is remarkable for the absence of flying buttresses. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 31.)

ST. BAGNEUX, Seine. *St. Herbeland* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, and a rectangular choir whose easternmost bay is surmounted by a sexpartite vault. In the nave three shafts rise from the abaci of the monocylindrical piers to carry the five ribs of the vaults; in the choir there are grouped columns of various designs. The triforium has round arches, the clearstory consists of a series of oculi. The flying buttresses are an addition of 1847; the tower is also modern; the portal and the choir may be assigned to c. 1200; the nave is somewhat later. (Lambin, 13.)

NANGIS, Seine-et-Marne. *St. Martin.* This church of the early XIII century is supplied with an ambulatory, quadripartite vaults, a system of five shafts resting on the abaci of the piers, cylindrical supports on each of which are engaged four colonnettes, a continuous triforium, and a clearstory of lancet windows. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 157.)

NEUILLY-SUR-MARNE, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Baudile* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a lateral tower, and a rectangular choir. The ribs of the quadripartite vaults are supported on shafts rising from the abaci of the monocylindrical piers. The clearstory windows are surmounted by lintels slightly triangular in form. Externally the edifice is remarkable for its portal whose pointed arches are ornamented with chevrons and for the absence of flying buttresses. The church seems to be a

[1] *Gall. Chris.* XI, col. 559, cit. Inkersley, 88.

homogeneous structure of the last quarter of the XII century. According to tradition it was constructed by Foulque, the curé of Neuilly who preached the Fourth Crusade. (Lambin.)

CHAMPIGNY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The nave is covered with square quadripartite vaults surmounting an alternate system, but the side-aisles are groin-vaulted. The semicircular apse, which seems slightly earlier than the nave, doubtless dates from the first years of the XIII century. (Lambin, 32.)

MAREIL-MARLY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave of three bays, two side aisles, and three apses of which the central one is polygonal. Although much modernized, the tower, together with its spire and four angle turrets, seems to be the most ancient part of the edifice. The nave is characterized by quadripartite vaults, monocylindrical piers, a well-developed triforium, a clearstory, consisting of a series of oculi, and a system of three shafts rising from the abaci. There are no flying buttresses. The arches are all pointed, but the windows are without tracery. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 52.)

VOULTON, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* This edifice, constructed at the end of the XII or beginning of the XIII century, was burned in 1567 and, even worse, was "restored" in 1839. It consists of a nave, two side aisles, and three semicircular apses. The system is alternate, but the nave vaults are quadripartite and embrace double bays, except in the easternmost bay where there is an octopartite vault, embracing three bays. All the vaults are without wall ribs, but are reinforced by well-developed flying buttresses placed only where needed. The side aisles are covered with groin vaults supplied with transverse ribs. The windows are round-headed, but most of the other arches are pointed. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 63; Aufauvre et Fichot.)

TILLARD, Oise. *Église*, constructed (it is said) in 1340, consists of a single-aisled nave covered with a wooden roof, and a polygonal apse. This little monument is in excellent preservation, and is remarkable for the simplicity and refinement of its detail. The tracery of the windows is rayonnant, though tending to become flamboyant; angle buttresses occur in the apse. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 77.)

VERNOUILLET, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a central tower, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The tower, a fine Romanesque structure, is surmounted by a noble Gothic spire with dormers and angle turrets. The nave, of which only two bays survive, is characterized by quadripartite rib vaults without wall ribs, developed buttresses, monocylindrical piers, and a system rising from the abaci. Groin vaults surmount the side aisles and the transepts. The northern transept with its chapel dates from about the middle of the XIII century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 29; Baudot.)

BOULOGNE-SUR-SEINE, Seine. *Église* of the XIV century consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and an apse. The two western bays of the nave and the façade are modern. (Lambin, 87.)

LOUVECIENNES, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consisted originally of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir, but in the XIX century the tower, two bays of

the nave, and the northern side aisle were torn down. The crossing and the remaining side aisle are vaulted; the nave is roofed in wood. The clearstory is formed of a series of oculi. A remarkable feature is the rose window of the east end. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 51; Baudot.)

NESLES, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a polygonal apse flanked by two chapels. The vaults are sexpartite with stilted wall ribs; the system is peculiar in that the intermediate shafts rise from the triforium string directly over the crowns of the arches of the main arcade. The alternate system of three shafts rests directly on the abaci. There is a continuous triforium and a high clearstory. Externally, the main body of the edifice is characterized by well-developed buttresses in several ressauts and by the absence of flying buttresses. The interesting central tower of c. 1160 is ornamented with two stories of round-arched openings richly moulded in several orders, a very Lombardesque arched corbel-table, and angle buttresses composed of grouped shafts. The spire has turrets but no dormers. The façade is notable for its rose window filled with beautiful early tracery — or rather cusping, — and for its single turret. To judge from the style the nave and choir must date from c. 1200. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 25; Baudot.)

AIRES-LES-MELLO, Orne. *Église* seems originally to have consisted of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir, but outer side aisles and chapels have been added. The vault is quadripartite; the system was probably originally continuous with the exception of the wall shaft which rose from the triforium level. Although some of the arches are round, the windows are filled with plate tracery. (Johnson.)

ARCUEIL, Seine. *St. Denis.* The two first bays of the nave are of the XV century; the two which follow are of the middle of the XIII century; and the rectangular choir, two bays long, is of the end of the XII century. A triforium occurs in the nave, but not in the choir; the clearstory consists of a series of oculi; the portal is modern. (Lambin, 27.)

PUISEAUX, Loiret. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square chevet surrounded, nevertheless, by an ambulatory. Over the crossing rises an octagonal tower. The choir, which seems to date from the last years of the XII century, is characterized by simple flying buttresses. The nave built originally a little later has been altered in the XIV and XV centuries, but the clearstory retains its ancient lancet windows. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 28; Dumesnil.)

FEUCHEROLLES, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, with square east end, was erected at the end of the XII century, but was altered in the XIII and XIV centuries. The quadripartite vaults of the nave are oblong in the latitudinal sense; the vaults of the side aisles (which are very narrow) are oblong in the longitudinal sense. Owing to their excessive width the nave vaults are highly domed. There is a complete set of ribs, all of simple profile, springing from the system of three shafts at a level above the main pier capitals but below the true springing of the vault. There is no clearstory. Externally, the edifice is characterized by well-developed buttresses and a

central octagonal tower of the XII century with a spire. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 23; Baudot.)

BLANGY, Seine-Inférieure. *Notre Dame.* The façade of the XIII or XIV century is supplied with a rose window and is flanked by two stub towers. The transepts, the choir, and the central tower are also of the Gothic period. In 1524 Robert Robitaille, master builder of Eu, was charged with the reconstruction of the entire south side of the nave, said works to be completed within three years. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

BRIE-COMTE-ROBERT, Seine-et-Marne. *Église* is an important monument which has unfortunately never been adequately published. It seems to date mainly from the XIII century, but has suffered from Renaissance alterations. The tower is of especial interest. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

BOIS-COMMUN, Loiret. *Église.* The quadripartite vaults are remarkable in that the wall rib is not stilted. The system is logical and continuous, and the thrust of the vaults is met by salient buttresses, there being no flying buttresses. Although in general the profiles are advanced in style, in the portal the round arch and the griffe still survive. The triforium consists of two groups of two arches; the clearstory has lancet windows. (Baudot.)

BEAUMONT-LE-ROGER, Eure. *St. Nicholas.* Of the church of the XIII century, only the piers on the south side of the nave survive, the remainder of the edifice having been rebuilt in the second half of the XV century. An inscription above the windows of the tower bears the legend H[enri] II, 1554; the choir is said to have been completed a year before this, or in 1553. The tower remains unfinished to this day. The choir has a clearstory, but the slope of the nave roof is continuous. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 48.)

Prieuré. This ruined edifice of the XIII century has neither transepts nor side aisles. (Benoist II, 48.)

AZY, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century consists of a single-aisled plaster-vaulted nave and a rectangular choir of two bays. The choir is covered with rib vaults; the diagonal shafts rest on corbels flanking the capitals. (De Kersers VI, 265.)

ALLOGNY, Cher. *Église.* A text of 1212 which speaks of "the *new* chapel of Allogny," must refer to the present edifice. The church is a simple rectangular structure with square east end and a wooden roof. The western portal is round-arched, but the windows are pointed. (De Kersers VI, 194.)

ST.-PÈRE-SOUS-VÉZELAY, Yonne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and three polygonal apses, the whole preceded by a deep narthex with three portals. This narthex was rebuilt in the XIV and XV centuries; the choir is of the end of the XIV century; the remainder of the church may be assigned to c. 1230. Although the vaults are quadripartite, the system of the nave is alternate; the shafts rest on corbels in the intermediate supports, elsewhere they are continuous. The flying buttresses are very clumsy. The façade and the northwest tower seem reminiscent of Vézelay. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist II, 40; Gonse.)

AINAY-LE-VIEIL, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century, terminates to the westward in a massive tower. The choir and the nave have low rib vaults. In the west-

ern bay the ribs rest on colonnettes, but in the others they fall on clumsy corbels. The vault of the five-sided apse seems to have been added at the end of the XV century. The chapel dates from the same epoch. (De Kersers VII, 174.)

LAGNY, Seine-et-Marne. *Abbaye St. Pierre.* This church, which is supplied with an ambulatory, was erected in the early XIII century, but the triforium was in part rebuilt in the XIV century, and the existing groin vaults of the nave are probably modern, since the five shafts of the system rising from the abaci of the piers seem to have been designed to support rib vaults. For the rest the nave is characterized by piers on each of which are engaged four colonnettes and by a glazed triforium. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 179.)

LA-FERTÉ-ALEPS, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts with absidioles, and a semicircular apse. Quadripartite vaults surmount the logical and continuous system, except in the apse which is vaulted with a chevet-vault. The external buttresses are well-developed, the windows all pointed. The north lateral tower is characterized by arched corbel-tables, pointed arches, and a spire with plain dormers and angle turrets. (Baudot.)

DONNEMARIE, Seine-et-Marne. *Église*, remarkable for the sculpture of the portals, consists of a rectangular choir of the XIII century, a lateral tower of the same epoch, a nave (perhaps slightly later) characterized by a high clearstory and clumsy flying buttresses, and two side aisles. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

VIRE, Calvados. *Notre Dame.* Of the church built by Henry I (1100–35) only the lower part of the portal together with a few capitals survive. The style of the nave and the two side aisles — the latter were altered in the XV century — seems to be that of the early XIII century, although these portions are said to have been consecrated in 1272. The beautiful south transept is of the early XIV century, and the tower is about contemporary. Two distinct strata of construction — one of the XV century, the other of the XVI — may be distinguished in the choir. Externally the edifice is characterized by large areas of flat wall surface and small pointed windows which are without tracery even in the flamboyant choir. The western rose window likewise has no tracery. The flying buttresses are unornamented, except for their insignificant pinnacles. In the interior, a single shaft rises from the abaci of the uncarved capitals of the main arcade; the diagonal ribs of the great vaults are in several orders, unmoulded. The choir is characterized by an ambulatory, disappearing mouldings, and the absence of a triforium. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 85.)

VAUX-DE-CERNAY, Seine-et-Oise. *Abbaye.* This ruined Cistercian abbey is said to have been commenced at the end of the XII century, and to have been finished a hundred years later. It consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts with four eastern absidioles, and a rectangular choir. Pointed arches are used throughout, but the edifice is groin-, not rib-vaulted. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 60.)

AGNETZ, Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal choir. The nave may be assigned to c. 1245; the system of three shafts is continuous, the clearstory is filled with bar tracery, the flying buttresses have gables. The west window, however, has rayonnant tracery, and is evidently later. A single

turret relieves the somewhat uninteresting façade. The choir dates from the XVI century; one of its stained glass windows bears the date 1540. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 66; Johnson.)

LOROY, Cher. *Abbaye.* Of this edifice of the XIII century only the four great arches which opened into the choir and adjacent chapels survive. From these it is evident that the choir walls were bare and unornamented; that four square apsidal chapels opened off the transepts, and that the arches were pointed throughout. (De Kersers III, 33.)

ST.-JEAN-AUX-BOIS, Oise. *Abbaye.* Although assigned by M. Sauvageot to the reign of Louis VII (1137–90), this edifice more probably dates from c. 1200. It consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a rectangular choir. Sexpartite vaults cover the choir and even the crossing, a pier to carry the intermediate rib being placed in the axis of the transept. The nave vault, however, is quadripartite; the ribs rest on corbels. Externally the monument is characterized by the well-developed buttresses of several ressauts, and by the lancet windows of the clearstory. (Baudot; Sauvageot.)

TRIEL, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* was constructed at the end of the XII century, or perhaps in the early years of the XIII; in the XV century the buttresses of the north and western façades were repaired, and chapels erected along the southern side aisle; in the XVI century the choir was demolished and rebuilt in the Renaissance style at a higher level, so as to allow a roadway to pass beneath it; in modern times the tower has been completely made over. The edifice as it stands is extremely irregular. It is vaulted throughout: in the nave, the system of five shafts springs from the abaci of the cylindrical piers. The vaults are abutted by flying buttresses scientifically adjusted, but unornamented save for their plain gables. The triforium is high; the windows of the low clearstory appear to have been changed from lancets into traceried triangles late in the XIII century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 27.)

QUETTELIOU, Manche. *St. Vigor.* This parish was given to the abbey of Fécamp in 1214, and it is probable that the present church was constructed in the years immediately following. Originally the edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir, but in the XV century a northern side aisle and a lateral tower were added. The east end, although square, is covered with a radiating rib vault. The church is vaulted throughout, and supplied with a logical system. (De la Balle.)

TRACY-LE-VAL, Oise. *St. Éloi* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, a semicircular apse, and a lateral tower. The sanctuary is vaulted in the Lombard style, but there is no system. The wooden-roofed nave has rectangular piers in two orders. A few slightly pointed arches occur in the façade, although the greater number are round-headed. The gabled porch projects; its several orders are decorated with chevrons and dentil mouldings. The octagonal tower rests upon a square base, and is surmounted by a low pyramidal roof; its arches are pointed, but the decoration in chevrons, arched corbel-tables, etc., is evidently of the XII century. (Baudot.)

MONCEL Oise. *Abbaye* was founded in 1309, and the church was conse-

crated in 1337. All the buildings were, therefore, presumably erected between these dates. There is still extant the treasury — a square vaulted structure in which capitals are omitted, — the chapter-house, the kitchen, the dormitory with its original timber roof, fragments of the cloisters, etc. These are among the best preserved monastic ruins in France.

NOGENT-SUR-MARNE, Seine. *St. Saturnin.* This monument of the early XIII century, much rebuilt in the flamboyant period, possesses a fine transitional tower with spire. The edifice itself consists of an interior narthex, a nave of three bays — the first two of which are of the XV century — two side aisles, and a rectangular choir two bays long. There is no clearstory. (Lambin, 79.)

LAIGLE, Orne. *St. Martin.* At the southwest angle rises a small tower of the XI century crowned by a well-developed spire. The nave, of which only the two ends are ancient, was erected somewhat later; the existing choir is of the XIII century. In 1494 the northern side aisle and the fine northern tower were constructed, and in 1546–57 the southern side aisle was added. (De la Balle.)

St. Jean. This single-aisled chapel became a parish church c. 1350. Later a northern side aisle was constructed. In the choir survives a fragment of a wall of the XII century. (De la Balle.)

GROSLAY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a polygonal apse. The southern side of the first four bays of the nave together with the vaults of this part of the edifice are of the XIII century, the remainder of the building is in the style of the first half of the XVI century, — in fact the date 1542 is engraved on one of the buttresses of the southern wall. The abaci of the capitals of the XIII century portions are octagonal. There is a central tower. (Lambin, 113.)

MELUN, Seine-et-Marne. *Notre Dame.* The church of the XI century was not vaulted, but at the end of the XII century it was resolved to erect vaults. Consequently, the ancient supports of the nave were made over, and the choir was entirely reconstructed. In the times of the Renaissance the existing façade was built. At present, the system of the nave consists of a single shaft bearing three ribs, but the Romanesque system seems to have been alternate — there was no shaft engaged on the nave side of the piers, but transverse arches were probably thrown across the aisles from the alternate piers. The archivolts were of a single order, unornamented. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist.)

BOURAY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave two bays long and a rectangular choir of the same length, both flanked by side aisles. There is no clearstory. The choir and its southern aisle, which are evidently the oldest portions of the church, are assigned to the first years of the XIII century; the remainder of the edifice is flamboyant in style. (Lambin, 100.)

IDS-ST.-ROCH, Cher. *Église* assigned to c. 1200 by M. de Kersers is characterized by a cruciform plan and a square east end. Choir and transepts are rib-vaulted, the ribs being supported by a complete set of shafts; the crossing has a plaster vault. The western portal is round-arched. The church is supplied with a species of lateral piazza not uncommon in this region. (De Kersers IV, 19.)

CHENNEVIÈRES, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Pierre.* The nave, in which the pointed arch is consistently used, is three bays long; the choir consists of one bay, similar to those of the nave but smaller, a second bay much higher, and a two-sided apse with a corner on axis. The vault and triforium of the nave have disappeared, but the vault of the choir, originally lower, still remains. Undoubtedly the monument is of the XIII century. (Lambin, 57.)

LA CELLE, Seine-et-Marne. *Prieuré.* Although the vaults have fallen, the square east end and other portions of this edifice of the late XIII century survive. There were originally three aisles. The archivolts are remarkable for their elaborate mouldings. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

ST.-SAUVEUR-LE-VICOMTE, Manche. *Église* consists of a broad nave, two side aisles, short transepts over the southern of which rises the lateral tower, and a choir as long as the nave. The existing choir vault is lower than that originally planned, being placed below the clearstory windows which it shuts from view, and this part of the edifice has suffered from modernization in other ways as well. There are no flying buttresses. The great arches of the crossing are of the XIII century. The nave and side aisles of the XV century are characterized by the omission of capitals, cylindrical piers, prismatic and disappearing mouldings. (De la Balle.)

MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE, Seine-et-Marne. *Église* supplied with an ambulatory and a very high clearstory, seems to date from the XIII century, but the chapels are of the XV century. This monument has never been adequately described. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

LANGRUNE, Calvados. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, two transept-like chapels, a central lantern, a choir, a polygonal chevet, and an ambulatory — the whole lighted by absolutely plain lancet windows even without shafts. An inscription in the choir refers to the year 1298;[1] the style of the architecture, however, indicates that the building itself was erected somewhat earlier, probably from c. 1220 to c. 1250. The tower and spire, although sadly mutilated, are still superb designs; indeed the entire edifice is remarkable no less for the perfection of its details than for its large dimensions. There are rudimentary flying buttresses in the nave, so spaced as to suggest a sexpartite vault. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

BIVILLE, Manche. *Église.* The present choir, which orginally formed a separate chapel, was built, it is said, in 1260. In the XVI century it was connected with the ancient church by the construction of an intermediate bay and a tower. The ancient choir then became the present nave, the ancient nave being destroyed. The existing monument consists of a single-aisled nave and a rectangular choir. The choir shows English influence in its lancets and round abaci; the vault, however, is simple. (De la Balle.)

SENS-BEAUJEU, Cher. *Église*, a fine example of a rural church of c. 1200, consists of a single rectangle divided into four bays, of which, however, only the two easternmost are ancient. The western tower was revaulted in the XVI century, and at the same time several chapels were added. (De Kersers VII, 77.)

[1] L'an de grace 1298 se monta l'orge du commun a 4 muids et 2 setiers que donna Mahant femme d'Adam Flamenc ecuyer. — Cit. De la Balle.

CHABLIS, Yonne. *Église* which is said to date from the end of the XII century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, and an ambulatory. The vault is sexpartite; its ogee arches are doubtless the result of alterations executed in the XVI century. The logical system is alternate and continuous; the high clearstory is reinforced by massive flying buttresses. (Quantin.)

COUVAINS, Manche. *Église* of the early Gothic period consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower of the XVIII century, a choir, and an apse. This apse is peculiar in being polygonal internally, square externally. Two piers are so placed as to transform the internal polygon into a square; these are joined to the walls by open arches, the interior plan being thus perfectly evident externally. (De la Balle.)

FONTAINE-GUÉRARD, (near Radepont), Eure. *Abbaye.* The ruins of this abbey are a fine example of XIII century architecture. English influence is evident in the details; the archivolts are much moulded and rest on piers surrounded by eight colonnettes; there is no system. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 76.)

ST. SEVER, Calvados. *Abbaye*, with the exception of certain flamboyant additions of little importance, is an homogeneous edifice of the XIII century. The edifice is characterized by the narrow lancet windows of the choir (these still contain their original glass), by the absence of an ambulatory, by the unfinished octagonal central lantern on squinches, by the monocylindrical piers with round abaci, and by the system of a single shaft resting upon corbels placed just above the main impost level. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 90.)

ÉPAU, Sarthe. *Abbaye* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, six apsidal chapels, and a rectangular choir. The nave is assigned to the end of the XIV century; the transepts, which are as long as the choir and nave put together, retain some fragments of the XIII century architecture. There are no towers nor flying buttresses, although the church is vaulted throughout. The ribs are gathered on a single continuous shaft. The east window of the choir is filled with fine rayonnant tracery. (Ricordeau: Wismes.)

MORET, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* Although there is a tradition that a dedication of this church took place in 1166, the earliest parts of the present edifice doubtless date from the early XIII century. The existing structure consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a southern lateral tower, a choir, and an apse. An ogee arch occurs in the western bay of the main arcade, and the portal is also flamboyant. The clearstory is pierced in each bay by coupled windows surmounted by an oculus. (Pougeois; Aufauvre et Fichot.)

ROUVRES, Calvados. *Église.* The spire of the XIV century is one of the masterworks of Gothic design, although the transition from square to octagon is not managed very skilfully. The main body of the church consists of a choir and a nave whose axes far from coinciding form so sharp an angle that from the nave only a part of the choir can be seen. Obviously these two portions of the church are not contemporary: the choir and the north transept probably date from the XIII century; the nave and the south transept from the XIV. The colonnettes of the jambs of the western portal stand free, and are crowned by capitals with round abaci. (De la Balle.)

MORTAIN, Manche. *Église*, which, with the exception of a portal of the XII century and the ambulatory and lady chapel apparently later than the main body of the edifice, dates from the first half of the XIII century, consists of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, a choir of three bays, and an ambulatory. The style of the building, singularly severe and bare, is very unlike that of the Ile de France: there are no flying buttresses; the vaults are without wall ribs; the system is carried on the octagonal abaci of the monocylindrical piers; the lancet windows are unornamented save for shafts in the jambs; the tower, which stands detached to the south, contains a single story of lancet windows of enormous height; the façade is entirely unornamented. (De la Balle.)

MAREILLES, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a nave of three bays, two side aisles, a choir, a polygonal apse, and a northern lateral tower which is contemporary with the church, although its arches are round while those of the main body of the edifice are pointed. Quadripartite vaults cover the nave; their full set of ribs is carried on a system of three shafts rising from the square abaci of the monocylindrical piers. Except in the apse the walls ribs are not stilted. There are no flying buttresses; the exterior buttresses, however, are well developed, those of the choir being in three ressauts. The triforium is very high, but the clearstory consists of a series of oculi. The ribs and archivolts have developed Gothic mouldings, and a cusped rose window is pierced in the façade. Chevrons and crude capitals characterize the Romanesque portal. (Baudot.)

VILLENEUVE-LE-COMTE, Seine-et-Marne. *Église*, of the middle of the XIII century, consists of a nave, two side aisles, three apses, and a tower rising over the third bay of the northern side aisle. Before the main portal there was formerly a porch, some débris of whose arches is still in place. Except for the main apse, which, though polygonal, is supplied with a chevet vault of the Noyon type, the edifice is entirely covered with quadripartite vaults with stilted wall ribs. These vaults, however, are not reinforced by flying buttresses. While the triforium is well-developed, the clearstory is nothing more than a series of oculi. Four colonnettes are engaged upon the monocylindrical piers; from the abaci rises a system of three shafts. The profiles of the main archivolts are unusually complicated. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 61; Aufauvre et Fichot.)

BAYEUX, Calvados. *Chapelle du Séminaire.* This singular monument of the XIII century consists of a single-aisled nave and two nearly equal absidioles. The vaults are almost square in plan; the three ribs are carried on a single shaft.

Abbaye St. Vigor. Some ruins of the conventual buildings are said to remain. (De la Balle.)

CRENEY, Aube. *St. Aventin* consists of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, a three-sided apse, and a tower rising over the third bay of the nave. The western bay of the nave is modern, although the old portal of the XIII century is preserved; the four eastern bays are of the first years of the XVI century; the Renaissance side portal dates from 1557; the tower is of the XIII century, its fine stained glass of the XVI century. The piers of the nave are monocylindrical; the vaults are simple.

The three aisles are of about equal height, the gables of the side aisles being at right angles to the axis of the nave. (Fichot I, 1.)

ROZOY, Seine-et-Marne. *Notre Dame.* This edifice of the early XIII century consists of a nave, two side aisles, and three apses. The vault is sexpartite, with wall ribs. The system is alternate: in the intermediate piers the transverse shafts rise from corbels placed just above the capitals of the main arcade, the wall shafts rest on corbels at the level of the capital of the transverse shaft; in the alternate piers the system is logical and continuous. Lancet windows constitute the clearstory. The details of the capitals and profiles are fine. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 201.)

ÉCOUIS, Eure. *Église Collégiale* was founded, it is said, by Enguerrand le Poitier de Marigny in 1307, and dedicated in 1310. The interior was unfortunately made over in 1730; the present brick vault makes one regret the primitive wooden roof. Originally the edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a polygonal apse, but in the XVI century a sort of side aisle or chapel was added to the south of the nave. The church contains fine rayonnant tracery, although, except in the west façade, the windows are small. The façade is flanked by two towers. (De la Balle.)

SARCELLES, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, one of the most interesting medieval edifices of the immediate environs of Paris, contains a western portal of the Renaissance, a nave four bays long of the XIII century, two Gothic side aisles and a rectangular choir of the end of the XII century surmounted by a tower of the same epoch. (Lambin, 111.)

MONTEBOURG, Manche. *St. Jacques.* This monument of the early XIV century consists of a nave five bays long, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir of four bays. Four colonnettes are engaged on each of the piers. There is no clearstory, but the church is vaulted throughout. (De la Balle.)

MICHERY, Yonne. *Église*, a fine example of a rural parish church of the end of the XII century, consists of a rectangular choir, a nave, two side aisles, and a western narthex surmounted by a tower. The sexpartite vaults are not reinforced by flying buttresses. The intermediate piers are monocylindrical, the alternate supplied with engaged colonnettes. There is no clearstory, although the side aisles are decidedly lower than the nave. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 20.)

ST.-SAUVEUR-LANDELIN, Manche. *Église*, which dates from the end of the XIII or early XIV century and is one of the largest of the district of Coutances, consists of a rectangular choir, transepts, a nave, two side aisles, and a central western tower preceded by a porch of the XV century. The tower and the vaults of the nave were added in the flamboyant period. There are no flying buttresses. (De la Balle.)

COUCY-LA-VILLE, Aisne. *Église.* The choir and the tower which surmount it are of the end of the XII century; the remainder of the church is a patchwork of different epochs, interesting only for the fragments of mural paintings which it contains. (Vernier, 186.)

USSY, Calvados. *Église.* This remarkable monument of the XIII or early XIV century, although without side aisles, is one of the largest ecclesiastical edifices

of the neighborhood. Beneath the central tower is a vault, the only one in the building. The fine western portal shows English influence in its free-standing shafts, round abaci, and continuous archivolts. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 83.)

MONTREUIL,[1] Seine. *St. Pierre.* The rectangular choir, which is said to be of the end of the XII century, is four bays long, and has monocylindrical piers. Its triforium consists of three arches pierced in each bay. The existing nave is flamboyant. (Lambin, 66.)

SERMAISES, Loiret. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir, all covered with quadripartite rib vaults. There is no clearstory, and the façade gable is continuous. The buttresses are well developed. A system of three shafts rests upon the abaci of the capitals of the main arcades. (Baudot.)

BEAUMONTEL, Eure. *Église.* The square east end is pierced by three lancets of the XIV century, but the nave windows are modern. The tower with its spire is a fine piece of flamboyant design. (De la Balle.)

MAREIL-SUR-MAULDRE, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, a central tower, a choir and a polygonal apse. The ribs of the apse vault are arranged like those of the chevet of Amiens, but the wall arches are so low that the whole construction still retains something of the appearance of a dome. Although the buttresses, which are well developed and of several ressauts, seem to form part of the original construction — which may be assigned to c. 1180 — the existing system appears to be a later addition. Round-arched windows occur in the apse and transepts, but all the structural arches are pointed. (Baudot.)

ITTEVILLE, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Germain.* This church, seven bays long, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a rectangular choir. The monument dates from the XIII century, but the vaults were remade in the XVI century, and the edifice has otherwise been much modernized. The monocylindrical piers have square abaci. (Lambin, 96.)

RAMPILLON, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* The façade, remarkable for the sculptures of its magnificent portal of the XIII century, is without towers. For the rest the church possesses a considerable clearstory and fine flying buttresses. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 151.)

COMPIÈGNE, Oise. *St. Jacques.* This church, commenced, it is said, c. 1200, was finished only when the cupola was completed in the XVI century. The fine tower (which adjoins the façade) is flamboyant, but in the main body of the edifice fragments of XIII century architecture survive in certain windows, in the triforium, and in the sexpartite vaults. (Ballyhier.)

St. Nicolas. The modern edifice of this name situated in the Rue du Vieux-Pont contains an ancient façade of the XIII century. (Ballyhier.)

DOULLENS, Somme. *St. Pierre.* The nave, a charming construction of the early years of the XIII century, still exists, though desecrated, and traces of the projecting transepts and of the ambulatory may still be made out. The piers consisted of coupled columns. There seem to have been no buttresses, though the nave

[1] Or Montreuil-sous-Bois.

and side aisles were both vaulted. The system of three shafts carried five ribs. The surviving details are of great purity and beauty. (Durand.)

BRIENNE, Aube. *St. Pierre et St. Paul* in the main dates from the end of the XIII century, but the lower part of the tower and the nave were reconstructed at the end of the XIV or beginnning of the XV century, the choir with its seven radiating chapels were altered in the XVI century, the whole monument was much mutilated in the Renaissance period, and the upper parts of the tower are modern. The choir has never been completed; its walls have been erected only as far as the base of the clearstory windows. The flying buttresses of the nave are of simple type. (Arnaud, 56.)

ÉCOUCHÉ, Orne. *Église.* The nave of this church dates from the XIII century, but the apse and the transepts (which are polygonal in plan) were rebuilt after 1416. The monocylindrical piers of the nave support unmoulded pointed arches. Much of the tracery of the choir is Renaissance in character, but the flying buttresses are simple. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 19.)

CLÉMONT, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, and a polygonal apse. The eastern portions seem to be of the XIV century; the aisles and the western bays of the nave were added to the original edifice probably in the XV century. In general the edifice is characterized by angle buttresses and a fine flamboyant west portal. (De Kersers I, 109.)

MAIZIÈRES, Calvados. *Église.* The nave is of the XIII century, but the interest of the edifice centers in its tower and spire which together form a superb group. This *clocher* must date from the end of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

PETIT-ANDELY, Eure. *St. Sauveur.* The first stone of this edifice is said to have been laid in 1215 — a date which is confirmed by the style of the architecture. The choir with its ambulatory, the crossing, and the lower story of the transepts must have been finished soon after. Works then seem to have been interrupted for a brief period, but the transepts and nave were finished by 1245. The church as it stands is a splendid example of a small country church of the XIII century, and doubly interesting in that it contains some fine glass of the XIII century and a bell of 1462. The choir has a logical system of three shafts rising from corbels placed just over the square abaci of the monocylindrical piers. There is a fine triforium and a lofty clearstory filled with plate tracery. In the chevet the caps of the wall ribs are placed at the summit of the stilt. The clearstory wall is entirely eliminated. The flying buttresses have pinnacles, but are otherwise unornamented. In the nave (which is only two bays long) the triforium is omitted, and clustered piers are substituted for columns. In the triforium of the choir are distinct traces of ancient frescoes; over the western portal is some ornate sculpture. (De la Balle.)

ÉCAQUELON, Eure. *St. Jacques.* There is documentary evidence that a dedication of this church took place in 1248,[1] but the edifice was so thoroughly restored at the commencement of the XVI century, that there remain of the Gothic

[1] VIII non. Septembris apud Esquaquelon cum expensis parrochie. Ipsa die, dedicavimus ecclesiam Beatae Mariae ejus loci. — *Regest. Visit. Archiep. Rothomag.*, p. 8, Édition Bounin. The title of the church was changed later to St. Jacques.

period only the walls. An inscription placed on one of the beams of the nave roof reads as follows: "In the year 1510 this nave was repaired. Th. Lalement and Semelaigne worked upon it."[1] The square tower is evidently of this same epoch. (De la Balle.)

COLOMBY, Manche. *Église* which consists of a single-aisled nave, a central tower surmounted by a spire, and a rectangular choir may well date from the early XIII century, for it is characterized by shafting, lancet windows, and a logical system. The vault is supplied with a ridge rib, and the wall ribs are not stilted — both peculiarities which show the influence of English models. (De la Balle.)

VESLY, Manche. *St. Pierre* consists of a nave of the beginning of the XIV century, two side aisles, a choir of the middle of the XV century, a central tower, and a polygonal apse. The choir has no triforium, but a clearstory consisting of a row of blind arches. There are no flying buttresses. (De la Balle.)

PONTAUBERT, Yonne. *Église.* This "monument historique" seems to date from the early XIII century, and is said to have been erected by the Templars. It is characterized by a simple porch of the XVI century, a charming Romanesque portal, and a lofty tower.

BALLEROY, Calvados. *Église* is said to be of the XIII century and "full of grace and harmony." (Benoist III, 115.)

STE. SOLANGE, Cher. *Église* of which the most ancient parts date from the end of the XII century, consists of a rectangular choir, a nave, and a western narthex surmounted by a tower and spire. The nave and choir alike are roofed in wood. The date 1600, inscribed on one of the buttresses on the south side, indicates that considerable alterations were carried out at that epoch. Decidedly the most interesting part of the edifice is the transitional tower. (De Kersers.)

COUVILLE, Manche. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir, and a north lateral tower. In the triumphal arch are embedded some fragments of architecture in the style of the XII century, but the nave and choir are of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

CHARTENTONAY, Cher. *Église.* The nave seems to be of the XIII century, but the eastern portions of the edifice were reconstructed in the late flamboyant period. The apse is three-sided; the vaults of the choir have been replaced by a wooden ceiling. (De Kersers VI, 272.)

BELLOY, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The north transept is of the end of the XII, the choir and the southern transept of the beginning of the XIV, the nave and the façade of the XVI, century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 86.)

OMONVILLE-LA-ROGUE, Manche. *Église*, of the beginning of the XIII century, consists of a nave of three bays, a rectangular choir covered by an octopartite vault, a central tower, and a lateral chapel. Two porches open off the choir. The arches are consistently pointed throughout the edifice. (De la Balle.)

MOROGNES, Cher. *Église* consists of a western tower, a single-aisled nave, a three-sided apse, and two chapel-like transepts added in the XV century. No part of the construction seems earlier than the end of the XIII century. The choir and

[1] L'an mil einq cents dix fust reparée cette nef. Th. Lalement et Semelaigne tr.

apse are vaulted with a single radiating rib vault, the ribs all emanating from a common center much to the east of the true center of the vaulting surface; the nave is roofed in wood. The octagonal tower is severe in style, but is reinforced by angle buttresses. (De Kersers.)

SÉGRIE, Sarthe. *Notre Dame* consists of a rectangle divided into five bays: over the third of these rises the tower; the fourth has been transformed into a sort of crossing by the addition of two transept-like chapels; the fifth forms the choir. The church is rib-vaulted throughout. In the west façade opens the great pointed portal, of which the decoration is in the style of the XII, rather than in that of the XIII, century. According to Le Paige this church was consecrated in 1242. (Guicheux.)

PROVINS, Seine-et-Marne. *Ste. Croix.* This "monument historique" is said to date mainly from the XIII century, although the date 1538 engraved on one of the buttresses of the south side proves that a reconstruction took place in the XVI century. This is said to have lasted from 1519 to 1581. The church is roofed in wood. The lateral portal is a fine example of the late flamboyant style. (Du Sommerard.)

Notre Dame-du-Val. Of this church, destroyed before the Revolution, only the tower remains. This at present serves as a belfry for the church of St. Ayoul.

ENNORDRE, Cher. *Église* of the XII and XIII centuries, is characterized by a wooden-roofed nave and a polygonal chevet deviating to the north (the latter has recently been modernized). The most interesting portion of the edifice is the vaulted chapel with an apse, placed beneath the tower. This seems to date from the end of the XIII century, and is a late instance of such a feature. (De Kersers III, 15.)

Chapelle St. Georges, an edifice of the end of the XIII century, is a plain rectangular structure roofed in wood. Nevertheless the walls are reinforced by buttresses. (De Kersers III, 16.)

STE. THORETTE, Cher. *Église* consists of a semicircular apse, a choir, a nave four bays long, and a southern lateral tower. The apse is vaulted with a half-dome, the choir with a pointed barrel vault, the nave, which may be assigned to late in the XIII century, with rib vaults. (De Kersers V, 312.)

Prieuré is much ruined. The narrow choir opened upon a rectangular wooden-roofed nave. (De Kersers V, 312.)

LIEUSAINT, Manche. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave with thatched roof, a choir with a square east end, and a tower *en bâtière* rising between the nave and choir. The construction may be assigned to the last quarter of the XIII century. Internally the two bays of the choir are rib-vaulted. On the keystone of one of these vaults may be read the following inscription: — "In the year 1312 this altar was erected anew."[1] (De la Balle.)

ARGENT, Cher. *Église.* Of the original single-aisled edifice of the XIII century, only the lower part of the walls survives, the church having been rebuilt in the XV century, when the apse was reconstructed on a polygonal plan, two chapels each of two bays added on either side of the nave, the nave itself given a clearstory and a vault, and the western tower begun.

[1] Le an MCCCXII fut cest austel faict tout neuf.

SOULANGY, Calvados. *Église*, of which only the choir is vaulted, contains finely carved capitals. The construction seems to date from the middle of the XIII century. (Benoist III, 23.)

VAUDES, Aube. *Église*. The Romanesque nave has neither side aisles nor vaults. The choir, however, is large and elegant; it consists of a rib-vaulted bay and a five-sided apse, and is flanked by two square chapels. The church contains glass of the XVI century. (Arnaud, 81.)

PREUILLY, Seine-et-Marne. *Abbaye*. Ruins of the rectangular choir of the XIII century survive. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 146.)

HUMBLIGNY, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century, consists of a single-aisled nave roofed in wood and much modernized, a rib-vaulted choir of two bays, and an apse. The windows of the choir are round-arched; the ribs are carried on corbels. (De Kersers IV, 307.)

ST. LUMIER, Marne. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and three polygonal apses covered with radiating rib vaults of the Amiens type. The buttresses are in several ressauts. (Baudot.)

CRÉTEIL, Seine-et-Oise. *Église*, which is said to date from the XII to the XIV centuries, comprises a nave of four bays and a choir of two. In the nave there is a triforium, consisting of three arches to each bay, but this is not continued in the choir. (Lambin, 62.)

PONT-DE-L'ARCHE, Eure. *Abbaye Bon-Port*. The dedication of this abbey is said to have taken place in 1224. Some traces of the church and extensive remains of the conventual buildings still survive. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 38.)

NORMANVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église*. The choir is said to be an admirable example of the architecture of the XIV century.

VILLENEUVE-L'ARCHEVÊQUE, Yonne. *Église* contains a superbly sculptured portal of the XIII century.

ST.-MAUR-DES-FOSSÉS, Seine. *St. Nicolas*, an edifice of the early XIII century, consists of a nave with two large round-arched arcades on the south side, a single side aisle, a rectangular choir three bays long apparently somewhat earlier than the nave, and a Romanesque tower flanking the choir on the south side. Before the western portal is a porch of the XIV century. (Lambin, 75.)

HARCOURT, Eure. *St. Ouen*. The semicircular apse consisting of a series of lancets separated by buttresses is of the XIII century; the nave is about contemporary; the façade is of the XVI century; the tower probably dates from the XIII century, and originally stood detached from the building. (De la Balle.)

PERSEIGNE, Sarthe. *Abbaye* assigned to the XII century is much ruined, the two transept-ends and the foundations only remaining in situ. The edifice, which was a typical example of Cistercian architecture, comprised a square east end and transeptal chapels. (Fleury.)

ASNIÈRES, Cher. *Église*. The walls of this ancient edifice survive, and are embedded in the masonry of a modern store. The rectangular choir is rib-vaulted, and must have been erected in the XIII century. (De Kersers VII, 15.)

LARCHANT, Seine-et-Marne. *Église*. This partly ruined edifice of the XIII

century is characterized by transepts, a polygonal apse, and a remarkably fine flamboyant tower. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

FAVERDINES, Cher. *Église*, with the exception of the western portal of the XII century, is an edifice of the XIV or XV century. The choir and nave form two rectangles, each divided into two rib-vaulted bays. The prismatic ribs are supported by shafts. On the walls may yet be seen fragments of the ancient frescoes.

ST. PALAIS, Cher. *Église* consists of a timber-roofed nave of the XII century, a choir reconstructed early in the XIII century under the inspiration of the cathedral of Bourges, a polygonal apse with lancet windows, and two chapels added in the XV century. In the choir the system is continuous. The details throughout are fine. (De Kersers VI, 239.)

MUSSY, Aube. *Église* of the XIII century consists of a western narthex tower, a nave four bays long furnished with clearstory and flying buttresses, two side aisles, salient transepts, and a choir of two bays. The edifice is vaulted with rib vaults throughout. (Arnaud, 223.)

POILLEY, Manche. *Église.* The portal and one buttress of the choir are of the XIII century; the western façade is dated by an inscription of 1537; the remainder of the church is of the XVIII century. (De la Balle.)

LIESSE, Aisne. *Église* dates from the XIII, XIV, and XVI centuries. The façade is preceded by a porch; the flying buttresses are well developed.

VITRY, Seine. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a northern transept, a southern tower, a five-aisled chevet with a radiating rib vault of the Amiens type, an ambulatory, and radiating chapels whose vaults are consolidated in sexpartite compartments with those of the ambulatory. The nave is covered with a modern wooden vault; it is characterized by the absence of a triforium and by a clearstory consisting of a series of oculi. (Lambin, 20.)

VER, Somme. *St. Remi.* The oldest portion of the existing edifice is the portal of 1238, the remainder of the monument having been rebuilt in later (flamboyant) times. The monocylindrical piers of the nave are without capitals. (Josse.)

ST.-LOUP-DES-CHAUMES, Cher. *Église*, said to be of the XIII century, consists of a three-sided apse, a choir of two bays covered with a rib vault, a wooden-roofed nave, and a western bell tower recently reconstructed. (De Kersers III, 303.)

CHÂTEAU-DU-LOIRE, Sarthe. *St. Guingalois.* The crypt is of the XI century, but the upper church is an elegant chapel of the end of the XIII century with fine rayonnant tracery. The projected vaults have never been constructed. Originally the edifice consisted of a single-aisled nave with a polygonal apse; side aisles, however, were added in the XVI century. (Charles.)

LA PERCHE, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century consists of a polygonal apse, a nave, and an interior narthex surmounted by a tower. The whole is covered with rib vaults without wall ribs. The system is continuous. (De Kersers VII, 205.)

ST.-JULIEN-DU-SAULT, Yonne. *Église.* This structure of the XIII century and of the Renaissance, classed as a "monument historique," is characterized by a wooden roof and two early Gothic lateral porches.

ILLEVILLE, Eure. *Église* is said to be a fine example of the style of the early XIII century.

MAREUIL, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir, and two chapels of the XV century, all roofed in wood. Both round and pointed arches occur in the windows, but the main portal is thoroughly Gothic in style. To the south of the nave stands a heavy tower: the base of the XII century is surmounted by a Gothic upper story, a heavy belfry, and a low pyramid. (De Kersers.)

SAUSSAYE, Eure. *Église Collégiale St. Louis.* This church was commenced in 1307, dedicated in 1310, burnt in 1553, pillaged by the Huguenots in 1562, and burnt again in 1875. Nevertheless it still contains some fragments of medieval architecture. The edifice consists of a northwestern tower, a nave of a single aisle, low transeptal chapels, and a rectangular choir. Some of the windows have fine flamboyant tracery. (De la Balle.)

VILLY-LE-MARÉCHAL, Aube. *Église.* The wooden-roofed nave is lighted by five lancets. Of these the first two on the north side are of the XIII century, as well as certain portions of the walls; the others were rebuilt when the rest of the church was reconstructed c. 1500. The choir has a multiple rib vault, and is flanked by two chapels. The apse is five-sided. (Fichot I, 471.)

JUSSY-LE-CHAUDRIER, Cher. *Église.* The rectangular choir of the XIII century comprises two rib-vaulted bays, is lighted by lancet windows, and supplied with a continuous system. The walls of the nave are ancient and contain some traceried windows; the present plaster vaults, however, and the western tower are modern. (De Kersers VI, 299.)

BINON, Cher. *Église*, which appears to date from the XII and XIII centuries, consists of a single-aisled, plaster-vaulted nave, and a polygonal apse rebuilt in the flamboyant period. The latter is vaulted, as is the bay of the choir which precedes it. (De Kersers I, 105.)

CRÉPY-EN-VALOIS, Oise. *St. Thomas.* There remains of this collegiate church of the XIII century only the façade. This is flanked by two towers, the northern one of which bears a hexagonal open-work spire of the XV century, while the southern dates from the second half of the XIII century. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 65.)

VALIQUERVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église*, consecrated, it is said, in 1267, has been much rebuilt. The beautiful spire, however, is well preserved. (Benoist.)

NEUVY-SUR-BARENJON, Cher. *Église* of the early XIII century served both as a priory and a parish church, and doubtless for this reason was divided into two parallel naves, both roofed in wood. The east end is square. To the westward is a square narthex. (De Kersers VII, 321.)

VAILLY, Aube. *St. Nicolas* consists of a single-aisled nave, more lofty than the choir, but roofed in wood, a rib-vaulted choir of a single bay, and two chapels. There are angle buttresses.

VILLENEUVE-ST.-GEORGES, Seine-et-Oise. *St. Georges.* The choir is of the XIII, the nave and the portal (Renaissance in style) of the XVI, the apse of the

XV, century. The whole was restored 1860–70. A series of oculi constitutes the clearstory. (Lambin, 52.)

BRIONNE, Eure. *St. Martin* consists of a nave, two side aisles, a central tower, and a choir. There is no system. (De la Balle.)

Notre Dame. The windows of this desecrated edifice are in the style of the XIV century. (Benoist.)

St. Denis.

CLÉREY, Aube. *Église,* which is said to date from the end of the XII century, consists of a rib-vaulted rectangular choir of a single bay, a central tower, and a single-aisled nave roofed in wood. Some of the arches are round. (Arnaud, 92.)

MEILLANT, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave and a polygonal apse. The eastern portions are rib-vaulted. The façade and the lower part of the tower date from 1537; the upper portions of the tower are modern. (De Kersers VI, 148.)

PAYNS, Aube. *Église* consists of a five-sided apse, transepts, and a nave originally erected in the early years of the XIII century, but since materially altered. If there ever were vaults they have been destroyed; the entire church is now roofed in wood. (Fichot I, 149.)

COUTRES, Cher. *Église.* Of this desecrated edifice, now used as a store, the XIII century choir and the apse are well preserved. The latter is covered with a radiating rib vault, whose ribs rest on corbels. (De Kersers IV, 79.)

BAZENVILLE, Calvados. *Église.* The gracious tower of the XIII century is surmounted by a four-sided pyramid. The porch is of the XV century. (Benoist.)

GORGES, Manche. *Église.* The original edifice of the early XIV century (which consisted of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a central tower) was burnt in 1613, and the stone vault of the nave has never been rebuilt. (De la Balle.)

DOMMAIRE, Seine-et-Marne. *Abbaye du Lys.* Important ruins of this edifice of the XIII century are said to survive. (Aufauvre et Fichot.)

COURGERENNES, Aube. *Église* consists of a nave and a three-sided apse. Certain portions of the nave seem as early as the XII century, but the edifice has been often rebuilt, and the choir was entirely reconstructed in the XVI century. The church is roofed in wood throughout. (Fichot I, 378.)

GÉFOSSE, Calvados. *Église* of the XIII century is vaulted throughout. The tower terminates *en batière.* There was originally a transept whose foundations may still be traced. (Benoist III, 108.)

LONGUES, Calvados. *Abbaye Notre Dame.* Only the rectangular choir survives, but this is in the style of the very best period of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

PRÉVERANGES, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century consists of a nave of a single aisle and a slightly narrower rectangular choir. This choir was originally vaulted, but the vaults have now disappeared. (De Kersers III, 228.)

CORBON, Orne. *St. Martin,* an edifice of the XII and XIII centuries, is remarkable for its Gothic portal flanked by two round-arched arcades, its semicircular apse adorned with chevrons, and its bell said to date from the year 1265. (De la Balle.)

Chapelle du Château is a Gothic structure made over in the flamboyant period. The tower is said to be of the XII century. (Benoist.)

AVALLEURS, Aube. *Commanderie du Temple.* This rectangular chapel is divided into three bays and covered with rib vaults. The house of the Templars at Avalleurs was established in 1179, and the chapel was in all probability erected soon after. (Arnaud. 226.)

LIGY, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* of the XIII century was restored in 1892. The apse is polygonal; the lancet windows are without tracery; the details are said to be exceptionally fine. (De la Balle.)

COUDRAY, Calvados. *Église* said to be of the XIII century, preserves intact its tower with wooden spire.

BAILLEUL, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* contains a fine series of lancet windows. (Benoist.)

BARC, Eure. *Église.* The vaulted choir is of the first half of the XIII century, the tower is of the XVI century. (De la Balle.)

CRÉPY, Aisne. *St. Pierre* is of the XIII century.

Notre Dame is of the XIV and XV centuries.

LOUVIGNY, Calvados. *Église* of the Gothic and flamboyant eras consists of a nave, a choir and a western tower.

MORLAC, Cher. *Église.* Severely damaged in the Wars of Religion, and ruined by restorations, this monument preserves nothing of interest save a few corbel-tables of the XII century. (De Kersers IV, 30.)

Chapelle de Souages. This desecrated edifice was erected at the commencement of the XIII century. The entire structure (whose plan forms a vast rectangle) is now roofed in wood, but the eastern portions were formerly vaulted. (De Kersers IV, 33.)

MOSLES, Calvados. *St. Eustache.* The nave, the single side aisle, and the tower seem to be of the XIV century, but the sexpartite vault which covers the rectangular choir clearly belongs to the early years of the XIII century. The façade is pierced by a great rose window with plate tracery. (De la Balle; de Caumont.)

GRAND-SELVE, Somme. *Chapelle des Templiers* is a small and much ruined structure dating from about the middle of the XIII century. Instead of being circular, this chapel is rectangular with a polygonal apse. (Des Orme.)

MÉRY-SUR-CHER, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir — both lighted by little round-headed windows, — and a large vaulted chapel. The walls may be assigned to the end of the XIII century, the vaults of the choir to the XIV or XV century. (De Kersers VII, 311.)

MÉZIÈRES, Calvados. *Église* of the XIII century possesses a remarkable stone spire. (Benoist.)

VULAINES, Aube. *Église* of the end of the XIII century is characterized by a square east end and a timber roof. (Fichot I, 354.)

ST. WANDRILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Abbaye.* Of this famous abbey church only one transept and fragments of the radiating chapels of the ambulatory survive, and these in a most deplorable state of ruin. The edifice seems to have been erected

in the last half of the XIII century, but the details are of a purity altogether exceptional in Normandy. Thus the abaci are square; the system of three shafts is logical and continuous; the archivolts in three orders are of rather simple profile. The ruined cloisters are flamboyant in style.

MARMAGNE, Cher. *Abbaye du Beauvoir.* Only the nave survives, and the vaults of even this have fallen. The windows on the north side are simple lancets slightly pointed. (De Kersers V, 282.)

ESTREPAGNY, Eure. *Église*, adorned, it is said, with "several" towers, possesses a large nave, transepts, but no side aisles.

AMAYÉ, Calvados. *Notre Dame.* This edifice of the XIII and XV centuries has been much modernized. (De Caumont.)

VILLENAUX, Aube. *Église de Dival* consists of a single-aisled nave, two square apses, and a northern tower dated by an inscription of 1520. The edifice is rib-vaulted throughout. Certain round arches in the choir are evidently fragments of an earlier Romanesque church. (Arnaud, 212.)

VILLIERS-LE-SEC, Calvados. *St. Laurent.* The tower and the rectangular choir of a single bay are of the XIII century; the nave is of the XVIII century. The tower *en batière* is of a pleasing design.

ARGENVIÈRES, Cher. *Église* which had been much mutilated (probably in 1569), consists of a single-aisled nave, a rectangular choir, and two chapels added in the XVI and XIX centuries. A tower formerly surmounted the choir. (De Kersers VI, 260.)

ÉTRÉCHY, Cher. *Église*, which appears to date from the commencement of the XIII century, consists of a rectangular choir, of which the axis deviates to the south, a nave of a single aisle, and a western tower. The edifice has been many times restored, and is now vaulted in plaster. (De Kersers VI, 283.)

PICAUVILLE, Manche. *Église*, of the XIII and XIV centuries, consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and a rectangular choir. The nave has flying buttresses, and is preceded by a charming porch. (De la Balle.)

THIÉVILLE, Calvados. *Église*, erected, it is said, at the end of the XIII century, is remarkable for the carving of its capitals. (Benoist.)

ST.-PIERRE-CANIVET, Calvados. *Église* is said to be a charming structure of the XIII century. (Benoist.)

AVRANCHES, Manche. *Notre Dame-des-Champs.* In the modern church of this name there are preserved some fragments of the ancient edifice.

St. Saturnin contains a bas-relief of the XIV century and a portal of the XIII century. (Benoist.)

NORON, Calvados. *Prieuré.* Some portions of the nave survive. (Benoist.)

Ste. Catherine is a single-aisled edifice. (Benoist.)

Église for the most part of the XIII century possesses a western tower. (Benoist.)

HÉBÉCOURT, Somme. *St. Come et St. Damien.* In 1128 Arnould, son of Hébé, erected on this site a chapel which was later replaced by a church. The edi-

fice was enlarged in 1205, burnt in 1257, repaired in 1258, 1332, 1497, and 1605. (Josse.)

IVOY-LE-PRÉ, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century originally consisted of a single-aisled nave and a five-sided apse, but two large chapels were subsequently added. The ancient vaults have been replaced by a wooden roof. (De Kersers III, 23.)

ST.-BENOÎT-SUR-VANNES, Aube. *Église* consists of a three-sided apse, a single-aisled nave, and a tower projecting beyond the façade. The edifice is roofed in wood throughout. The church was altered in the XVI century and again in 1728. (Fichot I, 332.)

AUNON-SUR-ORNE, Orne. *Ste. Eulalie* is a church of a single aisle, without transepts or tower. The original Norman edifice was made over in the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

BRAY, Eure. *Église.* The tower and the choir are of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

BOSC-BORDEL, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The tower is of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

BOURG, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, a choir of the XVI century, transepts, a polygonal apse, and a western tower. This tower is the most ancient part of the edifice and dates mainly from the XIII century, although upon its summit is inscribed the date 1621. (De Kersers VII, 29.)

ÉVRECY, Calvados. *Église*, which is of large dimensions and which has evidently been many times made over, is of interest chiefly for the tower of the XIV century. (Benoist III, 35.)

HERRY, Cher. *Église* has been several times entirely rebuilt, but contains a square rib-vaulted choir of the XIII century. (De Kersers VI, 293.)

VILLEGENON, Cher. *Église* of the XIII century has been very much restored. The existing edifice consists of a single-aisled nave and a square east end, the whole roofed in timber. In the XV century a side aisle was begun, but never completed. (De Kersers VII, 287.)

AILLY-SUR-NOYE, Somme. *Église* is in great part of the XIII century. The three arcades of the nave rest on monocylindrical piers with sculptured capitals.

ENVERMEN, Seine-Inférieure. *Chapelle St. Guillain.* This edifice of the XIII century is peculiar in that the east end is pierced by two pointed windows surmounted by a rose. (Benoist.)

ST. VALERY, Somme. *Église* dates from the XIII and XVI centuries. The vaults with their thin sculptured keystones are of the last epoch.

DEMOUVILLE, Calvados. *Église.* The nave is of the XIII and XIV centuries; the fine lateral porch is of the latter epoch. (Benoist III, 47.)

MONTIGNY, Calvados. *St. Jacques et St. Girbold.* The nave seems to date from the XIII century, the choir from the XVII or XVIII century. (De Caumont.)

ISIGNY, Calvados. *Église* dates in part from the XIII century, but in the northern transept is an ogee arcade. (Benoist.)

MOULINEAUX, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* This single-aisled edifice dates from the XIII century. (Benoist I, 32.)

SURY-EN-VAUX, Cher. *St. Étienne.* Notwithstanding recent restorations, the ancient single-aisled nave, probably of the XV century, and the southern lateral tower of the XIII century are still recognizable. (De Kersers VII, 83.)

NEUVILLE-FERRIÈRES, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The choir and a portion of the nave are of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

CLÉRISTOT, Calvados. *Église.* The vaulted choir is said to be of the first half of the XIII century. (Benoist III, 39.)

CLÉVILLE, Calvados. *Église.* Certain portions date from the XIII and XIV centuries, it is said.

FLEURY, Manche. *Église* is said to be "large and elegant." (Benoist V, 38.)

LURY, Cher. *Église.* The only surviving portions are the rectangular rib-vaulted choir and the tower, which are to-day desecrated. The choir is assigned to the XIV century. (De Kersers V, 232.)

CHÂLIS, Seine-et-Oise. *Abbaye.* Of the Cistercian church there remain only a few fragments of the choir and north transept. The latter was polygonal in plan. (Gonse.)

MAILLY-CHÂTEAU, Yonne. *Église.* Above the portal on the façade is an open gallery of the XIII century. The columns rest on pedestals, in front of which stand statues. (Petit.)

MAISY, Calvados. *Église.* The vault is modern, but the edifice contains some interesting fragments of XIV century architecture. (Benoist.)

ST. GILLES, Manche. *Église* of the early Gothic period, is said to have been rebuilt in the XV century.

VIEUX-PONT, Orne. *St. Hilaire.* The choir, which dates mainly from the XIV century, was repaired in 1525. (De la Balle.)

ST.-PIERRE-DU-LOROUER. Sarthe. *Église* contains mural paintings of the XIII century.

VORGES, Aisne. *Église* is a fortified edifice dating, it is said, from the XII to the XIV centuries.

AGNEAUX, Manche. *Chapelle* is of the XIII century.

CAGNY, Calvados. *St. Germain* contains some fine details of the XIV century. (Benoist.)

ST. ÉVROULT, Orne. *Prieuré.* Fragments of this famous edifice, which originally consisted of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, and a rectangular choir, still survive, and show the style of the best period of the XIII century. In 1791 the central tower collapsed, ruining the transepts, which were replaced by the present flat wall. There were formerly lancet windows in the clearstory, but there never were any flying buttresses. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 20.)

SEVRY, Cher. *Église.* There remain only the walls of the choir. This had a square east end, was rib-vaulted, and dated from the XIII century. (De Kersers VI, 336.)

CERLANGUES, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is remarkable for its spire. (Benoist.)

CLAIRETS, Orne. *Abbaye.* This edifice, now in ruins, was erected at the commencement of the XIII century by the counts of Perche, according to Benoist.

LAVERDINES, Cher. *Église.* Some of the piers of this ruined edifice of the XIII century still stand.

MOTTEVILLE-LES-DEUX-CLOCHERS, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The choir is the only portion of the edifice that still retains something of its character of the XIII century.

NEUVRE-LYRE, Eure. *Église.* The tower is of the XIII century. (Benoist.)

PRÉAUX, Calvados. *St. Séver.* This church of the XIII and XIV centuries contains some good details. (De Caumont.)

BOURGUEBUS, Calvados. *Église* is said to be early Gothic in style.

BRANVILLE, Calvados. *Église* is of the XIII century.

BREUIL, Calvados. *Église.* The main body of the church is of the XIII century, but the porch before the main portal is flamboyant. (Benoist III, 70.)

BROURAY, Calvados. *Église* is of the XIII and XIV centuries. (Benoist.)

CROULTES, Orne. *Prieuré.* The conventual buildings of the XIV century are still intact, but are of small importance. (De la Balle.)

ÉCARDENVILLE-LA-CAMPAGNE, Eure. *Église.* The rectangular nave of the XIII century was much altered in the XVI century and in modern times. The tower has been destroyed. (De la Balle.)

MARTIGNY, Calvados. *Église* seems to date from the second half of the XII century.

LE-PLESSIS-STE.-OPPORTUNE, Eure. *Église.* The square tower is of the first half of the XIII century. (De la Balle.)

ROCQUES, Calvados. *Église.* The most ancient portions are of the XIII century, the porch is of the XVI century.

ST.-LAURENT-SUR-MER, Calvados. *Église* of the XIII century is a very simple structure. (Benoist.)

ST.-VICTOR-ABBAYE, Seine-Inférieure. *Abbaye.* Some fragments of the important church of the XIII century have been embedded in the present edifice, and the ancient chapter-house of the XII century is also extant. The latter is square in plan. (Benoist.)

AUBRI, Orne. *Église* is in ruins.

BRETTEVILLE, Calvados. *Notre Dame* seems to date from the XIII and XV centuries. (Benoist II, 31.)

BELLÊME, Orne. *Prieuré St. Martin.* The slate spire and a few other fragments of XIII century architecture survive. (Benoist.)

HAUTE-CHAPELLE, Orne. *Église* contains fragments of XIII century architecture embedded in the modern edifice. (Benoist.)

MORTAGNE, Orne. *Église de l'Hôpital* contains fine Gothic windows filled with the original glass. (Benoist.)

NEUILLY-LE-MALHERBE, Calvados. *Église* of little interest, dates perhaps from the XIII century. (De Caumont.)

NOIRLAC, Cher. *Abbaye.* The church is said to be well preserved.

ST.-RÉMY-DU-PLAIN, Sarthe. *Église* is of the XIV and XVI centuries.

SORENG, Somme. *Église* dates from several different epochs. (Darsy.)

VERRON, Sarthe. *Église* is a much ruined and very forlorn edifice. The nave is supplied with three chapels. (De la Bouillerie.)

VIELLES, Eure. *Église.* Of this desecrated edifice the three aisles and a ruined tower survive.

BARLIEU, Cher. *Église* has been almost entirely modernized. (De Kersers VII, 244.)

LA POUPELIÈRE, Orne. *Chapelle du Château* dates perhaps from the early years of the XIV century. (De la Balle.)

SEPT-VENTS, Calvados. *Prieuré* contains interesting details. (Benoist.)

VALMERAY, Calvados. *Église.* Only the tower survives. (Benoist III, 33.)

AUDRIEU, Calvados. *Chapelle* is of the XIII or XIV century. (Benoist.)

CRÈVECOEUR, Orne. *Chapelle.*

LUGNY-CHAMPAGNE, Cher. *Église.* The polygonal apse and the single-aisle nave have been recently vaulted and otherwise much modernized. (De Kersers VI, 307.)

QUESNAY, Calvados. *Église* is an example of the style of the early Gothic period. (Benoist.)

TOURY, Eure-et-Loire. *Église* is of the XIII century.

LA CHALLERIE, Orne. *Chapelle.* The two windows are pointed. (Benoist.)

COUDRES, Eure. *Prieuré.* This chapel is still in tolerable preservation.

COULOMBS, Calvados. *Église* contains some fragments of XIII century architecture. (Benoist.)

IVRY-LA-BATAILLE, Eure. *Abbaye.* Of the ancient church there survives only a single portal whose jambs and voussoirs are adorned with statues of saints and of angels. (De la Balle.)

LAUNAY, Calvados. *Église* is of the XIII century. (Benoist.)

PERRIÈRES, Calvados. *Église* is in part of the XIII century. (Benoist.)

PIERREFITTE, Calvados. *Église* is of the XIII century.

LES PONTS, Manche. *Église* is of various different epochs.

STE.-HONORINE-DU-FAY, Calvados. *Église.* The nave is of the XIII century, the choir is modern. (De Caumont.)

TORTEVAL, Calvados. *Prieuré.* Picturesque ruins of the chapel still survive. (Benoist.)

VARAVILLE, Calvados. *Église.* Some portions are of the XIII century.

BAGNOLLES-LES-BAINS, Orne. *Chapelle de Lignoux* is of unknown date.

COUTERNE, Orne. *Église* is of no interest. (De la Balle.)

ÉTERVILLE, Calvados. *Église* is for the most part modern, but contains some fragments of XIII century architecture. (De Caumont.)

FRENOUVILLE, Calvados. *Église* is early Gothic in style, it is said.

GUERBIGNY, Somme. *Église* is of the XIII century.

MONTS, Calvados. *Église* is of the XIII century.

MOUTIERS-EN-AUGE, Calvados. *Two Churches.*

RAYMOND, Cher. *Église.* Portions of the walls are of the XIII century. (De Kersers IV, 134.)

ROUVILLE, Calvados. *Abbaye* is completely ruined.

ST.-JEAN-DU-CORAIL, Manche. *Église* has triangular transepts. (Benoist.)

VACOGNES, Calvados. *Église* is perhaps of the XIII century. (De Caumont.)

MAIZET, Calvados. *Église.* A portion of the nave and the choir are of the XIII century. (De Caumont.)

MONDRAINVILLE, Calvados. *Église* is said to be of the XIII century.

MT.-ARGIS, Calvados. *Chapelle.* Some ruins of the XIII century survive. (Benoist.)

Other monuments in whole or in part of the Gothic period exist at, AUMÂTRE, Somme; BLOUTIÈRE, Manche; BREUVILLE, Manche; CHÂLIS, Oise; CHICHEBOVILLE, Calvados; COMMEAUX, Orne; CONDÉ-SUR-ITON, Eure; DEMOUVILLE, Calvados; DRAGEY, Manche; FOURNEAUX, Calvados; FRANCHEVILLE, Eure; FRETTEMEULE, Somme; HARCELAINE, Somme; JUVIGNI-SOUS-ANDAINE, Orne; MARTINVILLE, Calvados; MESNIL-GLAISE, Orne; MOIDREZ, Manche; MONTAUEL, Manche; MONTHIÈRES, Somme; MORTEAUX, Calvados; OUILLY-LE-BASSET, Calvados; RÉMALARD, Orne; ST.-ANTOINE-DE-ROCHEFORT, Sarthe; ST. CLAIR, Seine-Inférieure; ST.-JEAN-DE-LA-HAISE, Manche; STE.-MARGUERITE-DE-L'AUTEL, Eure; ST.-OUEN-D'ATHEZ, Eure; TEURTÊVILLE-BOCAGE, Manche; TILLY, Eure; TRANSLAY, Somme; TREPEREL, Calvados; VERGIES, Somme; VILLEDIEU-LES-BAILLEUL, Orne; WITAIN-ÉGLISE, Somme.

CHAPTER X

THE FLAMBOYANT STYLE

THE origins of the flamboyant style are lost in obscurity. Born in the darkest hour of the Hundred Years' War — a period so absorbed in its own material miseries that it has but seldom recorded such fitful architectural activity as existed — and singularly neglected by archaeologists always preoccupied with the problems of an earlier age, the last phase of medieval art has left but few traces of its beginnings. Furthermore, paradoxical as it may seem, flamboyant architecture came into being at a moment when building activity in France — especially in those northern and western portions exposed to constant desolation in the course of the wars — was almost totally suspended. We know that architecture entered upon the last half of the XIV century Gothic, that it emerged flamboyant; but of the process of transformation it is possible to gather but singularly few details.

Such facts as are known, are furnished chiefly by the abbey church of St. Satur, an authentically dated monument of 1361–67 and practically the only important extant example of the style of the last half of the XIV century. St. Satur (Ill. 235) is Gothic, not flamboyant; but it is Gothic of the last phase, already well started on the primrose path which the new style was destined to follow. The window tracery is still geometrical, but is evidently on the verge of assuming flowing forms. In the system the engaged colonnettes so characteristic of the style of the XIII century remain, but so increased in number and diminished in size, that they seem to possess a new character, while the pier spaces between, formerly smooth and cylindrical, are now covered with mouldings which show unmistakable tendencies to become prismatic and continuous. The capitals, instead of

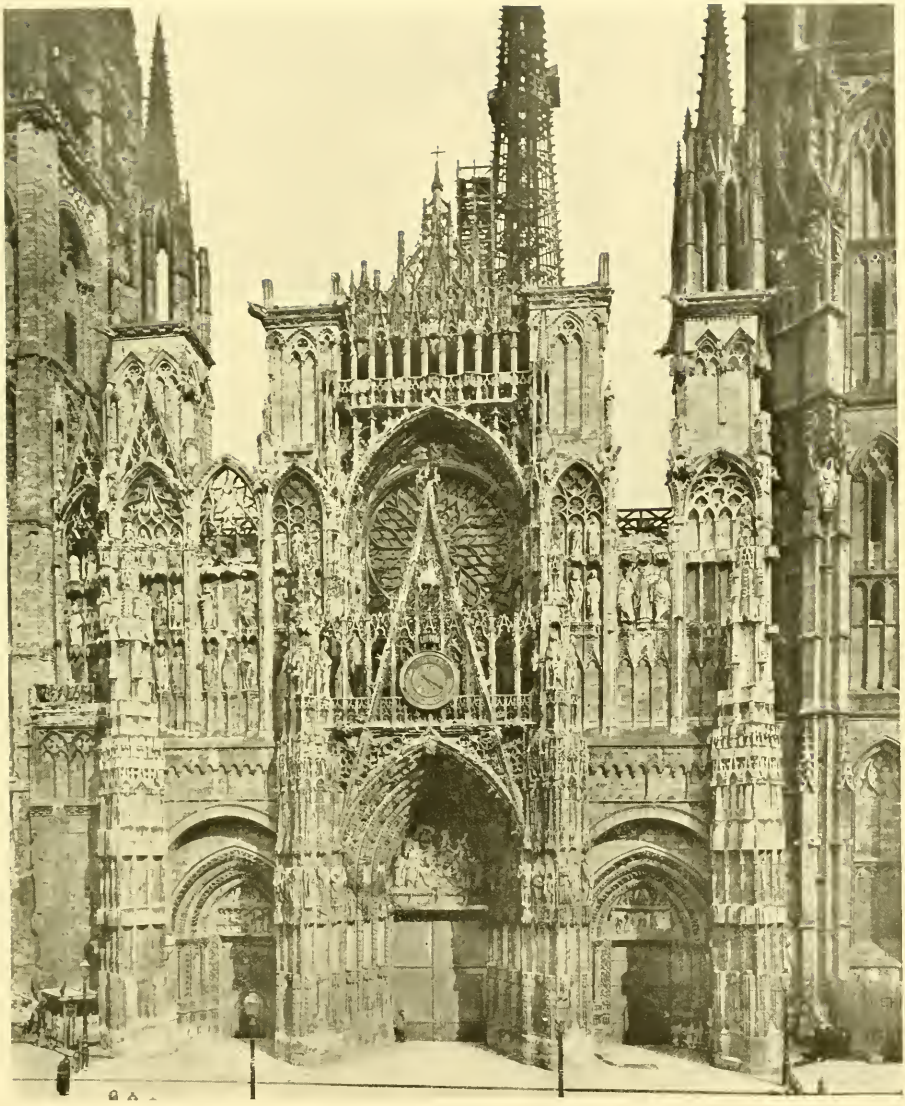
belonging to the whole pier, are bestowed separately on the colonnettes alone. Since each colonnette was similarly supplied with its own separate base, and since these bases were of considerable projection, the builders of St. Satur conceived these separate bases as interpenetrating, portions of two bases occupying the same place at the same time. The principle of the flamboyant interpenetrating moulding had come into being, and it was obviously only a short step to supply also the mouldings of the pier with separate bases, or otherwise to complicate the motive by a hundred possible variations. As the vault ribs of St. Satur are of the same size and section as the shafts on which they are carried, the vaulting capitals have consequently no structural function, and those later designs in which capitals are omitted altogether seem clearly foreshadowed. But with all these tendencies pointing in one direction, St. Satur still lacks the distinctive features of the flamboyant style. The ogee arch does not appear; the tracery is not flowing; the mouldings are not completely prismatic.

How, where, and when, these features so distinctive of the flamboyant style were introduced into French architecture, it is difficult to say. Prismatic mouldings, which seem to be in the process of evolution at St. Satur, may well have been developed independently in France, but the recent researches of M. Enlart have established the probability that the ogee arch [1] and flowing [2] tracery were imported from England.[3] The case, however, is not altogether clear, for examples of the ogee arch occur in the porch of St. Urbain of Troyes — a monument that, notwithstanding its advanced style, was begun in 1260, so that these arches, if they indeed belong to the original construction, must have been executed before the year 1300. But while the ogee arches of St. Urbain remained solitary and isolated examples, this feature became a common and distinctive

[1] An ogee arch is one whose archivolt is a line of double curvature.

[2] Flowing tracery is formed of mullions which assume "flame-like" lines of double curvature, instead of the geometric forms of earlier times.

[3] The above passage was written at the time of the very commencement of the controversy that has since raged on this subject. After having read the rebuttal of M. St. Paul, the reply of M. Enlart and the surrebuttal of M. St. Paul I find, however, nothing in the above account which I wish to change.



Ill. 269. — Rouen. Façade

characteristic of the architecture of England from the first quarter of the XIV century. Similarly non-geometrical tracery, unknown in France before c. 1375, was so frequent in England that it has given the name "Flowing" to one of the phases of the decorated style of that country. In view of the fact that French and English were constantly thrown together in the course of the Hundred Years' War, and that the greater part of France had even fallen into English possession, it is hence altogether probable that flowing tracery and ogee arches were derived from English sources.

The flamboyant style, therefore, was only in part indigenous, though on the other hand it was not an exotic architecture, transplanted bodily, like the Gothic of England, or the Renaissance of France; it was rather the logical development of the tendencies of the Gothic period, influenced and advanced by foreign models. The strength of this English influence is witnessed by the absence of transitional monuments. St. Satur stands alone. In 1375, only seven years after the completion of this abbey, the fully developed flamboyant style appears in the chapel St. Jean Baptiste of the cathedral of Amiens, and in a side chapel of the cathedral of Rouen. Although monuments of the last quarter of the XIV century are as scarce as those of the preceding twenty-five years, the few that we have — notably Ste. Croix of Bernay (1358–1450) and the church of St. Calais, (Sarthe), a structure commenced in 1394, — seem to show that the flamboyant style immediately supplanted the Gothic.

When, in the early years of the XV century, building activity revived, the new style was everywhere firmly established. La Trinité of Cherbourg was commenced in 1412; Notre Dame-de-l'Épine, near Châlons-sur-Marne in 1419; Notre Dame of Caudebec-en-Caux in 1426; St. Maclou of Rouen in 1432; the porch and façade of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois in 1435; the church of Carenton in 1445, St. Laurent of Rouen in 1446, etc. The list of monuments of this period is doubtless small enough if compared with the stupendous production of the XII and XIII centuries; moreover, although all of these churches were of modest dimensions, the construction dragged along with such

extreme slowness, that in the majority of cases it was still unfinished a century later. Yet compared with the last half of the XIV century, the revival of interest in architecture is none the less striking.

There is little in the material conditions of the country to explain such an architectural renaissance, for all the causes which had led to the decline of art in the XIV century, far from being removed, were intensified at this period. Politically the fortunes of the kingdom were at their lowest ebb: the battle of Agincourt was fought in 1415, the degrading Treaty of Troyes signed in 1420. It was only in the second quarter of the XV century that Jeanne d'Arc raised the siege of Orléans (1429), and that that national reaction, which was at last to end in the expulsion of the English (1456), began to make itself felt. Nor did the economic condition of the realm in the early XV century show any improvement. The resources of the country had been exhausted by ruinous taxation; agriculture had been destroyed by the constant passage back and forth of the royal armies, which pillaged and burnt the fields of friend and enemy alike wherever they passed; bands of robbers and "écorcheurs" ravaged the land from one end to the other unhindered by the powerless government; the population had been decimated, commerce had been almost totally ruined; — in short France lay in a state of anarchy and misery such as had hardly fallen to her lot in the VI or X century. It is difficult to say which was most completely wretched, the half of the kingdom that lay crushed and bleeding in the English grasp, or the half that still struggled feebly for the King of Bourges.

In the Church matters were going rapidly from bad to worse. Never had the clergy been more corrupt, more ignorant; never had the Christian religion been so openly the object of scorn and derision. The papacy had lost its moral force as well as its temporal power in the disorders of the Schism; the clergy obeyed no discipline, canonical or moral; monk and priest vied with each other in corruption, and not seldom became the open allies of the brigands. Benefices were everywhere obtained by simony, and were almost always occupied by some noble from whom was demanded no other merit than a well-

Ill. 270. — Église de la Couture, Bernay. Portal

lined pocket-book; once invested, abbot and bishop neglected their spiritual duties, and thought only of plunder.

Simultaneously with the wealth of the nation, the wealth of the Church had been singularly diminished, so that the lesser clergy were reduced to the last extremes of poverty. The ecclesiastical lands and buildings, rarely fortified, had everywhere been burned, sacked, and pillaged. The rents and revenues so enormous in the XII century dwindled to almost nothing; in many parishes and abbeys there was no longer left the wherewithal to buy even the barest necessities of life.

Moreover the enemies of the Church were gathering force. The monarchy, which under Philippe-le-Bel had first broken the ecclesiastical power, did not fail to follow up its advantage. Charles VII by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) struck a mortal blow at the authority of Rome, while pretending to protect the Gallic Church against the pope; Louis XI (1461–83) treated the clergy with a Machiavellian nonchalance such as no king of the XIII century would have dared to assume. The days when the Church from pope to village *curé* presented a solid front in the face of its enemies were long past; each member now sought his own personal and selfish profit at no matter what sacrifice of the interests of the body ecclesiastic.

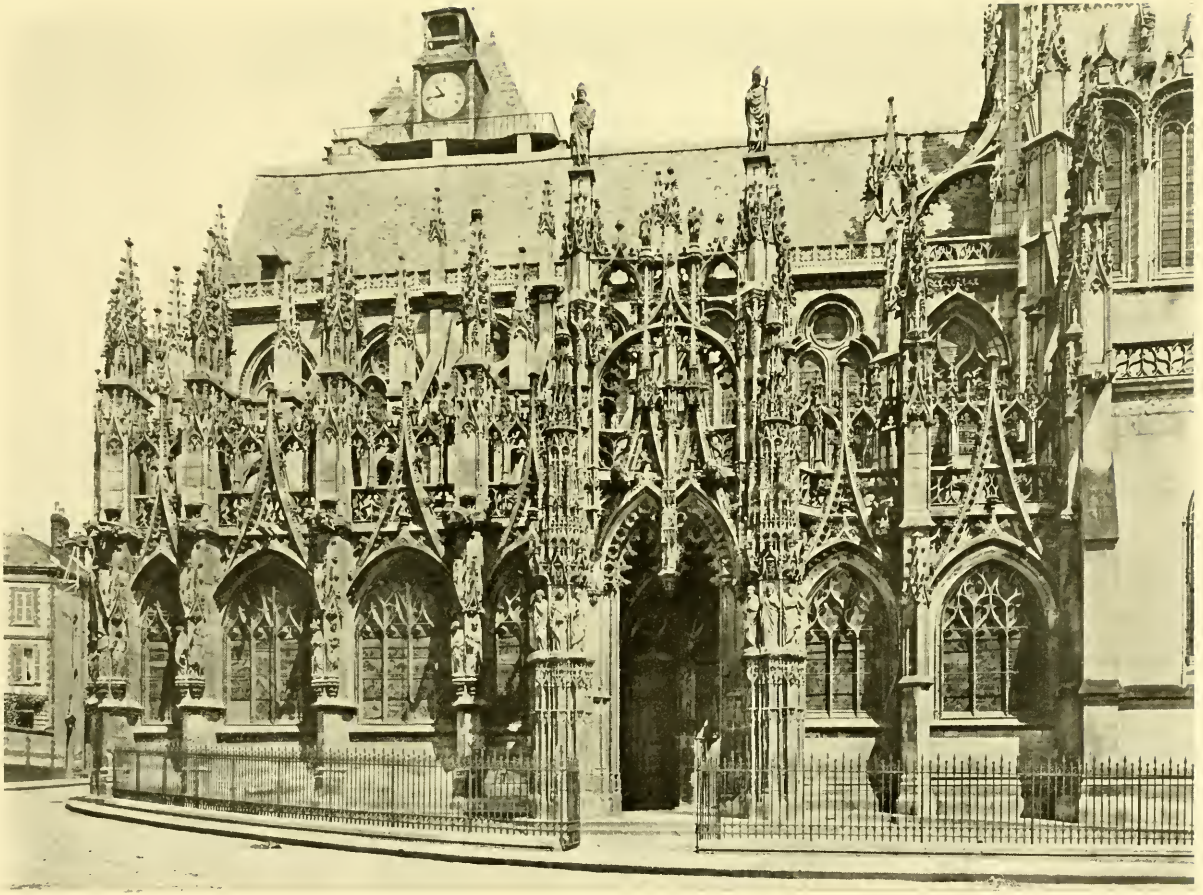
To the Church thus rotting within, and attacked from without by its old enemy, the king, there came a new enemy more formidable still, — the spirit that was to lead to the Reformation. Although the Renaissance, which was already gathering headway in Italy, had as yet hardly at all penetrated into France, in the strife of the French Church with the papacy at the Council of Bâle (1434) was clearly heard the rumble of the approaching cataclysm. Men who had learned to think for themselves were about to discard the weapons of satire and derision which had sufficed the malcontents of the XIV century, and instead to take in hand with a terrible earnestness arms of steel and lead.

In fact, the entire XV century is a-quiver with that dreadful religious sincerity, that fanaticism, that found its open expression in the religious wars of the following century. The

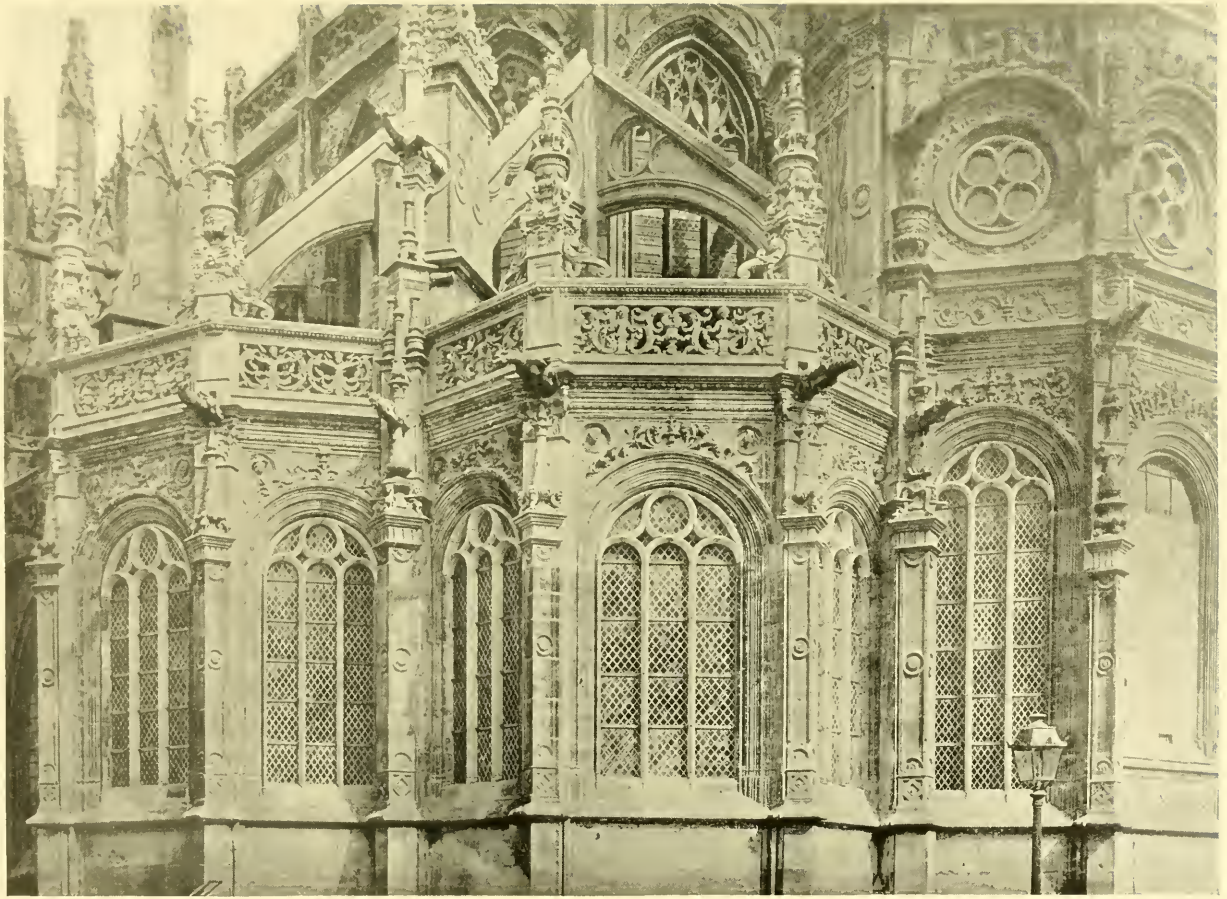
force was suppressed, concealed; but by that very suppression it was all the time gathering force for the inevitable explosion. The XV century was the era of bigotry and dogma, even above all the other periods of the Middle Ages; a time when even the broadest intellects were of an essentially narrow type. This bigotry, moreover, often assumed the basest forms: the superstition of the XIV century still lived on; the gentler traditions of the age of faith continued to be forgotten; relics were worshiped even more passionately than before; the cult of the saints was carried to incredible lengths. Religion was even perverted to such grotesque conceptions as the *danses macabres*, the *fêtes des fous*, the prevailing beliefs in sorcery and magic.

Thus in the hour of political and economic misfortune, in the midst of the financial ruin and degradation of the Church, was born flamboyant architecture — the last frail blossom of the medieval artistic genius. Did this art come into being as a prophetic manifestation of the great national awakening that was to produce Jeanne d'Arc and shake off the English yoke? I should hardly dare affirm it, for the history of architecture ever reflects, rather than presages, economic developments. The explanation must be sought rather in necessity. For nearly a hundred years ecclesiastical building had been at a standstill in France, at a time when war, fire, neglect must have destroyed countless edifices of the preceding ages. Hence in many cases, if religious worship were to be continued at all, a new church must be erected. The long time taken to complete even the comparatively modest churches of the early XV century bears witness to the difficulty of raising building funds.

Flamboyant architecture is essentially a part of the epoch which produced it — as essentially as Gothic architecture is a part of the XII and XIII centuries. It is necessary to take this into consideration in comparing the two. Doubtless the force, the purity, the sublimity of the earlier age is gone. Flamboyant architecture no longer leads us to that strange strand which seems not wholly to belong to this world; its vaults no longer pierce the heavens. Gone is the celestial radiance of the colored glass, gone the structural significance of each part; gone, too, is the simplicity, the unfailing good taste in design.



Ill. 271. — Notre Dame of Louviers, from the South



Ill. 272. — Chevet of St. Pierre of Caen. (From Gurlitt)

Flamboyant architecture is rather of this world, earthly; it delights in technique for its own sake; it studies detail rather than the whole; it aims to astonish by its minute carvings, by its bold *tours de force* of construction, rather than to appeal to the sober sense of beauty. On occasion it even does not hesitate to lie and cheat, though it is far less addicted to this vice than many of its modern successors.

The flamboyant style has been not unjustly reproached with all this, and much more. Yet I am no more sure that flamboyant architecture is inferior to Gothic than I am sure that it is superior to anything that has since been produced. Nothing is more inexact than to speak of this art as "decadent," "moribund"; it was only in the XVI century, when taste had been corrupted by the bastard forms of Italy and the Renaissance, that the style assumed that florid character which is popularly connected with the final phase of medieval art. In the XV century, on the contrary, flamboyant art was exceptionally pure in taste, and was always full of life, of promise, of vigor. If strength and robustness were lacking, this deficiency was largely atoned for by the daintiness and delicacy of the design, the fairy-like lightness of the fragile lace-work. Pendants, multiple rib vaults, wavy mouldings, florid ornament, all the other grotesque creations of the XVI century are happily lacking in these early buildings. If not great, flamboyant art of the best period is at least free from offence, and not seldom — as witness the choir of Mt.-St.-Michel — possessed of a charm and purity which almost rivals the happiest conceptions of the XIII century.

The close of the Hundred Years' War (1456) was not attended by any extraordinary outburst of building activity. The resources of France had been too thoroughly exhausted to be quickly recouped; the degradation of the Church inspired little enthusiasm for erecting costly religious structures. Furthermore peace was soon broken by the outbreak of the Burgundian Wars (1474–82) — wars of no mean importance either for the extent of the interests involved or for the number of belligerents engaged.

By this time, it was evident in every direction that the end

of the Middle Ages was at hand. Printing had been invented c. 1430; Gutenberg published his famous printed bible between 1450 and 1455, and the art soon spread over all Europe. "Ceci tuera cela; le livre tuera l'église." The "inspired bombast" of Victor Hugo has expressed an eternal truth.

The position of the Church was not improved. There was no hope of internal reform at the hands of an Alexander VI, a Julius II, or a Leo X — popes who were occupied solely in protecting their Italian possessions by means of shifting diplomacy, and who cared not at all for the spiritual, and but little for the temporal, welfare of the Church at large. The famous Concordat of Bologna, concluded between Leo X and François I in 1516, was in effect nothing but a conspiracy between these two powers to oppress and extort taxes from the Gallic Church. The attempts to reform the body ecclesiastic pacifically from within all failed signally; it was only in 1528, in the full tide of the Lutheran revolt, that the pope too late perceived the necessity of putting his house in order. The various projects to remedy abuses by overriding the pope, by carrying out a reform against his will, had likewise been without success. The doctrine of superiority of council to pope, loudly proclaimed at the Councils of Constance (1417) and Bâle (1434) and in the Pragmatic Sanction (1439) had miserably foundered in the Councils of Pisa and of the Lateran. It was largely this unwillingness of the Church to reform itself that led to the Protestant revolt.

Notwithstanding the diseased condition of the Church, the opening years of the XVI century witnessed great building activity, brought about by the material prosperity of the country, which had at last recovered from the economic exhaustion of the Hundred Years' War. Many great cathedrals whose construction had been interrupted since the XIII century were now carried towards completion: the transept façades of Beauvais, the western façades of Rouen, Meaux, Troyes date from this, the heroic age of flamboyant architecture, the age in which were erected, if not its most beautiful, at least its most grandiose conceptions.

Thus the culmination of flamboyant art was not anterior

Ill. 273. — Caudebec-en-Caux. Interior

to, but contemporary with, the Renaissance. From the last decade of the XV century the influence of Italian design is traceable in certain monuments of architecture and sculpture, and, although progressing by sporadic and somewhat erratic stages, the influence of the exotic art came to be ever more and more conspicuous throughout France. The French genius, however, in architecture, as in literature, painting, and sculpture, did not yield to the new fashion without a struggle; much that was purely French and medieval mingled with the new elements in the most classical monuments. The so-called Renaissance châteaux, which were erected along the banks of the Loire from the first years of the XVI century, continued until the time of Henri II (1547–59) to be far more flamboyant, than Italian or classic, in design.

This art of the XVI century, half flamboyant, half Renaissance, differs from that of the Middle Ages most strikingly in its eclecticism and lack of uniformity. The three currents — medieval tradition, Italian influence, classicism, — exist side by side, combining in different proportions to produce strikingly divergent results. Any one who did not know, would hardly suspect that the François I wing at Blois, portions of the palace of Fontainebleau, and St. Eustache of Paris are contemporary structures. The proportion of exotic elements introduced into architectural designs seems to have depended on the predilections of the client, the taste of the architect, and the distance of the monument from the centers of culture. The court was above all the starting-point for the new fashions; at the court they first gained permanent favor, and from the court they spread. But even the court until c. 1530 hesitated to pronounce definitely the condemnation of medieval art.

From the time of the breaking out of the doctrines of Luther in France (c. 1520), Renaissance and Reformation were connected by many conservative and pious souls, and those who were suspicious of the new religion clung to the traditional type of church architecture. The same preference was shared by such of the bourgeois as disliked the new court fashions and by the lower orders of the clergy — the monks, the *curés*, the vicars. The Concordat of Bologna, by awarding the investi-

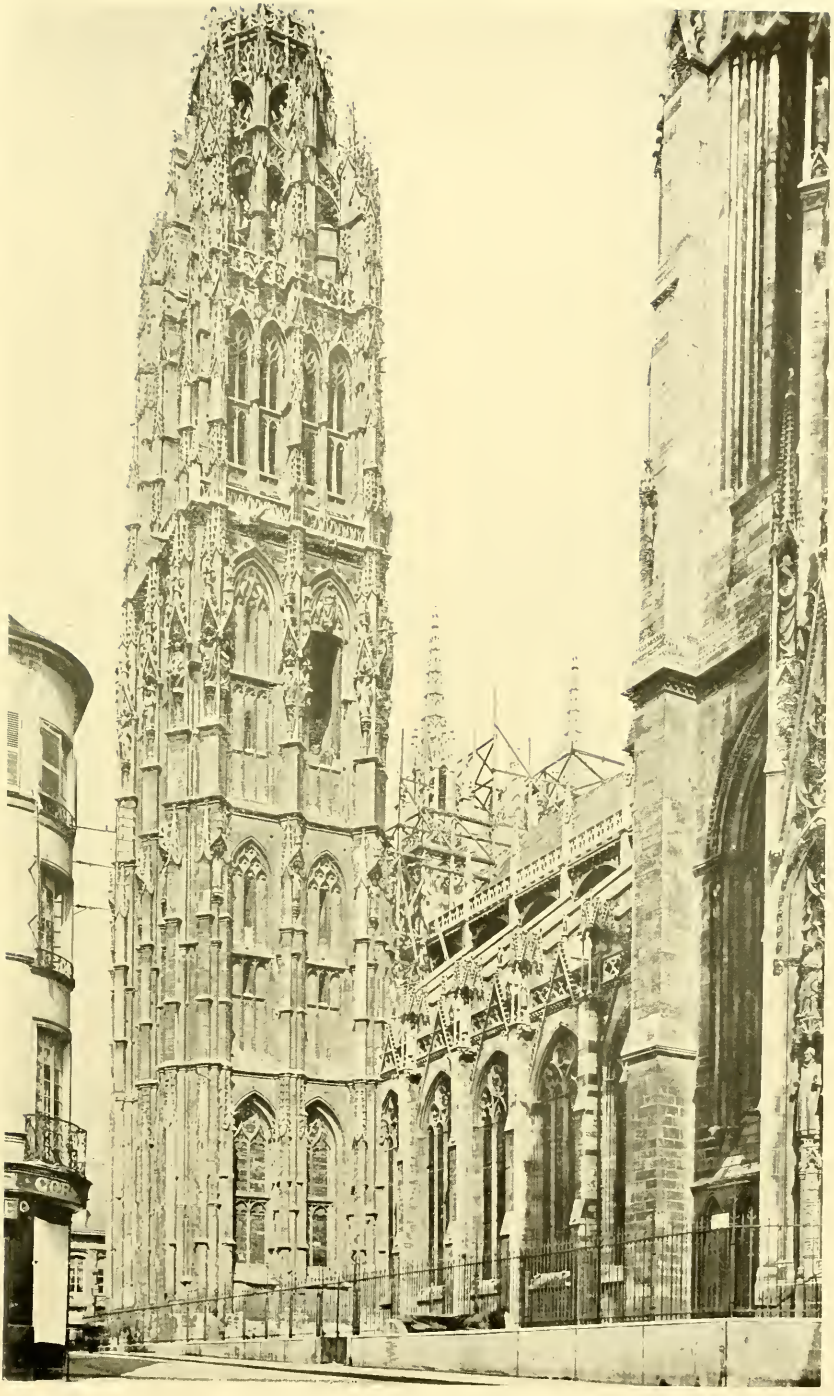
ture of benefices to the king, had created two classes in the clergy. The higher dignitaries were ordinarily nobles who had been given benefices by the king in reward for services. Such prelates did not reside, and merely received the revenues of the office without attending to its duties. Little troubled by religious scruples, narrowly connected with the court, this class favored the Renaissance. The second class, recruited chiefly from the ranks of University graduates, felt that their rightful offices were withheld from them by royal favoritism, and were deeply jealous of the royal appointees. This class, therefore, tended to oppose the Renaissance.

Owing to these conservative forces, the Renaissance style found its way into ecclesiastical edifices but slowly. A tower of Bourges cathedral commenced in 1508 shows much Renaissance detail; at St. Ouen of Audemer, finished in 1524, the Renaissance elements predominate over the flamboyant; at Gréez-sur-Roc (Sarthe) the choir, erected in 1527, is of the pure Renaissance style. But although these and doubtless many other ecclesiastical edifices were erected in the new fashion, the majority of churches continued to be built in a more or less debased flamboyant style. Little by little, however, the Renaissance gained ground, especially in the more important edifices, but it was only in the second half of the XVI century that the triumph of the classical forms in ecclesiastical architecture was assured, while country churches continued up to the very end of the century to be built in the old manner.[1]

The power of medieval architecture was thus broken gradually; but it was none the less in the end completely broken, and that at the same time and by the same forces that destroyed the medieval Church, of whose glory it was the symbol. As Gothic culminated under Innocent III, the flamboyant style, as a vital and progressive art, came to an end amid the Wars of Religion. The book had killed the Church; and outside of the Church medieval architecture found no nourishment.

Flamboyant art of the XVI century shows many signs of decadence. The architects have lost that happy faculty of the

[1] The construction of the Cathedral of Orléans was steadily continued up to the XIX century in a more or less bastard Gothic style.



Ill. 274. — Rouen. Tour-de-Beurre

earlier ages, never to err in propriety, and their bad taste shows that they have been to school with the Renaissance. They seem at times even to delight in trying to make their designs as atrocious as possible (Ill. 259). The florid ornament runs riot in vulgar and over-ornate forms, unrestrained by any sense of propriety or decorum, while such aberrations as pendants, multiple ribs, wavy mouldings, and Renaissance tracery disfigure even the structural portions of the building.

However, among many weeds, the last phase of flamboyant architecture has left us a few flowers of the rarest beauty. The transept ends of Beauvais (Ill. 240) — designs of superb composition, combining the most lavish detail with a rugged, an almost austere grandeur of ensemble — must always be accounted among the masterpieces of medieval art. The façade of Rouen (Ill. 269) is a phantasy full of imagination and poetry. And between these very good designs and the very bad ones stand many compositions of varying shades of merit. Thus even in its death agony, flamboyant architecture is not altogether deserving of the obloquy and scorn which it has usually received at the hands of art critics.

Flamboyant architecture is primarily a decorative art. Since the Gothic builders had perfected the structure to such a point that no futher advance was possible, their successors of the flamboyant period merely accepted the Gothic stone skeleton as they found it, retaining all the distinctive features of the XIII century church — the glass walls, the vaults, the isolated supports, the flying buttresses; they contrived, however, by means of a new system of ornament to give the old structural forms a totally different appearance. This result was accomplished at the expense of strict artistic and architectural propriety, by making ornaments of structural forms and by fashioning decorations from features intended to be strictly structural.

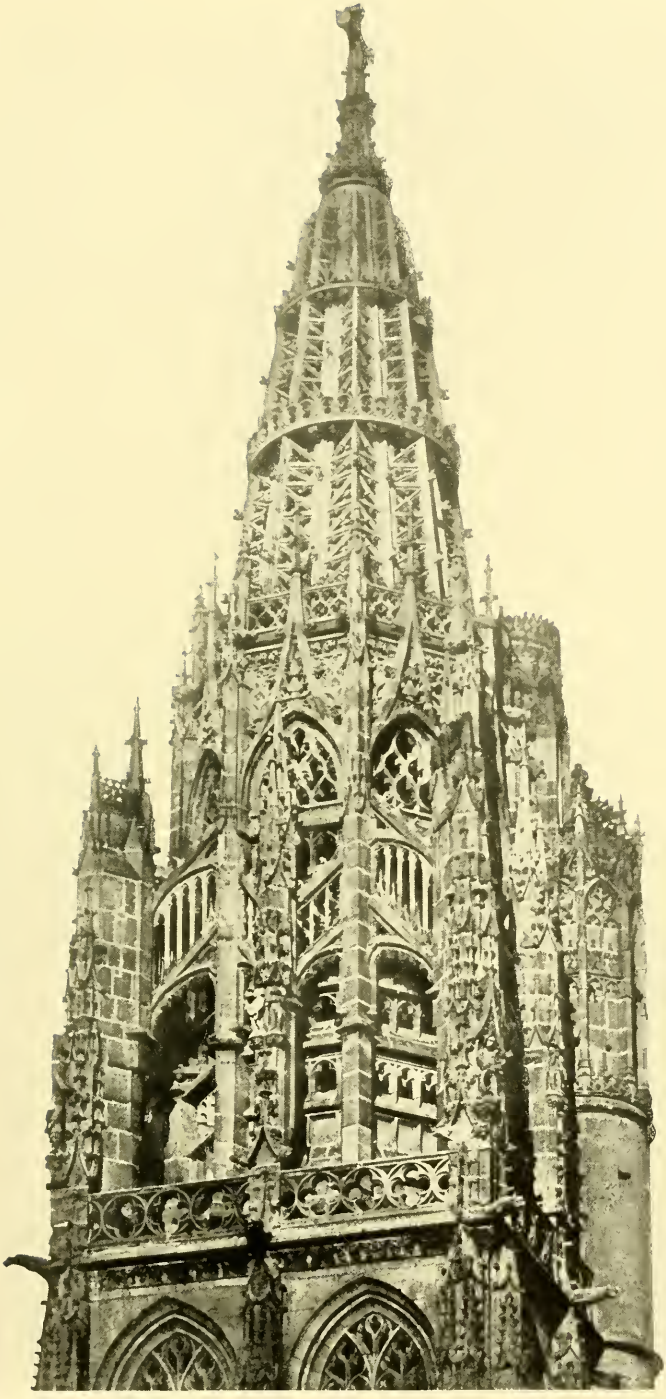
In this the flamboyant architects showed themselves the true successors of the master builders of the XIV and even of the last half of the XIII century. Ever since the problems of Gothic construction had been fully solved there had been an increasing tendency to lay stress upon questions of design and

decoration to the neglect of the study of the construction, which, since it was now perfectly solved and understood, offered little opportunity for inventive originality. Gradually, therefore, the structure came to be subordinated to decoration, and the great principle of the early Gothic masters was thus reversed.

The ogee arch, which may be taken as one of the distinctive peculiarities of the new style, is essentially a non-structural feature. In fact, the arches themselves were seldom ogee at all, but were ordinarily merely surmounted by a heavy moulding or gable twisted into a form of double curvature (Ill. 270). The point of the ogee was commonly prolonged and crowned with a finial; in the XVI century this idea came to be developed and carried to absurd lengths (Ill. 189). Yet, notwithstanding such aberrations, the ogee arch, whose lines are usually full of grace and charm, served excellently to harmonize the severe form of a pointed arch with the graceful suave character of flamboyant design. To adjust more smoothly the lines of the arch with its ogee gable, the flattened or three-centered arch (Ill. 270) was often substituted for the pointed form. This motive was at times carried so far that the arch became merely a flat lintel with rounded corners (Ill. 270), though the Tudor, or four-centered arch, which lends so much charm to the perpendicular edifices of England, was seldom or never employed in France.

In one or another of these forms the flamboyant builders employed the ogee arch over doorways, windows, in engaged arcades, — in every portion of the edifice where there was a space to be spanned, or a wall surface to be decorated. But especially did they delight in this motive in designing the openwork carving that came to surmount not only the great portals and the façades of the nave and transepts but the entire exterior of the building. Adorned with a mass of the most intricate carvings and ornament, the ogee arches wandered across a background equally intricate and also constructed of open work, interpenetrating, intersecting the other mouldings, forming a veritable lace-work in stone, a marvel of the last perfection of technique in stone cutting (Ill. 271).

Until the XVI century these lace-work designs continued



Ill. 275. — Spire of Caudebec-en-Caux

to become ever more intricate and more complicated. At last, however, the influence of Renaissance taste led to a greater simplicity of design, but at the same time to a fondness for bold florid curves. The delicate lines of the XV century, which, however unarchitectural, had always been graceful and refined, yielded to vulgar convoluted forms where the future aberrations of the baroque style were only too clearly foreshadowed. Even in such a characteristically flamboyant design as the portal of the south transept of Senlis (Ill. 189) the Renaissance feeling in the curve of the central ogee is unmistakable.

The ogee arch flourished also in the canopies placed over the niches that played so large a part in flamboyant decoration. These canopies were employed, especially on the façades, with incredible profusion, and were lavishly decorated with the most elaborate open-work carvings. In this jewel-like decoration, since the whole canopy was carved out of one block of stone, it was possible to leave the arches without visible supports, hung as it were in the air — a freak of design which so entranced the flamboyant builders that they soon invented means of executing hanging arches on a large scale, as in the south porch of Louviers (Ill. 271). The trick of construction by which this *tour de force* was accomplished is immensely clever, and gives much the same sort of pleasure as seeing a trained dog promenade on his hind legs; it is, however, impossible not to feel that in such constructions as this the great art conceptions of the XIII century have been strangely perverted.

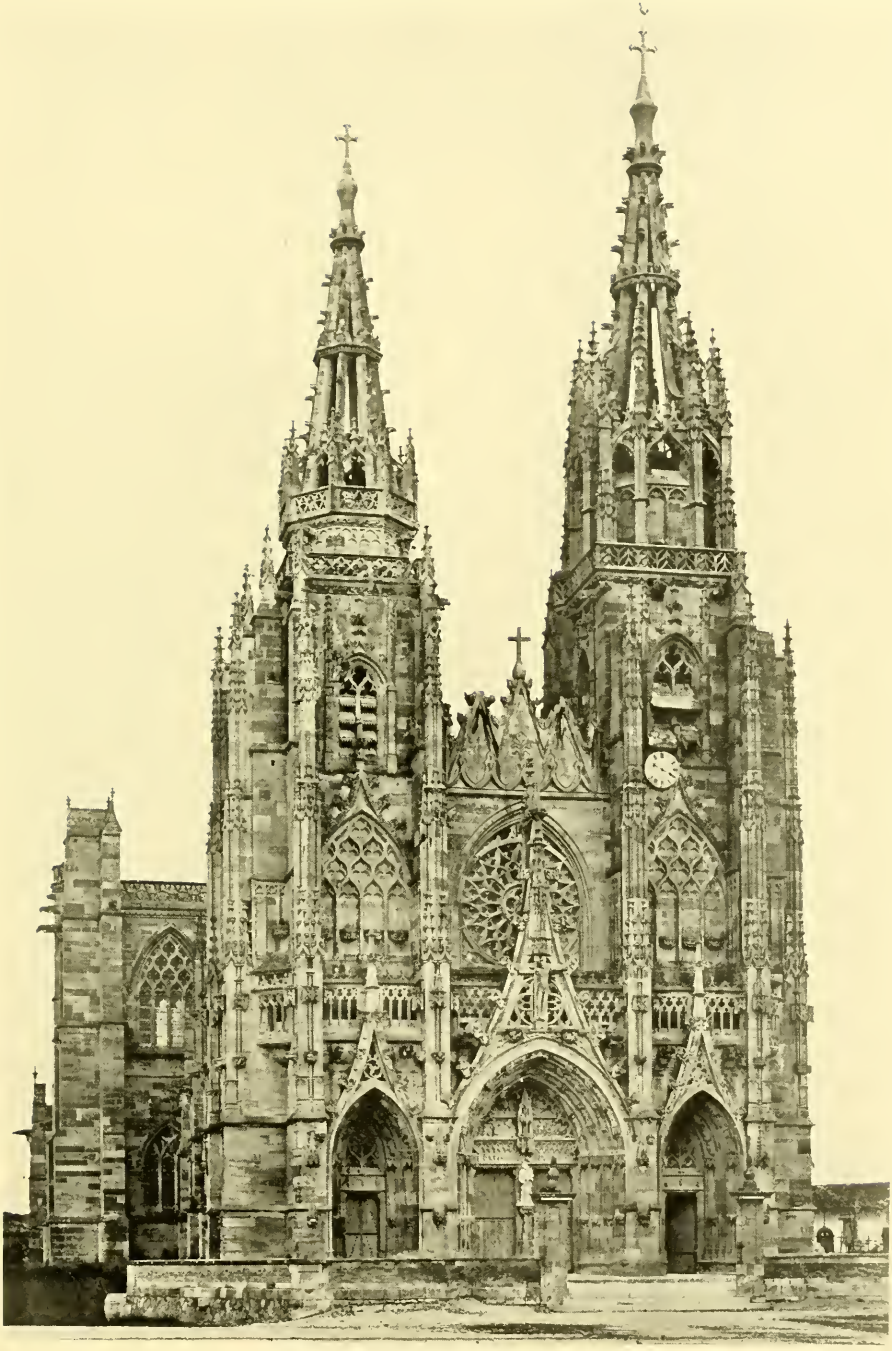
The same decorative principle — the line of double curvature — that led to the popularity of the ogee arch, governed the design of flamboyant tracery. Very fittingly, the entire style takes its name from the flame-like (*flamboyant*) movement of the lines assumed by the mullions. In the rayonnant period the tracery had always retained forms nearly geometrical in character, and could almost always be reduced to curves forming portions of circles of different diameters; but the curves of flamboyant tracery are no longer geometrical — they are, on the contrary, undulating lines of varying curvature as free and graceful as those of the modern *art nouveau*. In the Gothic style the curve had always been continuous in the same sense,

—always concave, or always convex. In flamboyant tracery the same lines curve now to one side, now to the other.

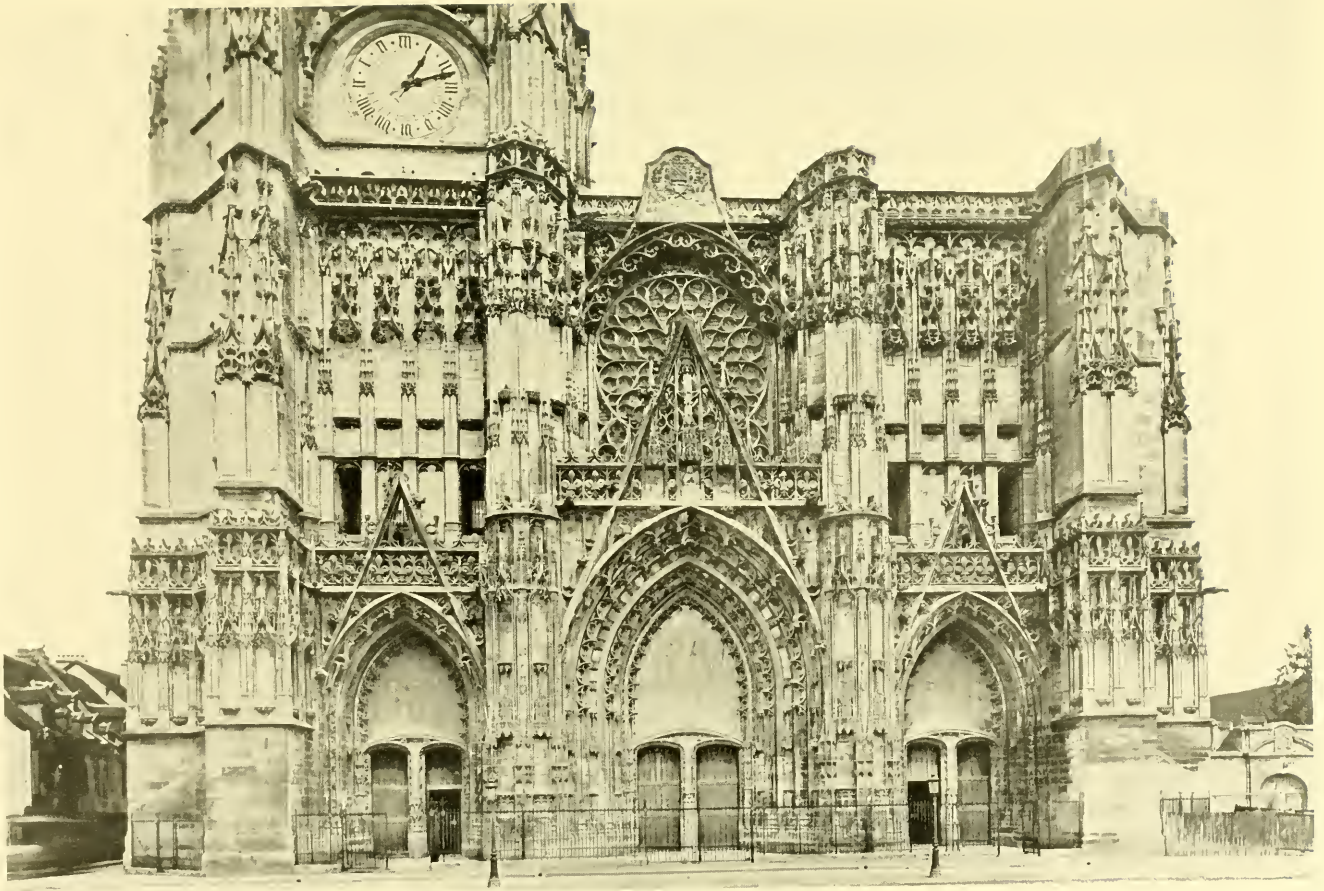
This new tracery (Ill. 269, 271, etc.) often assumed forms full of grace and charm, which must be ranked among the loveliest conceptions of pure design ever executed. Moreover the new principle placed an infinite variety of possible combinations at the disposition of the artist. Yet, after all, such soft and lithe curves, making the mullions appear like twisted willow rods, were hardly suitable for the character of the stone material, which lost its natural massiveness and dignity under such treatment.

It has been suggested that the pointed forms of flamboyant tracery may have been invented in order to obviate the great circles of rayonnant design, which offered more or less lodging place for rain water. But it is very doubtful whether the large rounded loops of rayonnant tracery were much more liable to disintegration from moisture than the pointed pockets of the flamboyant style, which were well calculated to collect and hold the rain water; and at all events sufficient protection from the weather seems to have been furnished by the sloping profiles of the rayonnant mouldings. It is, therefore, probable that the design of the tracery, like all the other innovations of the flamboyant period, was influenced solely by decorative considerations.

Flamboyant tracery is by no means of even merit, for if it includes occasionally veritable little masterpieces of design, much of it is commonplace and uninteresting, while some is the product of florid and depraved taste. In the XVI century especially, much of the tracery is over-elaborate and often assumes bizarre and contorted forms. A reaction sprang up, fostered by the influence of Renaissance taste. The designs were simplified to bareness; the mullions were made far more heavy; round or elliptical curves of a decidedly baroque character were substituted for the flame movements. The use of this, which, notwithstanding the apparent contradiction of terms, we may call Renaissance tracery, marked the last phase of the flamboyant style. The designs, always of the most desperate poverty of invention, are characterized by neither beauty nor originality (Ill. 272).



Ill. 276. — Notre Dame-de-l'Épine. Façade



Ill. 277. — Façade of Troyes

Flamboyant tracery, far from being confined to the windows, was a favorite decoration for well-nigh every part of the church building. It adorned the interstices of the portals, the open work of the gables, the balustrades in which the flamboyant builders took such delight; it was used as an appliqué decoration for blank wall surfaces; even the spires were constructed of it. Everywhere the tracery preserved the same character, the same lines of double curvature, the design being merely adapted to the shape of the field. And, as in the window tracery, the patterns, although often of the greatest delicacy, are apt to lack architectural dignity.

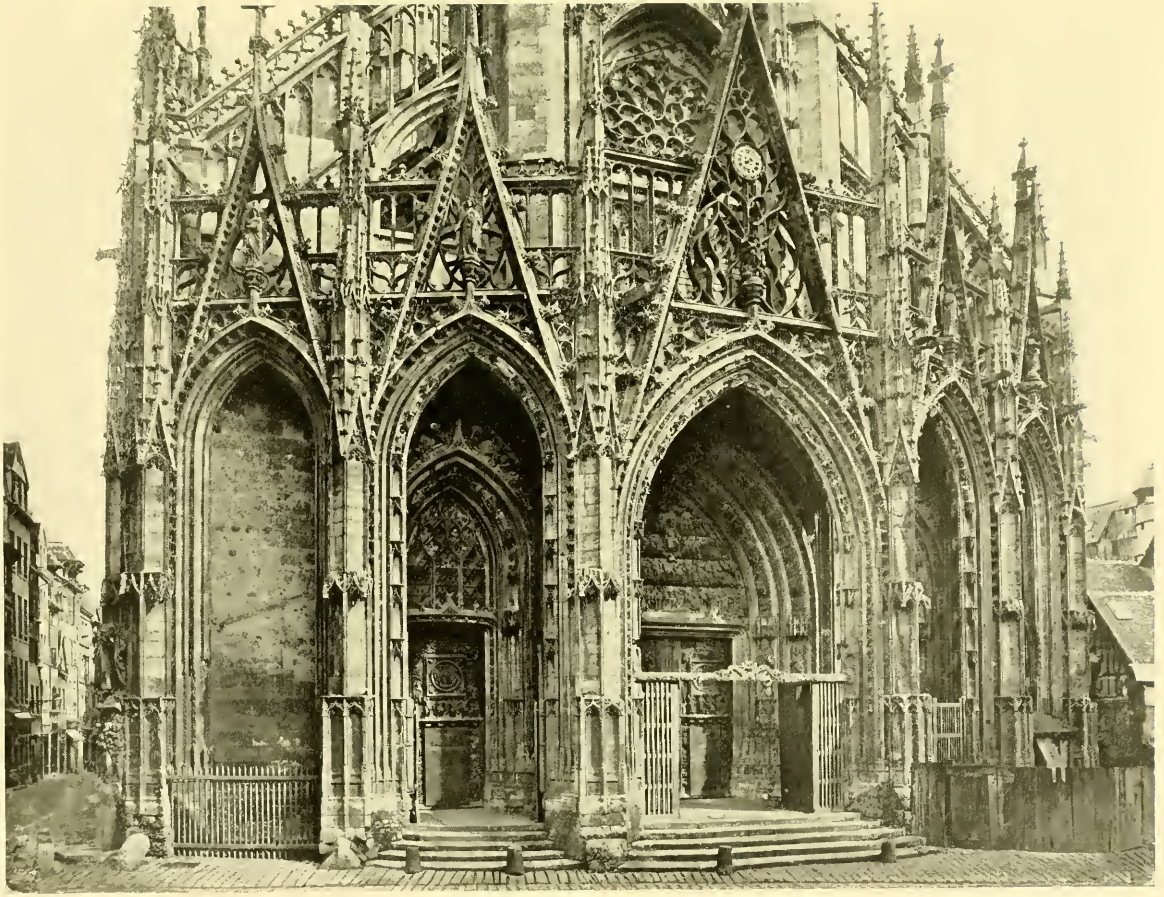
In all parts of the edifice, the details were so designed as to harmonize with the ogee and flaming lines, which struck the key-note of flamboyant design. Even the flying buttresses came to assume a sort of ogee form, and curve downwards instead of upwards. Since the lines of double curvature in ogee arch and flowing tracery characteristically met in sharp angles, this same feeling was applied to the design of the entire edifice, so that a fondness for points and sharp corners became one of the distinctive peculiarities of the style. The profiles all were made sharply prismatic; at Conches the piers are diamond shaped in plan; at Caudebec-en-Caux and in many other churches the chevet is made to end in an angle, even at the expense of placing a column on axis (Ill. 273).

The one important structural innovation introduced by the flamboyant builders — and that an innovation of design rather than of structure — was a new device to adjust the octagonal spire to the square tower. As in the XIII century, between the tower and spire was inserted a vertical octagonal drum. The summit of the square tower was marked by a balustrade, whose strong horizontal lines, however, were broken in the best designs by buttresses carried through, or by intersecting open-work gables (Ill. 238, 190, 274, 275). Above this balustrade rose strongly marked angle turrets, similar to those which had characterized the spires of the XIII century; occasionally, as at Caudebec-en-Caux (Ill. 275) or in the Tour-de-Beurre of Rouen (Ill. 274), four extra turrets were added, crowning buttresses in the middle of each face. The distinctive features

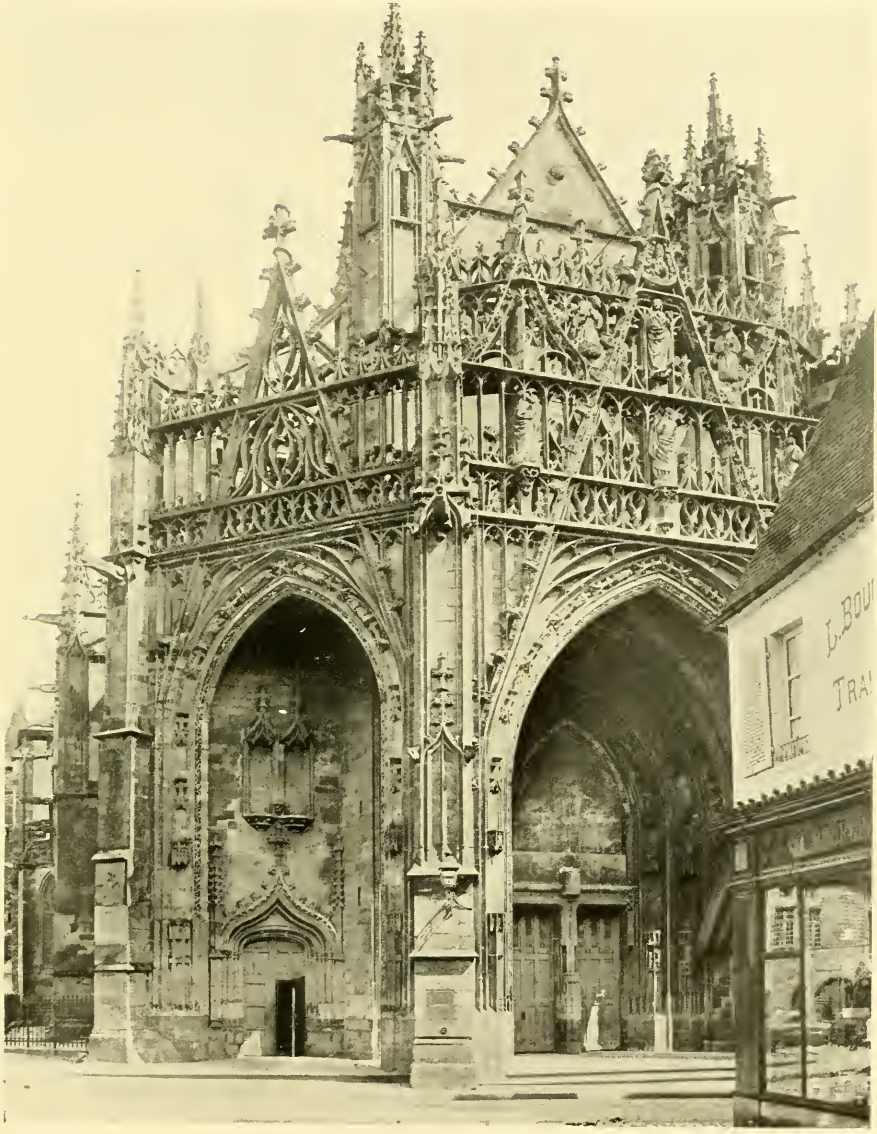
of these flamboyant towers, however, are the flying buttresses which are sprung from the angle or face turrets to the main tower — buttresses which may add slightly to the strength of the tower, but whose chief purpose is to unify the design and lead the eye smoothly from square to octagon. Similarly flying buttresses connect the turrets, which crown the octagonal tower, with the spire, if this exist. The spires themselves are sometimes comparatively simple as at Chartres (Ill. 190), more often constructed of elaborate open-work tracery, as at Caudebec-en-Caux (Ill. 275), or Notre Dame-de-l'Épine (Ill. 276).

Without question certain of these spires are among the finest achievements of the flamboyant style, and we are fortunate in possessing a comparatively large number of excellent examples. The design often lacks, it is true, the simplicity and dignity of the early Gothic spires of the Ile de France, the sense of proportion of the XIII and XIV century productions of Normandy. The excess of detail often gives a feeling of restlessness, and obscures the main lines of the composition. Notwithstanding this weakness, however, the flamboyant spire, at its best, still remains a masterwork of design; the northern spire of Chartres, for example, is not unworthy to take its place beside one of the noblest creations of the preceding centuries (Ill. 190). On the other hand, to what depths these designs could descend at their worst is sufficiently witnessed by the spires of Notre Dame-de-l'Épine (Ill. 276).

In the treatment of the façade, flamboyant architecture in the main simply applied its own characteristic ornament to a design essentially the same, in its larger features, as that which had been established by the Gothic builders. Thus the façade of Notre Dame-de-l'Épine (Ill. 276) follows completely the Gothic type in its main divisions; the façade of Troyes (Ill. 277) repeats the mistake of Paris (Ill. 223), suggesting a three-aisled church, rather than the five-aisled edifice which it actually precedes. In the façade of Rouen (Ill. 269) all attempt to express externally the interior dispositions was abandoned. As a piece of pure design this west front is singularly light and fanciful, and sham though it be, must be ranked among the most graceful and original of flamboyant constructions. Nothing could be



Ill. 278. — Façade of St. Maclou of Rouen



Ill. 279. — Notre Dame of Alençon. Façade

more picturesque than the buttresses which mark the vertical bays; nothing more charming than the dainty arcade which forms the upper story. Notwithstanding the profusion of detail the composition as a whole is well ordered; the large divisions are never obscured by the ornament. But of all flamboyant façades at once the most ambitious and most successful is the south transept end of Beauvais (Ill. 240), a stirring and rhythmical composition of colossal dimensions, in which, for once, flamboyant art attained the dignity of an earlier age.

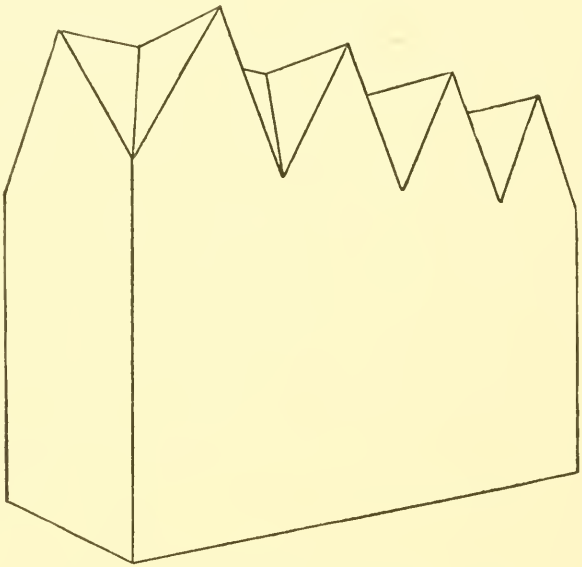
During the XV century, especially in Normandy, porches of considerable depth were built before the portals of country churches, possibly to serve as a secular meeting-place for the people of the parish. It was probably from this germ that developed the great porches that became one of the glories of the flamboyant style of Normandy. These porches, which occupied the entire breadth of the façade, were usually erected on a plan including three or five sides of a polygon. Of imposing dimensions, ornamented with all the splendors of flamboyant decoration, such a porch formed a frontispiece of the greatest beauty and originality. Excellent examples of this remarkable feature exist at St. Maclou of Rouen (Ill. 278), Notre Dame of Caudebec-en-Caux, and Notre Dame of Alençon (Ill. 279).

Another remarkable peculiarity of flamboyant design is the angle buttress. In the Gothic period it had been customary to place two buttresses on every corner, one continuing the direction of each wall; but in a polygonal apse or chevet, where this construction became awkward, a single buttress had been placed square against the angle. The flamboyant builders, attracted partly by motives of economy, partly by their innate love of intersections and penetrations, used such angle buttresses even on square corners.

In the département of Aube rural churches were ordinarily constructed with three aisles, all of equal height. To avoid an unduly elevated gable roof the side aisles were roofed with a series of parallel gables set at right angles to the main axis. This peculiar disposition will be clear from the diagram (Ill. 280).

The alterations which the flamboyant builders introduced

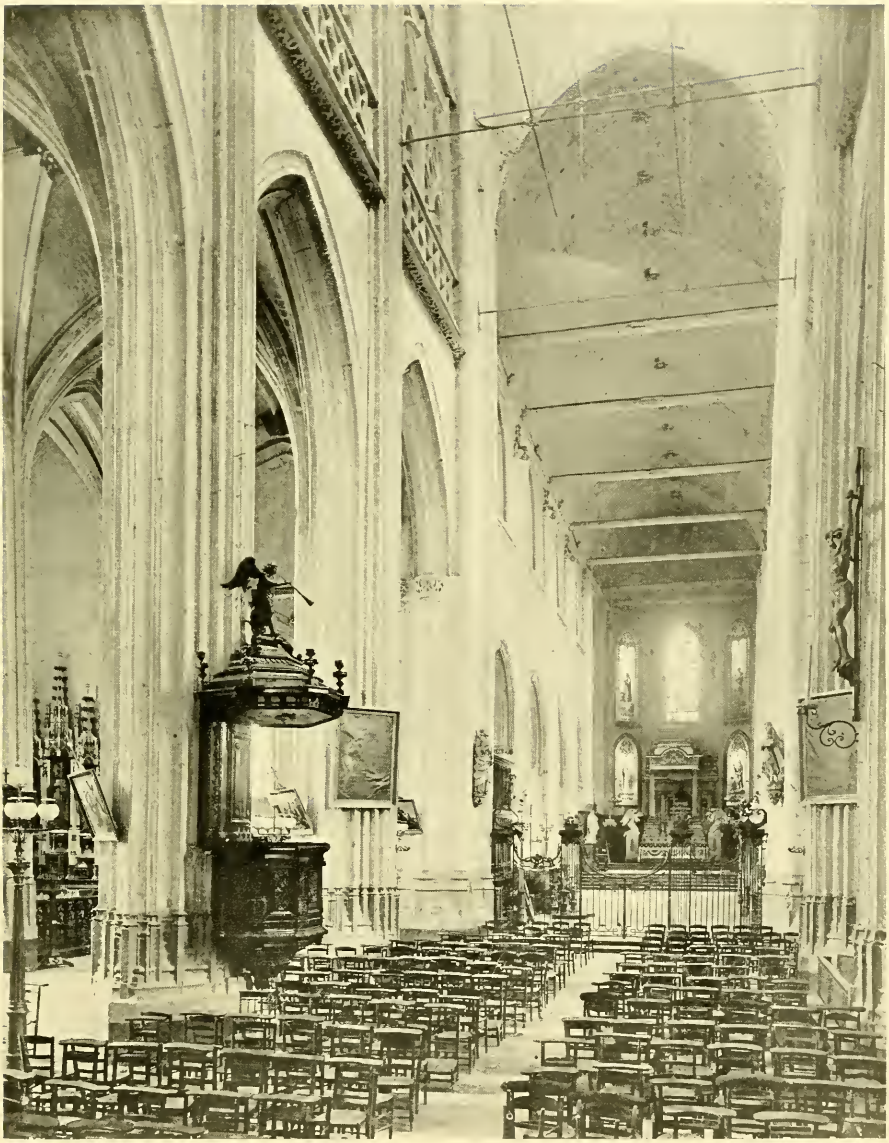
into the interior of the church were more vital than those which they wrought in the exterior design, though here, too, the changes were preëminently of a decorative character. At St. Satur we have seen capitals reduced to a purely decorative rôle, their structural significance having been completely destroyed; it was only natural and logical that the flamboyant artists should omit capitals altogether. Rarely, these members were retained, but if so, they were treated as ornaments. The round or polygonal abacus projected but very slightly; in fact the entire composition



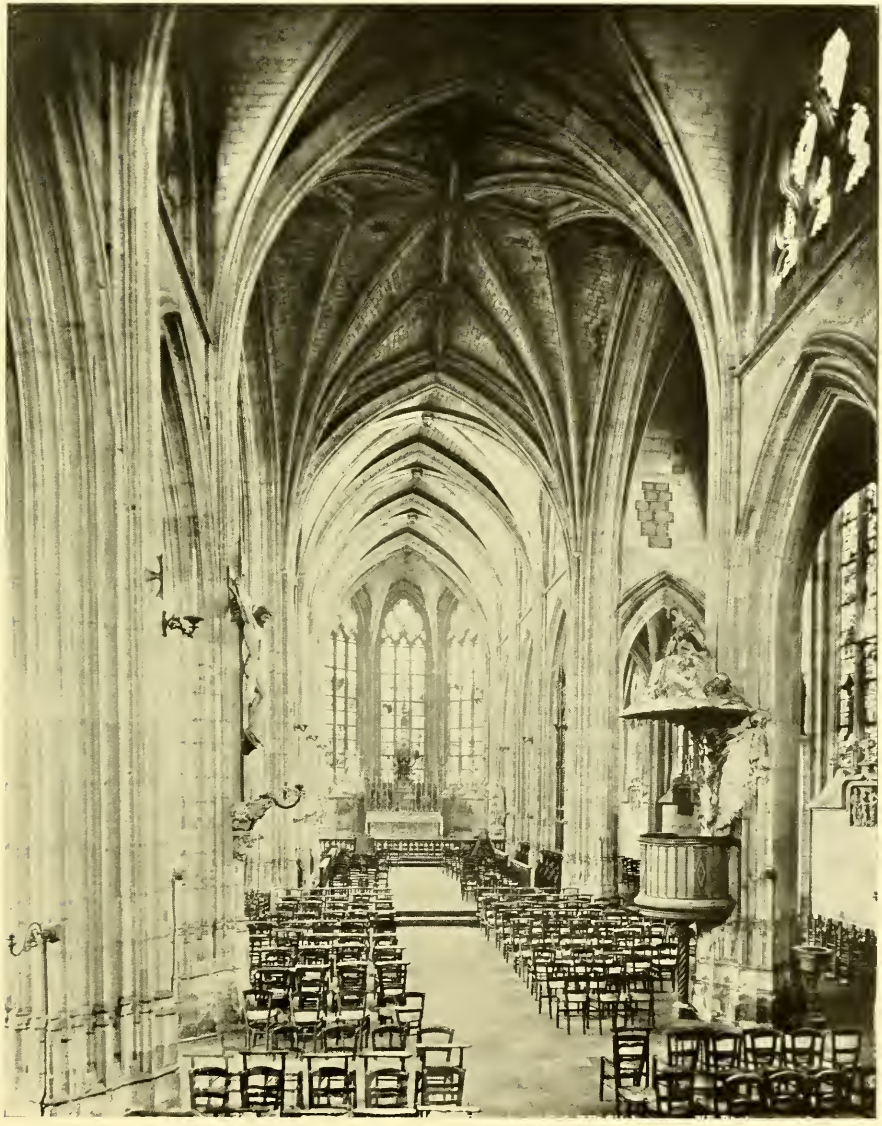
Ill. 280. — Roof Scheme of Churches of Aube

became merely a series of mouldings, the largest hollow of which was filled with a garland of foliage. The builders who seem to have realized the shortcomings of such insignificant excrescences, studied to omit the crowning member wherever possible. When load and support were of the same shape and size, this could be done easily; but even when these conditions did not exist the architects managed to obviate the capital by means of interpenetrating and disappearing mouldings.

Mouldings, which simply merged into each other or faded away in the wall, were not an entirely new idea, since a few exceptional examples may be found in buildings of the XIV



Ill. 281. — Abbeville. Interior



Ill. 282. — St. Germain of Amiens. Interior

century — in the porch of St. Urbain of Troyes, at the cathedrals of Carcassonne and Châlons-sur-Marne, in the nave of Albi, and at Ste. Croix of Bernay. It is also interesting to remark, in view of the fact that the flamboyant style is suspected of having been strongly influenced by English models, that penetrations occur in England from as early as the end of the XIII century, — *e.g.*, at Christchurch (Hampshire). At all events, from whatever the flamboyant builders derived this idea, they adopted it with enthusiasm. Not only was one rib made to fuse with another, and both fade into the wall or system, not only did open-work gable intersect horizontal moulding and base overlap base, but the architects seem to have fairly exhausted themselves in conceiving the most puzzling arrangements of superimposed plan. A buttress square at its base as it ascends becomes diamond-shaped, then octagonal, the successive portions all mutually interpenetrating. Ribs disappearing in a columnar support reappear at the bottom in precisely the same profile, and receive separate bases. The execution of these subtle and complex designs demanded the highest skill in stone cutting, and it is impossible to withhold that astonishment which the builders doubtless aimed to excite. Yet, after all, these lines that melt into each other, or fade away in the wall, give an impression of uncertainty, of weakness, that painfully mars the effect of even the best flamboyant interiors, such as that of Caudebec-en-Caux (Ill. 273).

In the early XV century, the golden age of the flamboyant style, the disappearing moulding was but little used, the mouldings generally being continuous from floor to archivolt or rib, as at Abbeville (Ill. 281), or St. Germain of Amiens (Ill. 282). Such systems do not lack elegance, for the strongly accentuated and multiplied vertical lines lend the composition a character of loftiness, almost of strength. When, however, in the last half of the XV century cylindrical supports came to be generally substituted for compound piers, the ribs and archivolts were almost invariably made to melt into these pillars. Notwithstanding the elegance of the technique, such designs leave an unpleasant impression of indecision (Ill. 283). The most degraded of all forms of moulding, however, is found in certain

monuments — happily but few — of the XVI century, and generally of the last half of that century. The piers are cut into a series of large undulating half-rounds without any sharp corners. In these bulges — they cannot be called mouldings — the system disappears. The northeast pier of the crossing of Beauvais (Ill. 231) is constructed in this unfortunate manner, and the same system is found at Nonancourt (Eure) and in the unfinished choir of Abbeville (Ill. 281).

In the treatment of vaults, the flamboyant style was at times quite as unfortunate as in the design of profiles. From the XIII century the idea of multiplying the ribs so as to form a decorative pattern must have been present in the minds of certain master builders, for Villard de Honnecourt sketched one in his album, and such a vault was actually executed over the crossing of Amiens. It was, however, in England, that the idea took firm root, and from the first quarter of the XIII century multiple rib vaults became one of the most strongly distinctive features of the local style, being developed in a most extraordinary variety of forms, which at last culminated in the evolution of the fan vault. The flamboyant builders doubtless imported this feature from England at the same time that they appropriated so many other peculiarities of the Anglican style, but their treatment of the multiple rib vault was always strangely unsuccessful. Even aside from the question of the artistic propriety of perverting a feature essentially structural to the whims of decorative caprice, the multiple rib vaults of the flamboyant period are merely bad copies of English designs, falling far below their originals when judged from whatever point of view. The vault of the crossing of St. Germain of Amiens (Ill. 282) is little better than a travesty of English lierne vaults of a well-known type, while the distorted vaults of Notre Dame of Alençon (Ill. 284) are a strange perversion of the noble roof of Exeter. In the XV century multiple rib vaults, though employed, as for example at Notre Dame-de-l'Épine (1419), were rather an unusual construction; but in the XVI century they came to be more and more used. Even more objectionable than the ribs themselves was the inappropriate and florid ornament that was frequently lavished upon them (Ill. 284).

Ill. 283. — St. Etienne-du-Mont, Paris. Interior

Ill. 284. — Notre Dame, Alençon. Interior

The flamboyant builders, however, carried the ornamentation of their vaults to even greater lengths, adorning the keystones with great hanging pendants. These pendants were also doubtless imported from England, where the feature had been developed to meet the exigencies of design in fan vaulting, although here, too, the Gothic builders had taken a few steps in the same direction. From the earliest times of the transition it had been the custom to carve with especial elaboration the keystone of the diagonal ribs, a member whose highly important structural function in joining and supporting the two arches was thus appropriately called to the attention of the eye. In the XIV century this ornament was often developed into an elaborate excrescence, often projecting some inches below the stone itself; and in the early flamboyant period the keystone was regularly decorated with the escutcheon of the donors of the edifice, carved with great elaboration and often unduly large.

Such keystones probably suggested the use of the English pendant in a position that feature was never meant to occupy, and one which deprived it of the little justification for existence that it had ever possessed. These great carved stones, hanging down a foot or so from the surface of the vault and supported by a trick of construction, are not only absolutely unstructural, but are without any compensating beauty of design. The best of the English pendants, in the Henry VII chapel of Westminster, or at Christ Church, Oxford, although much overpraised by the unthinking tourist, are entirely reprehensible from an architectural and even from an esthetic standpoint; they yet possess a certain fineness of detail, and a sense of composition that raises them far above the debased French imitations.

The coarseness and vulgarity of these French pendants may be judged from the vaults of St. Pierre of Caen (Ill. 259) or of the crossing of St. Étienne-du-Mont (Ill. 283). Not content with one of these monstrosities to each vault, the flamboyant builders proceeded to increase the number, placing a pendant at each intersection of the multiple ribs.

Happily such aberrations are a symptom of the last deca-

dence of the style, and mar comparatively few monuments. Pendants are extremely rare before the XVI century; the church of Villenaux, dedicated in 1449, contains, I believe, the earliest example of their use. The aisle vaults of Pont-l'Évêque (Calvados) are furnished with pendants which must date from c. 1490, and from this moment the feature is of not infrequent occurrence.

In other directions the flamboyant style preserved essentially unchanged the main features of Gothic design. The triforium was sometimes glazed; sometimes was retained in essentially its old form — as at Notre Dame of Alençon (Ill. 284) or Caudebec-en-Caux (Ill. 273); sometimes was reduced to a balustrade — as at St. Pierre of Coutances (Ill. 285); or sometimes was altogether omitted — as at St. Germain of Amiens (Ill. 282) or St. Étienne-du-Mont (Ill. 283). Of all these forms the glazed triforium is the least frequent, being rarely used except in constructions built in continuation of an unfinished rayonnant building.

Such varied triforium designs are merely a manifestation of a new spirit of eclecticism which is conspicuous in flamboyant art. The individual architect is everywhere coming into prominence; his tastes, his preferences, his caprices, rather than the contemporary style, govern the design. Progress in the old collective sense is being gradually abandoned; a given feature is used now here, now there in a purely arbitrary manner, and it is no longer possible to tell the approximate date of a building from a glance at the style. In the archaistic designs of the tower of Lisieux, — a monument built in the XVI century in conscious imitation of the style of the transition — or of the choir of Notre Dame-de-l'Épine, we are face to face with the Individual — the Individual in the Renaissance and modern sense of the word — thoroughly out of sympathy with the spirit of his times and trying in vain to struggle for higher and better things. Such a state of affairs in the XIII century would be unthinkable. Similarly in the naves of St. Ouen of Rouen, Troyes, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Meaux there are present features absolutely at variance with the prevailing tendencies of flamboyant design, features which it is impossible to explain

Ill. 285. — St. Pierre, Coutances. Interior

altogether as having been introduced to harmonize with the earlier portions of these buildings. In Normandy, in the full flamboyant period, country churches like Villedieu-les-Poêles — doubtless from reasons of economy — continued to be supplied with lancet windows without tracery. In such eclectic tendencies apparent everywhere in flamboyant design as in so much else, this final phase of medieval art was the prophet of the Renaissance and modern styles. The growing independence of the master builders was the last step in the evolution of the modern architect.

Into the domain of ornament, flamboyant art introduced much that was new and original. The profiles are characterized by the use of prismatic forms and sharp edges; the Gothic three-quarter rounds are omitted altogether (Ill. 281) or are given an angular character by the addition of a fillet on the outer edge. The projecting portions of the archivolts — as at Abbeville (Ill. 281) — consist of sharp edges formed by the intersection of two receding members, whose profiles are often of double curvature, analogous to the lines of the ogee arch or flowing tracery. The mouldings have been made much smaller and much more numerous; for a few strong lines have been substituted many lighter ones.

The vertical profile of the bases remains essentially unchanged from the XIV century; two tori divided by a scotia are still placed on a very much elongated plinth. Yet the profiles of scotia and tori are no longer simple, but have become subtle lines often of surpassing beauty, and occasionally even of double curvature. The distinguishing feature of the flamboyant base, however, is the interpenetration of its members, for the bases of the projecting mouldings placed at a higher level penetrate the main bases of the pier. Notwithstanding the somewhat over-complex character of this motive, it is often executed with such technical skill as to produce results of rare grace and charm (Ill. 281).

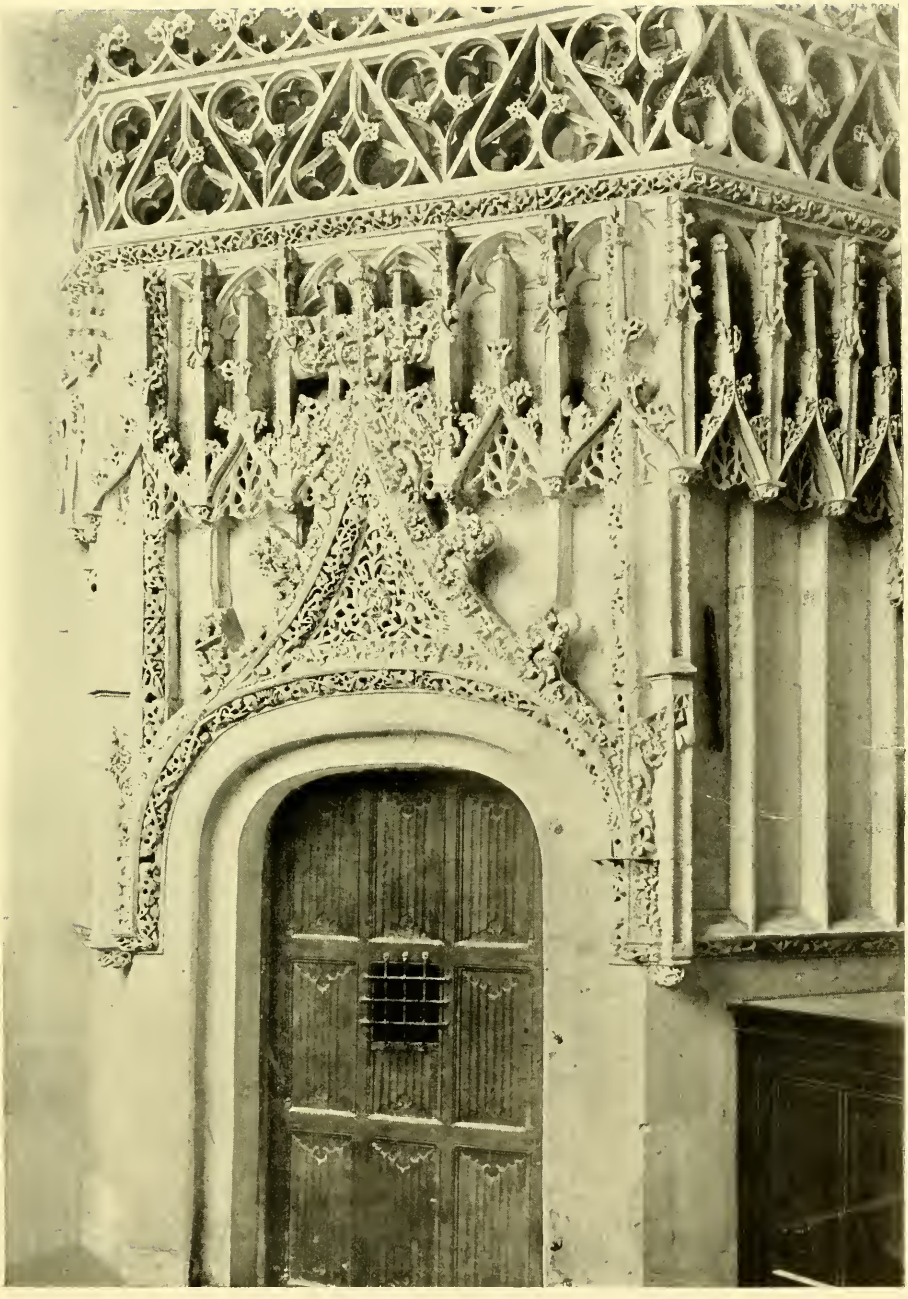
In the treatment of the ornamental flora and fauna, flamboyant architecture simply pursued the way pointed out by the XIV century. Since capitals were largely eliminated, the opportunities for decoration in leaf-forms were much reduced,

although crockets, string-courses, the all-over patterns of tympana, etc., still offered much chance for vegetable ornament. The plant forms — except in the XVI century, where under the influence of the Renaissance the acanthus-leaf reappeared — were extremely naturalistic and detailed, thus acquiring a somewhat restless character. They at times also tended to become rather coarse and florid; the leaves were often given crispy, wavy edges, as in the doorway at Rue (Ill. 286).

Flamboyant animals are also thoroughly unconventional. In the birds and the deer that are carved among the vines of the string-courses, in the gargoyles that climb down from the eaves, and in the grotesques that eat the foliage of the crockets, conventionalization and idealism have no place. These animals, too, are coming to assume a somewhat florid character; their hair executed with great detail tends to kink into curves savoring of the Renaissance; the wing of one of the gargoyles on the porch of Bernay (Ill. 270) forms a classic scroll.

Also prophetic of the Renaissance is the flamboyant love of spiral paneling on columns and doorways. One of the columns of Ste. Croix of Provins (Ill. 287) calls to mind the spiral flutings and twisted columns of Early Christian times, so frequently copied by the Renaissance artists. Since wall paintings of the XV century are extant in tolerable preservation at Auvers-le-Hamon (Sarthe), Cré-sur-Loire (Sarthe), Brinay (Cher), and in several other country churches, it is altogether probable that colored ornament was freely employed in the decoration of all flamboyant edifices, being applied to statues, ornamental carvings, and blank wall spaces. This system of decoration doubtless continued in vogue until the "superior" taste of the Renaissance changed all the medieval traditions, although the fact that the fragments of mural decoration that have come down to us from this comparatively recent epoch are so few, gives reason to believe that the flamboyant artists employed color decoration much less than their Gothic predecessors.

Fortunately some idea of flamboyant coloring may be obtained from the timber roofs, a certain number of which — at Bazouges-sur-Loire, Gallardon, Largny, Viffort, Feings, Trou-



Ill. 286. — Eglise du St. Esprit, Rue. Door of the Stairway

Ill. 287. Ste. Croix of Provins. Detail of Pier

quoy, Lavaré, etc. — preserving traces of their original color decoration, have come down to us. Like the Gothic builders, the flamboyant designers always preferred a vault; a timber roof was resorted to only in country churches, where it was impossible to raise sufficient funds for a vaulted edifice. Consequently timber roofs were never used in work of the highest class. Nevertheless these designs are so satisfactory as to give a high idea of what must have been the results of color decoration in the great monuments.

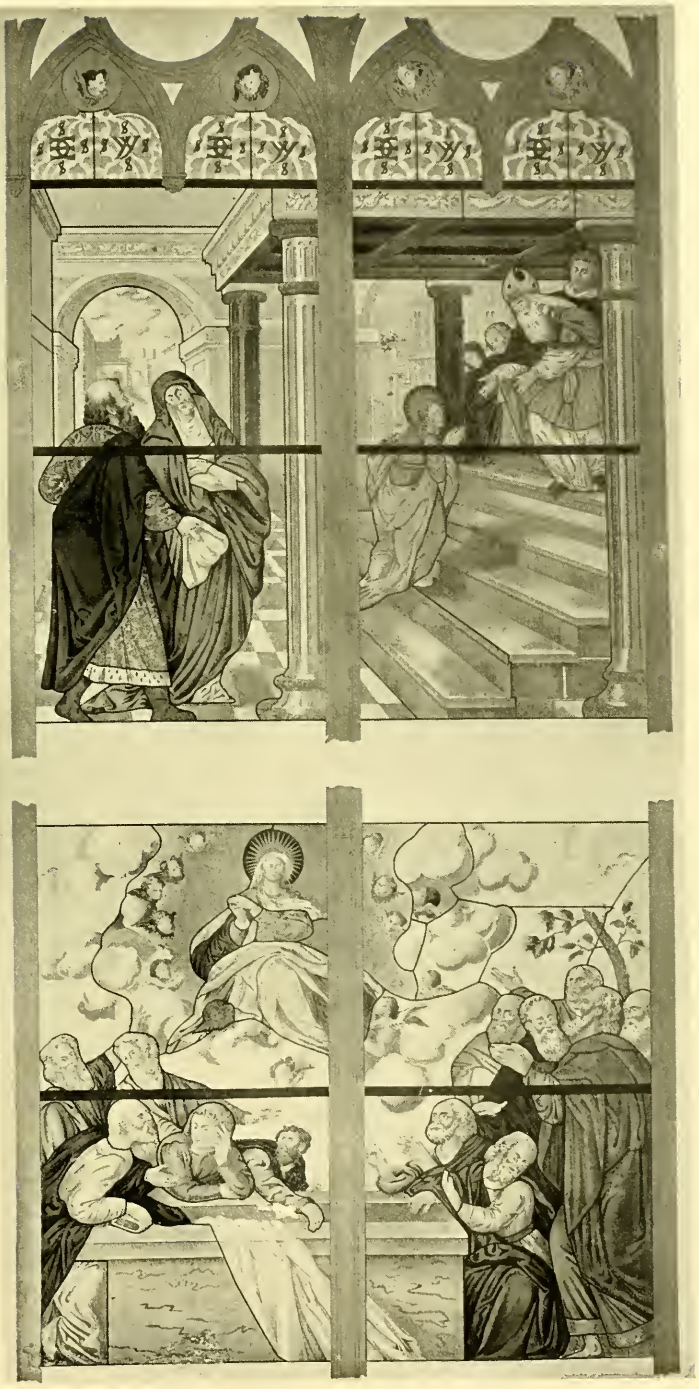
Of the stained glass of the late XV and XVI centuries there is no lack of examples. This art is thoroughly pictorial in character, and genre scenes — genre none the less although purporting to represent biblical or legendary scenes — are portrayed with a realism which in the fat figures of the women, the coarse features of the men, at once betrays the influence of Flemish models. Nevertheless these windows are not without redeeming features; if many are bad, and most indifferent, at least a few may be thoroughly enjoyed — not as architectural accessories, they are never that — but as translucent pictures. The broad fields of red and blue employed are at times of luscious beauty, while even the strange yellows and greens and grays, which tend to give so sickly a tone to the ensemble, are not without their peculiar charm when the composition is considered solely in itself. The photograph (Ill. 288) while, of course, lacking the all-essential qualification of color, will give some idea of the general character of the design of stained glass in the very last years of the flamboyant period. It is evident that we have here left the era of the Middle Ages, and entered upon that of the Renaissance.

In sculpture the same realistic tendencies and the same Flemish influence are conspicuous. In fact, it is probable that many of the flamboyant sculptors were Flemings, so completely did this French art follow the lead of the Low Countries. The minute and realistic detail cultivated by this school left no place for idealism, nor was the least attempt made to adapt these self-sufficient sculptures to their architectural environment. The figures of the choir screen of Amiens (Ill. 289), for example, while full of life and action, and while grouped

with a sense of composition worthy of the best traditions of the Renaissance, are thoroughly unarchitectural in character. Although sculpture was thus declaring its independence and pursuing its own way without regard of the requirements of its sister art, architecture was placing greater reliance than ever before on sculpture. The niche, destined to shelter a statue, was one of the fundamental motives of flamboyant decoration — a motive the builders never wearied of repeating over and over again in all portions of their buildings. The greater number of these myriad niches were probably never filled with sculptures, though of course the images of many that now stand empty have been destroyed by time or iconoclasts. Notwithstanding, however, the great number of flamboyant sculptures that have thus been lost, an enormous number, good, bad, and indifferent, have come down to us.

In the XVI century, sculpture, like architecture, was affected by the Italian and classical influences of the Renaissance. At first appearing sporadically in a few works here and there — the sculptures at Solesmes are as early as the last decade of the XV century — by the middle of the XVI century the new influence had profoundly modified the entire art. French sculpture of the Renaissance, a combination of antique, Flemish, and Italian elements, was in no way great or truly national. The few works of high merit which it produced, moreover, were always separate compositions, tombs, or portraits, or commemorative groups, executed in marble instead of in stone and never intended to serve as architectural accessories.

It is unnecessary to study here those mongrel ecclesiastical edifices which combine the Renaissance and flamboyant styles — monuments which, as a rule, combine all that is florid, bizarre, and of bad taste in either style. In secular architecture, indeed, in the châteaux and hôtels of the first half of the XVI century, the Renaissance united with dying flamboyant to form creations of surpassing charm; but in religious buildings the combination was rarely successful. The photograph of the nave of St. Étienne-du-Mont (Ill. 283) — one of the most



Ill. 288. — Stained Glass of the late XVI century, Bourges Cathedral. (From Méloizes)

Ill. 289. — Choir Screen of Amiens

refined of these "transitional" churches, — or of the choir of St. Pierre of Caen (Ill. 259), will give a sufficient idea of the death agony of flamboyant architecture.

The task of recording these final convulsions belongs rather to the historian of the architecture of the Renaissance, of that new epoch which was dawning upon the artistic world with a sky so full of doubt and ill-omen. The course of the art of the Middle Ages had been run. Born in obscurity and baseness, this wonderful architecture had by its own virtue raised itself to the loftiest heights which it is perhaps granted for human art to attain; it had long maintained its supremacy; at last it had declined and lay vanquished before the revivified skeleton of Antiquity. Medieval art was dead, dead with the age, with the faith that produced it — utterly, irretrievably, forever dead. *Requiescat in pace.*

FLAMBOYANT MONUMENTS

Monuments of the Second Class

ROUEN, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Maclou.* (Ill. 278.) This church must have been begun during the English occupation, for in 1432, Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, granted forty days of indulgence to those of the faithful who should contribute towards the expenses of the new edifice. An appeal was made in 1445,[1] to "the very high and powerful prince, the Lord Duke of York, Lieutenant-General and Governor of France and Normandy" to give twenty pounds sterling to complete the works already begun. In 1453 Guillaume d'Etouteville granted further indulgences in favor of those who should aid in the construction of the church. In 1471 Pierre du Four, bourgeois of Rouen, made an important gift that the building might be finished. However, the edifice must still have been far from completion since on the second of April, 1500, twenty cardinals granted a hundred days of indulgence to those who should visit the church and give money for its construction, while it was only in 1511 that Martin Deperrois commenced to build a platform over the lantern to carry the spire.[2] Thus St. Maclou was in construction for nearly a century. Since, however, the original plans were for the most part executed without material change, the edifice may fairly be considered as an homogeneous example of the architecture of the second quarter of the XV century. The monument, which forms approximately a Greek cross in plan, consists of a nave, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, transepts, a central

[1] This letter was published in *Archives de la Normandie* II, 333.

[2] The history of St. Maclou has been worked up from the original sources by Du Val. (Vol. II, pp. 154–156.) The most important texts are cited in the original by Inkersley, 115.

lantern covered with an open-work spire, a choir, an ambulatory, and radiating chapels. Before the portals is a five-sided narthex of considerable projection — an unusual feature which forms a most imposing entrance. Internally the vaults of the nave are singularly lofty; though the mouldings are prismatic, the system continuous, and capitals omitted, there are no disappearing mouldings nor multiple rib vaults. The tracery is fully developed flamboyant, but a certain restraint and awkwardness is noticeable in the use of the ogee arch. The flying buttresses are areaded and of great lightness. Originally a spire in wood and lead, gilded, surmounted the lantern, but this is known only from the model in the Archaeological Museum, for it was destroyed in the XVIII century. The existing stone flèche was erected in the XIX century. (De Baurepaire; Frothingham.)

St. Vincent. The nave, the chapel formerly known as of St. Nicholas, now as of the Sacré Coeur, and the northern portal are said to have been built between 1458 and 1471. The transepts were in construction from 1470 to 1480, the southern portal having been finished about 1475. In 1480 the first stone of the main portal was laid. The choir was begun in 1515 on designs entirely different from, and much more ambitious than, those of the rest of the edifice; it was terminated probably by about 1526, notwithstanding the fact that the dedication did not take place before 1531. Though flamboyant in style, the central tower dates from 1669. The existing edifice consists of a nave shorter than the choir, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, transepts, a polygonal chevet, and an ambulatory. The flying buttresses of the choir are singularly light and fantastic. Before the western façade is a fine narthex porch. The great glory of the St. Vincent, however, is its glass of the XVI century. (Renaud; De la Balle.)

St. Laurent. In 1248 a fire which started at the Porte-Beauvoisine destroyed the churches of St. Ouen, St. Goddard, and St. Laurent. The reconstruction of St. Laurent was probably begun immediately afterwards. In the XV century, however, another rebuilding seems to have been undertaken, for works upon this church are mentioned as being in progress in documents of 1444, 1445, and 1446. This "new work," however, was in all probability merely the reconstruction of the side aisles and clearstory. Certain windows were placed in 1464, but the alterations seem to have been completed only in 1482. From 1490 to 1501 [1] the tower — a gem of flamboyant art — was in construction. The existing edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, a polygonal chevet, and an ambulatory. (De la Balle.)

St. André-de-la-Porte-aux-Febvres. Only the beautiful tower, said to have been built in 1541–45, survives. It was originally crowned by a spire, now destroyed. (De la Balle.)

PARIS, Seine. *St. Étienne-du-Mont.* (Ill. 283.) The choir was commenced in 1517 and entirely finished in 1535; the nave and the side aisles were completed in the last years of the XVI century; the date 1600 is inscribed upon the jubé; the façade, entirely Renaissance in style, was built between 1610 and 1624. An unusual disposition is the narrow gallery running around the nave and passing from column to column. Otherwise the monument is a typical three-aisled church with a com-

[1] Du Val II, 124, cit. Inkersley, 115.

plete set of chapels and an ambulatory. Except for the pendant vault of the crossing, the vaults are simple; the piers, however, are cylindrical, the mouldings disappear, there are no capitals. Much classic feeling is evident in the nave, but in the choir there are but few Renaissance details. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 88.)

St. Eustache is said to have been in construction from 1532 to 1642. The details of this large and important monument are thoroughly Renaissance in character, but the structure is Gothic. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. I, 86.)

St. Nicolas-des-Champs. This monument originally erected in the XIV century was reconstructed in 1420 and again in 1576. At the latter epoch the choir and part of the nave were rebuilt in the Renaissance style. With the exception of the portal, restored in 1843, the façade is flamboyant. The present side aisles originally were chapels, but in the XV century they were altered into their present form, and new chapels constructed beyond. (Beale.)

St. Médard, one of the most picturesque churches of Paris, with the exception of the choir erected between 1586 and 1655, dates from the end of the XV, or from the early XVI, century, but the interior was rebuilt in the classical style in 1784. There is an ambulatory, but there are no transepts. The piers are without capitals, and the keystones and bosses are elaborately carved. The radiating chapels have Doric columns. (Beale.)

St. Méry, a vast edifice with transepts and ambulatory, was commenced in 1520 or a few years later, but was not finished before the XVII century. The beautiful west façade is a mass of rich flamboyant decoration, unfortunately much restored. Intersecting mouldings, open-work gables, and ogee arches characterize the portal. The upper part of the tower, on the other hand, is of the XVII century. With the exception of the rich pendant vaults of the nave, the entire interior was made over in the time of Louis XIV. Perhaps the most interesting parts of the edifice are the fine arcaded flying buttresses of the chevet. (Beale.)

St. Gervais et St. Protais. This church was erected at the beginning of the XVI century, but is largely Renaissance in style. It consists of a nave, two side aisles, a complete set of chapels, a chevet, and an ambulatory. The façade is an over-praised work of the XVII century.

St. Jacques-la-Boucherie. Of this church only the gracious tower survives. This was begun in 1508. In 1510 the first story had been constructed, and the entire tower was finished in 1521 or 1522. (Troche.)

St. Laurent, reconstructed, it is said, in 1429, was enlarged in 1548, in 1595, and finally in 1865–67. The portal and spire are modern. The façade, however, is of interest.

CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE, Marne. *Notre Dame-de-l'Épine* (Ill. 276) seems to be an archaistic building built in conscious imitation of Reims. Work was begun in 1419 and continued with several interruptions until 1459. Then ensued a long interruption, the building being completed only in the first part of the XVI century. These two eras of construction may be readily distinguished in the existing edifice: to the first belong the choir, the transepts, the greater part of the four eastern bays of the nave; to the second, the façade, the two western bays of the nave, and portions

of the eastern bays. Notwithstanding the comparatively small dimensions, this edifice (which consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, transepts, a choir of three bays, a polygonal chevet, and a double ambulatory) contains all the essential parts of a Gothic cathedral. Most noteworthy is the purity of the details of the interior. The picturesque exterior seems to have been influenced by military architecture. (Von Bezold.)

COUTANCES, Manche. *St. Pierre.* (Ill. 285.) The unpublished records of the reconstruction of this church are said to be preserved in the presbytery, among the "Archives de la Fabrique." The main body of the building was finished in 1494 as is known from an inscription placed behind the choir, on one of the columns of the chapel of St. Louis; the date 1550 inscribed on one of the towers seems to indicate the epoch at which the edifice was entirely completed. The monument consists of a single western tower, a nave, two side aisles, a lofty central lantern crowned by a cupola, transepts, a choir, a polygonal chevet, and an ambulatory. Disappearing mouldings and a triforium reduced to a balustrade characterize the interior. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

St. Nicolas. This church, founded in the XIII century, was in ruins at the end of the XIV century. The rebuilding was begun in 1409, and continued until about 1430, but the edifice has obviously been many times since altered, for the existing structure is a puzzling mixture of the styles of the XIII, XIV, XV, and XVII centuries. At present the monument consists of a central western tower, a nave, two side aisles, two chapels forming a sort of transept, a lantern, a choir, a chevet, and an ambulatory. The piers of the chevet are monolithic. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

Église de l'Hospice. The fine flamboyant *clocher* of the XV century still survives. It seems to show English influence in some of its tracery and in the ill adjustment of the spire to the tower. (De la Balle.)

CAUDEBEC-EN-CAUX, Seine-Inférieure. *Notre Dame.* (Ill. 273, 275.) "This nave was commenced in 1426. The blessing of God, and good life, and Paradise to its benefactors."[1] This inscription, still existing in the church, fixes the date at which the present structure was begun; it is not known when it was finished, but the façade and spire can hardly be earlier than the XVI century. The church as it stands is one of the purest and most beautiful of all flamboyant edifices; it consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, a two-sided chevet with pier on axis, and an ambulatory. The mouldings of the archivolts and of the vault ribs disappear; slight capitals, however, crown the cylindrical piers. Corbels placed just above these capitals support the system of a single shaft. The high triforium is not glazed, but like the clearstory it is supplied with a balustrade. Escutcheons are carved upon the keystones of the simple vaults. Fine flamboyant tracery fills the windows. The flying buttresses have a single strut, but are finely developed. The florid west façade

[1] "L' an Mil CCCCXXVI
fu cette nef cy co'mencie.
Sante Dieu bienz et bo'ne vie
As b'nfaicteurs et paradis."

is supplied with a Renaissance balustrade with caryatids. To the south rises a tower with a fine open-work spire.

Ste. Gertrude. This church of the XVI century is characterized by a polygonal apse, transepts of small extent, and a central tower surmounted by a slate spire. The vaults of the choir have pendants. (Benoist.)

DIEPPE, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Jacques.* The main body of this edifice, usually considered the finest parish church of Normandy, belongs to the XIV century, and consequently to the Gothic rather than to the flamboyant period, and the extremities of the two transepts are even believed to be fragments of a church dedicated to Ste. Catherine and destroyed in 1195, for they bear the marks of long exposure to the weather. There is some doubt as to the date of the tower, whose lower parts some archaeologists assign to the XV century, while others assign the entire structure to the XVI century. The choir vaults were rebuilt in the XVI century with pendants, and the triforium and clearstory were altered at the same time. This choir, which is supplied with a polygonal chevet and an ambulatory, comprises three bays, being thus just half as long as the nave. With the exception of the southwestern tower which projects somewhat beyond the line of chapels that border the nave, the façade and the two turrets that flank its gable date from the XIV century. The piers of the choir are surrounded by a number of colonnettes one of which bears the three shafts of the system. The triforium is supplied with balustrades in the Norman manner. (De la Balle; Benoist I, 60.)

St. Remi. The nave is of the XVI century.

Ancienne Église St. Remi. The foundations of this edifice of the XIII and XIV centuries have lately been excavated. The tower still stands.

Monuments of the Third Class

ABBEVILLE, Somme. *St. Vulfran.* (Ill. 281.) The construction of this edifice was begun in 1480, but was interrupted in 1539, the building being completed only in the XVII century. The façade, flanked by two fine towers, is the most remarkable portion of the existing structure, and is extremely rich and picturesque, although a slight tendency towards florid ornament is apparent. The walls of the nave, sustained by ogee flying buttresses, are supplied with two exterior galleries both with open-work balustrades. One of these galleries is placed over the vaults of the chapels, the other just below the cornice which is crowned by an open-work parapet. Open-work gables surmount the windows of the chapels. The interior consists of a narrow nave of five bays, two side aisles, six lateral chapels, and an unfinished choir of decadent style. All the keystones of the multiple rib vaults of the nave are adorned with sculptures and escutcheons; capitals are omitted; the ribs disappear. Beneath the clearstory is a triforium with open-work balustrade. (Nodier et Taylor, *Picardie* I.)

CARENTON, Manche. *Église.* Of the building of the XI century there remain only the four great piers of the crossing and the arches which support the tower. In the second half of the XII century the existing western portal was constructed. The date 1443, inscribed upon one of the piers of the nave, doubtless indicates that a

reconstruction of the church was begun at this time. To this reconstruction may be attributed all the existing southern side aisle and a part of the nave. Some years later (1466) the rebuilding of the choir was commenced, as is known from an inscription on the keystone of the vault.[1] Carenton is a monument of great beauty and originality; the exterior with its fine flying buttresses and its rich and elegant tower is an exceptionally interesting composition. The plan includes five aisles, and a chevet with ambulatory. (De la Balle; Benoist V, 30.)

DREUX, Eure-et-Loire. *St. Pierre* is remarkable principally for its flamboyant portal, richly adorned with sculptured detail. The remainder of the façade is for the most part Renaissance in style. An inscription surrounded by a gilded arabesque gives the precise date: "To decorate this temple of God and supply it with a magnificent entrance, in the year 1524 was constructed this beautiful portal, and these two towers where the bells are rung to warn every good Catholic to serve God and fight the enemy."[2] The lateral porch with its pointed arches and arcades dates from the XII century; the nave seems to be of the first half of the XV century, with the exception of its two westernmost bays, which are of the XVI century; the southern transept is also of the XVI century; in the choir and the northern transept are preserved fragments of the architecture of the XII century; the nave chapels and the ambulatory are of the XV century. The edifice, which is vaulted throughout, consists of a nave six bays long, two side aisles, a choir, a double ambulatory, and six radiating chapels. There are fine flying buttresses, and much superb glass. (Paty.)

CONCHES, Eure. *Ste. Foi.* No portion of the present edifice is earlier than the end of the XV century. Nicolas Sevavasseur (1509–25) probably constructed the choir — at least, it is certain that he was the donor of the magnificent windows of this part of the church, for his portrait is to be seen in the lower part of the central light, and the date, 1520, discovered with the name of the artist on the fringe of a figure of St. Louis would seem to confirm this supposition. In 1842 the spire of wood and lead, one of the most charming of flamboyant open-work designs, collapsed; it has been rebuilt, however, on the old lines. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a seven-sided apse. The nave, which has never been finished, is covered with a wooden roof; the choir has multiple rib vaults reinforced by ogee flying buttresses. Flamboyant tracery, like all the details of exquisite delicacy, fills the windows. Many of the piers of the nave are diamond-shaped in plan. It was the original plan to flank the façade by two towers; but of these the northern, Renais-

[1] Mil CCCC
LX et six
Ces fondemès
Furent assis.

[2] Pour decorer ce temple deifique
luy fu costruict pour entrée magnificq
ce beau portail mil cinq ces vingt et quatre
et ces deux tour ou sonner on scapticq
pour innocquer chacun bon catholicq
a dieu servir et lennemy combatre.

sance in style, has never been finished. The chief glory of this church is its twenty-three superb stained glass windows of the XVI century. (Bouillet.)

APPEVILLE-ANNEBAUT, Eure. *Église.* An inscription that may still be read on the wall of the south side aisle states that "In the year of Grace 1518 on the 5th of July, this church was commenced anew."[1] The choir is roofed in wood, but its side aisles — there is no ambulatory — have pendant vaults; externally this choir is decorated with gargoyles, one of which is obscene. The northern wall of the nave is said to be of the XIII century. All the rest of the nave and the tower are flamboyant, although containing Renaissance details; the principal portal with its flattened and ogee arches is a marvelous piece of lace-work. Internally the edifice, which is without clearstory, is coated with plaster. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

ARQUES, Seine-Inférieure. *Notre Dame.* The existing edifice replaces an earlier church burned in 1472, though there seems to be some doubt as to whether the construction was begun immediately or in 1515.[2] The present structure consists of a nave, double side aisles, transepts, and a polygonal apse without ambulatory. There is a single northwestern tower. The nave has a wooden roof; the choir vaults are adorned with pendants. The date 1610 is inscribed on a cartouche of the triumphal arch. (De la Balle.)

BAR-SUR-SEINE, Aube. *Église*, one of the most important flamboyant edifices of the département, contains Ionic capitals and other Renaissance features, which, however, seem to be the result of a later restoration. The choir, which is only two bays long, is supplied with an ambulatory, radiating chapels, flying buttresses, and Renaissance tracery. These eastern portions are evidently earlier than the nave, for one of the choir windows bears the date 1512, while the nave windows bear the dates 1528, 1539. (Arnaud, 100.)

ARGENTAN, Orne. *St. Germain.* A naïve inscription upon one of the piers states that "this pier was constructed in 1488 by Jean Lemoine, good mason."[3] The building, however, seems to have been commenced long before (1410) by Jean IV, duke of Alençon, but the English wars doubtless interrupted the work. After the expulsion of the English the construction was resumed at the order of Duke René, and the choir and side aisles were erected. Soon after the pier with the inscription was finished, another delay in the construction ensued. In 1540 the tower was commenced, but the governor opposed its construction for fear it should dominate the donjon, and it was finished only in 1641. The choir meanwhile had been

[1] Fust ceste église comencée neufve l'an
de Grace mil V^{cc} dix huit V^{e} de Juillet.

[2] On this question see Cochet, col. 57, Vitet II, 366, and Adolphe Lance I, 55.

[3] The inscription in toto, is as follows:

Mil quatre cent quatre vingt huit
Par Jean Lemoine bon maçon
Ce pilier icy construit.
Dieu pardonne la mal façon!
Et le fist faire à Guy Pitard
Des biens que Dieu luy a donnez
Auxquels sa femme avait part.
Du Paradis benoist guerdonnez
Par Jean Pitard a fondez
Grandes messes de la Passion
Qui de cinq playes a été fondez.
Dieu luy fasse rémission.

rebuilt in the Renaissance style, having been completed in 1609. The existing edifice is characterized by a southwestern tower, a central lantern, polygonal transepts, multiple rib vaults, the absence of capitals, disappearing ribs, and a balustrade triforium. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 17.)

St. Martin. The glass windows were executed between 1540 and 1550, so that in the main the edifice must have been completed by the middle of the XVI century, though the choir vaults date only from 1603. Externally, the structure is characterized by flying buttresses of ogee form and tracery tending to become Renaissance; internally by a slightly developed pendant vault, a system of a single shaft, the absence of capitals (except at the summits of the shafts), and disappearing mouldings. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 18.)

ALENÇON, Orne. *Notre Dame.* (Ill. 279, 284.) This church seems to date from the late XV century, with the exception of the transept and choir of the XVIII century. The portal, of which the plan comprises three sides of a polygon, is supplied with open-work gables and intersecting mouldings of very beautiful design. Internally there are a few capitals, although the mouldings disappear and the system is continuous. The vault is thoroughly English in character; the continuous triforium has a graceful balustrade. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 8.)

VERNON, Eure. *Notre Dame* was founded by William II of Vernon († 1160) according to his epitaph still preserved in the church. The existing choir was probably erected soon after this, but in 1380, Antabour, master builder, reconstructed the vaults. The present central tower dates from the XIII century, the nave for the most part from the XV century. Flamboyant tracery with intersecting mouldings fills the triforium, which, however, is not glazed. The Porche St. Sauveur as well as the principal portal of the west façade are fine examples of flamboyant design, and are supplied with flattened and ogee arches. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

LA FERTÉ-BERNARD, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* The nave of this important monument is an example of the pure flamboyant style, but the choir contains many Renaissance details. According to inscriptions the building was in construction from 1450 to 1596. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, an ambulatory, and a north lateral tower. The choir is more lofty than the nave, and its vaults are sustained by arcaded buttresses. (Wismes.)

ORLÉANS, Loiret. *Église Cathédrale Ste. Croix.* The foundations for a new edifice had probably already been built when the bishop celebrated the laying of the first stone in 1287. The choir and chevet were the first portions erected. By 1297 the choir and parts of the transepts and nave had been finished. At this point, however, the construction was interrupted until 1479, when several windows of the outer wall were erected; then the work was dropped again. In 1562 the church was pillaged by the Protestants, the piers of the crossing were sapped, and the edifice set on fire. The building was completely destroyed with the exception of the old Romanesque towers, the chapels of the ambulatory, the northern portal, and six piers of the choir. A reconstruction was begun at once and the choir was finished before 1583. However, these repairs seem to have been only partially successful, for the whole structure was essentially modified in the time of Henry IV. From then on

until 1826 the building progressed slowly, but always in a pseudo-Gothic style. (Buzonnières.)

Notre Dame-du-Chemin. Founded, it is said, by Aigus in 854, this church was torn down in 1428 when it was found necessary to clear space for the fortifications, but was rebuilt between 1438 and 1511. In 1562 the church was pillaged by the Protestants, and so severely damaged that the necessary repairs were finished only in 1617. As the building stands the apse is polygonal. The nave supplied with octagonal piers is flanked on the south side by a side aisle, on the north by a series of low chapels. (Molandon.)

SOISSONS, Aisne. *St. Jean-des-Vignes.* This abbey church, of which the façade and the cloisters still survive, was commenced in the XIII century. In the XIV and XV centuries the nave was constructed, and the western spires were completed in the early years of the XVI century, the cross being planted on the northern in 1520. Ruined as it is, the existing façade is a composition of the greatest interest. (Lambin, 90.)

FALAISE, Calvados. *Ste. Trinité* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, an ambulatory, and radiating chapels. The nave was commenced in 1438; the choir, as is known from an inscription placed at the entrance of the north ambulatory, was begun in 1510; the transepts seem to be fragments of an earlier church of the XIII century; the date 1539 is inscribed on one of the graceful Renaissance flying buttresses. The monocylindrical piers have been modernized, but they still retain their foliated capitals. A wooden vault covers the edifice. The windows have no tracery; the triforium is not glazed. The system reaches only to the triforium string. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 78.)

CLÉRY, Loiret. *Notre Dame.* With the exception of the tower of the XIV century, this collegiate church was completely destroyed by the English in 1428, and was rebuilt by Louis XI in the last half of the XV century. It consists of a nave seven bays long, two side aisles, non-projecting transepts, a choir, an ambulatory, and a modern lady chapel. The tower rises over the northern side aisle. Internally, the great arcades fall upon richly moulded cylindrical piers whose members are continued to form the system and the ribs. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 60.)

Other Monuments

BERNAY, Eure. *Ste. Croix.* When this church was burned in 1358, the monks refused to rebuild it at their own expense. In 1372, however, they made an agreement with the townspeople to erect a new edifice on the present site. The choir, with the exception of its side aisles which were not completed before 1880, was finished in the last years of the XIV century; during the last quarter of the XIV century, or at latest in the opening years of the XV century, the lower part of the northern transept and the wall of the northern side aisle were in construction. The nave was built during the first half of the XV century. After 1497 the western tower, the southern side aisle, and the south arch of the transept were erected. In 1687 the tower fell, destroying part of the nave. The interior of the existing edifice is characterized

by monocylindrical piers with capitals and bases, disappearing mouldings, and naturalistic foliage. (De la Balle.)

Notre Dame-de-la-Couture. (Ill. 270.) A mural inscription states that the windows and the interior ornamentations of the lady chapel were finished in the year 1600. One of the windows of the aisles, however, bears the date 1480. The construction must therefore have been begun about the middle of the XV century, and the edifice was probably essentially finished when the ambulatory (which may be assigned to about a century later) was completed. The existing building consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a chevet. Since the vault is in wood, there are of course no flying buttresses. The main portal with its flattened and ogee arches and its fine flamboyant tracery is of great interest. Internally the church is characterized by small windows, by the absence of a system, by monocylindrical piers, by unfoliated capitals with horizontal mouldings, and by fine glass. (De la Balle.)

NONANCOURT, Eure. *St. Martin*, which was almost entirely reconstructed in the flamboyant style in 1511, consists of a nave, two side aisles, a great chapel forming a sort of southern transept, a polygonal choir, and an ambulatory. The multiple rib vault is of the English lierne type; the keystones are decorated with escutcheons, but except in the triumphal arch the pendants are slightly developed. The triforium is omitted. Capitals occur in the main arcade only; — they are uncarved and intersect part of the system. Certain of the disappearing mouldings tend to become undulating. The church contains good glass. A lady chapel, added south of the choir about the middle of the XVI century, contains round-headed windows and a wooden vault. The tower is of the XIII century, but the spire dates from the time of Henry IV. (De la Balle.)

HARFLEUR, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Martin.* Excavations executed in 1861 disclosed beneath the present building substructions of the XI century. Some fragments of the existing edifice are of the XIII century, the fine window of the west façade is of the XIV century. The remainder of the building dates from the end of the XV century, though not altogether in its original form, two of the former five aisles having been suppressed. The tower and spire are usually considered among the most elegant and majestic of Normandy. Certain details of the lateral portal and its elegant porch show the influence of English Perpendicular work. (De la Balle.)

AMIENS, Somme. *St. Remi.* This Franciscan abbey has been much damaged, the polygonal choir of the XV century having recently been torn down. There remain a nave and a single side aisle, both said to date principally from the XIV century. (Guyencourt.)

St. Germain. (Ill. 282.) This church, constructed about the middle of the XV century, is vaulted throughout; it is remarkable for its singularly pure details and for its fine stained glass. There is a single northwestern tower.

St. Leu contains architectural fragments of several different epochs. The building was enlarged in 1481; a century later the western tower was rebuilt in the Gothic style.

PONT-DE-L'ARCHE, Eure. *St. Vigor.* The southern side of this church is a rich example of the lace-work architecture of the XV century. Unfortunately the construction was interrupted in the XVI century, and the ambulatory has never been finished. The principal portal is exquisite; it is ornamented with open-work, intersecting mouldings, ogee and flattened arches. The church contains famous glass. (De la Balle.)

BOURGES, Cher. *Notre Dame.* This edifice, built in 1157, burnt in 1487, and reconstructed about 1520, still contains fragments of XII century architecture. Three aisles are covered with a roof of continuous slope — there is no clearstory — and are divided into five bays. To the eastward the building terminates in a three-sided apse without ambulatory. The nave vaults seem to have been raised shortly after 1487. The northern side aisle contains some early glass. (De Kersers II, 200.)

St. Bonnet. Of the primitive church of the XV century there survive only two chapels, the remainder of the present edifice having been rebuilt in 1509. Neither the vaults nor the flying buttresses have ever been executed. The existing structure, irregular in plan, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and an ambulatory; it is characterized by disappearing mouldings and cylindrical piers. (De Kersers II, 187.)

Couvent des Augustins. The only remains of this desecrated edifice are the lower portions of the nave walls and the three-sided apse. The building was doubtless erected after the fire of 1487. (De Kersers II, 236.)

Couvent des Carmes. This edifice, destroyed by the fire of 1487, was reconstructed by Louis de Put and his wife. It is a simple rectangular structure, roofed in wood. (De Kersers II, 238.)

Couvent de Ste. Jeanne was founded about 1500. The existing chapel, which appears to be of about this time, is a wooden-roofed structure ending in a three-sided apse. (De Kersers II, 247.)

Chapelle St. Jean-Baptiste. This flamboyant chapel, which is to-day used as a dwelling, is roofed in wood and terminates in a semicircular apse. (De Kersers II, 260.)

St. Aoustrillet. Jacques Coeur reconstructed the choir of this edifice in the first half of the XV century. The existing remains were doubtless erected in the course of this reconstruction. The nave has been destroyed. (De Kersers II, 208.)

St. Médard. The southern wall of the nave and the northern arm of the transept are the only surviving portions of this edifice; neither seems earlier than the XV century. (De Kersers II, 215.)

St. Aoustrille-du-Château. The walls of the southern transept and a little sacristy of the end of the XV century survive. (De Kersers II, 206.)

Prieuré St. Michel. Of this structure, rebuilt in 1490, the wall and the wooden vault still exist. (De Kersers II, 263.)

Ste. Croix. The church rebuilt after the fire of 1487 still survives, but is of slight interest. (De Kersers II, 209.)

CHERBOURG, Manche. *La Trinité.* The choir of this church was commenced in 1412, but the construction was interrupted from 1418–23 by the disorders

which accompanied the siege of the city. The central tower and the transepts were erected between 1450 and 1466; the nave about 1500. A consecration took place in 1504, but the principal portal and tower were executed only in 1825. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, an ambulatory, and twelve radiating chapels. The side portal, which contains flattened and ogee arches, is more remarkable for the detail than for the general composition. The interior is characterized by cylindrical piers with a moulding or so doing service for capitals, by disappearing ribs, and by a triforium balustrade, and by slightly developed pendants. (De la Balle: Benoist V, 66.)

FONTAINE-SUR-SOMME, Somme. *Église.* Above the fine lateral portal in a sort of tympanum are sculptured two medallions in which are carved a salamander and a porcupine, emblems of Francis I (1515–47) and Louis XII (1498–1515) respectively. This portion of the church must therefore date from the first half of the XVI century. Furthermore the date 1561 is inscribed on one of the pendants of the Lady Chapel — evidently the latest part of the edifice. The round arch is conspicuous in the window tracery, otherwise the detail is entirely flamboyant. Only half of the nave vaults have been executed in stone; the remainder in plaster date from 1770. The rectangular choir was not connected with the Lady Chapel before 1770; it is covered with pendant vaults, and contains fine glass of the XVI century. There is no clearstory. The western tower is balustraded and surmounted by an open-work spire in the English manner. (Le Sueur.)

BERULLES, Aube. *Église.* The choir and its chapels, said to have been built between 1510 and 1515, are the most ancient parts of the existing edifice, but the tower and the portal were erected soon after. The triumphal arch was built in 1545 and the nave in 1550. This cruciform church, whose style borders on the Renaissance, is vaulted throughout. (Fichot I, 284.)

LISIEUX, Calvados. *St. Jacques* is a charming and homogeneous example of the architectural art of the early XVI century. The first stone was laid in 1496; five years later the nave was completed. With the exception of the central western tower which stands to this day unfinished, the entire edifice was completed at the time of the dedication in 1540. The monument consists of a noble nave, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, a choir, and a polygonal apse with two stories of windows. The triforium is not glazed; capitals are omitted; disappearing mouldings occur. The windows are filled with fine flamboyant tracery and XVI century glass. (De la Balle.)

ST.-ANDRÉ-LEZ-TROYES, Aube. *Église* consists of a nave of six bays, two side aisles, and a three-sided apse. The nave was reconstructed in the early years of the XVI century; the choir was dedicated in 1547. There is no clearstory; the side aisles are covered with a series of gable roofs at right angles to the main axis. The church is vaulted throughout; the windows are large and filled with tracery. The principal portal is of the Renaissance, but the lateral portal is an exquisite bit of flamboyant lace-work. Cylindrical piers and disappearing mouldings characterize the interior. (Fichot I, 221.)

AUMALE, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Pierre.* This edifice, begun in 1508, but fin-

ished only in the XVII century, consists of a western narthex tower, a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a choir, and a three-sided apse. The vaults have pendants. This church is a fine example of the late flamboyant style. (De la Balle.)

PONT-AUDEMER, Eure. *St. Ouen.* The choir and portions of the arcades and central tower of the old Norman chapel of the XI century still survive. This Norman church possessed a semicircular apse and two absidioles, but the east end was made over into its present form in the XVI century. The reconstruction of the nave was in progress in 1488,[1] but seems to have been abandoned about 1524, and never resumed. The portions erected at this epoch show a remarkable amount of Renaissance feeling. Capitals are omitted, but there are no undulating or disappearing mouldings; the triforium is provided with a balustrade; the spandrels are decorated with diaperings; the clearstory has never been erected; and the nave is covered with a temporary wooden roof. The side aisles have pendant vaults with multiple ribs, and the windows contain some of the finest XVI century glass in Normandy. The façade and its flanking towers are unfinished. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 56.)

Chapelle de l'Hôtel-Dieu.

RUMILLY-LES-VAUDES, Aube. *Église*, consisting of a nave three bays long, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, transepts, and a choir of two bays, is characterized by low pendant vaults, fine flamboyant tracery, monocylindrical piers, and the absence of capitals. It is a homogeneous edifice of the flamboyant period. (Arnaud, 88.)

STE. SAVINNE, Aube. *Église.* This edifice, which was erected at the beginning of the XVI century, with the exception of the portal of 1611, consists of a nave, two side aisles, a complete set of lateral chapels, and a polygonal apse. It is vaulted throughout with simple rib vaults, whose ribs disappear in the cylindrical piers. There is no clearstory, and the gables of the aisle roofs are at right angles to the main axis. The church contains some fine glass of the epoch. (Fichot I, 173.)

RICEY-HAUT, Aube. *Église* consists of two distinct churches, the nave of the second being merely a prolongation of the north transept of the first. The nave of the first, only two bays long, is covered with a wooden roof replacing the original vaults, but the transepts are vaulted in stone. The choir, which is only a single bay long, ends in a five-sided apse, and is surmounted by a central tower. This church is obviously older than the second, which was constructed in 1549 according to an inscription engraved on one of the piers. The second church comprised three aisles, lighted by five round-arched windows, and covered with pendant vaults. (Arnaud, 215.)

BELLEVILLE, Cher. *Église*, of the end of the XV century, consists of a single-aisled nave four bays long and a polygonal apse. It is rib-vaulted throughout, and supplied with a continuous system. (De Kersers V, 3.)

MORTAGNE, Orne. *Église* is one of the most beautiful flamboyant edifices of the département and is especially noteworthy for the rare delicacy of its ruined lateral portal. The tower begun in 1542 was finished only a century later, but the remainder of the church is said to have been erected between 1494 and 1535. The

[1] Inventaire manuscrit des Archives de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, Année 1488.

piers are without capitals, the vaults have multiple ribs, disappearing mouldings occur. Although there are three aisles, the nave contains no clearstory. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 40.)

ALMENÊCHES, Orne. *Église.* Thanks to the liberalities of Marguerite of Navarre, the reconstruction of the nave was begun in 1534, as is indicated by an inscription over the doorway: *E hoc templum a ruina ex vetustate subsecuta* 1534. Another inscription indicates that this portion of the edifice was finished in 1550. This nave is a single-aisled construction of interest chiefly for its pendant vaults. The choir, even later in date, is of no interest. (De la Balle; Benoist IV, 21.)

VILLENAUX, Aube. *Église.* An inscription [1] on the wall of the interior, just to the right of the main entrance, records that a dedication of the parish church of Villenaux took place in 1449. No part of the existing edifice (which consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, and an ambulatory) seems earlier than the beginning of the XV century. The vaults of the choir have never been executed, but the nave is covered with multiple rib vaults with double pendants. Some of the capitals, which seem to be in the style of the late XIII century, doubtless belonged to an earlier structure. (Arnaud, 210.)

TRÉPORT, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Jacques.* This abbey church of the XVI century consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a choir. It is vaulted throughout with pendant vaults. The great tower, although unfinished, is extremely beautiful with its great buttresses, its stair turrets, and its fine flamboyant detail. (Cotman.)

Église. The edifice of the XI century was rebuilt in the XIV century. Although there is no documentary evidence of a more recent reconstruction, the present building, with its pendant vaults, is obviously a structure of the XVI century.

VALOGNES, Manche. *St. Malo.* Portions of the choir and transepts date from the XIII and XIV centuries, and the chapel of St. Jean is said to have been erected in 1362, but the edifice was almost entirely rebuilt in 1412, and has since suffered from various Renaissance additions. A curious disposition is the placing of the two towers — one of which surmounts the crossing, the other the northern side aisle — so close that they almost seem to touch one another. The portal of the XV century, with its queer central support, turned, as it were, in a lathe, is more strange than beautiful. The flying buttresses are at present hidden by a continuous gable roof. Capitals are omitted in the nave. (De la Balle; Benoist V, 56.)

BOUILLY, Aube. *St. Laurent* consists of a narthex porch three bays in length, a nave, two side aisles, two chapels forming a sort of transept, two other chapels at the extremities of the side aisles, a choir, and a five-sided apse. The church originally was only five bays long, but it was enlarged by the addition of an extra bay

[1] Anno Dñi 1449 Die vero dñica 30 post
Pascha 21 mensis Aprilis dedicatus est
Presens ecclesiae Parochialis de Villanoxa
Magna in honorem beatorum Petri et Pauli
Apostolorum per reverendum in clero
Patrem et Ducem Jacobum Raguier
Dei et sanctae sedis Apostolicae
Gracia trecem Episcopum.

about 1540. The principal portal is of the early years of the XVI century. With the exception of the narthex, the edifice is vaulted throughout. The three aisles are all of the same height; the side aisles are roofed with a series of gables set at right angles to the main axis. This monument is a fine example of the flamboyant style. (Fichot I, 359.)

RICEY-HAUTE-RIVE, Aube. *Église* contains the inscription "finis coronat opus" with the date 1563. This agrees perfectly with the style of the architecture. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, a central tower, transepts, a choir, and three polygonal apses. There are flying buttresses; the side aisles have simple rib vaults; the tower is Renaissance in style. (Arnaud, 217.)

CLAMART, Seine. *Église* is said to have been erected at the end of the XV century, but the style shows much Renaissance feeling. The existing edifice consists of a nave five bays long, two side aisles, and a modern five-sided apse, but originally there was a square east end. (Lambin, 71.)

LAINES-AUX-BOIS, Aube. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles almost as high, roofed with a series of gables set at right angles to the main axis, and a three-sided apse. The construction seems to date from the early XVI century, although slight variations of style in different parts of the edifice seem to indicate that the church is not entirely homogeneous. Many of the details — especially of the window tracery — are of exquisite loveliness. The building is vaulted throughout. (Fichot, I, 215.)

TONNÈRE, Yonne. *St. Pierre.* The dates 1590, 1603, 1606, inscribed on the exterior walls, are confirmed by the style of the edifice, for in the interior it is evident that a building of the XV century was made over in the Renaissance style, capitals and entablatures being added. There is a fine Romanesque portal in the west façade, very Burgundian in style; the shafts are fluted and adorned with rinceaux and the abaci are sculptured. (De Caumont.)

VANVES, Seine. *St. Rémy* must have been erected in the second quarter of the XV century, for an inscription records that the dedication took place in 1449. The edifice consists of a nave three bays long, two side aisles with square east ends, a choir two bays long loftier than the nave, and a five-sided apse. There is no clear-story. Capitals are omitted. (Lambin, 103.)

TILLIÈRES, Eure. *Église.* The dates 1543 inscribed on one of the transverse arches and 1546 on one of the escutcheons of the apse are confirmed by the style of the edifice which betrays the influence of the Renaissance especially in the window tracery. The vaults with multiple ribs and quadruple pendants are masterpieces of their kind; the spaces between the ribs are covered each by a single stone. The apse is polygonal. (De la Balle.)

ENVERMEN, Seine-Inférieure. *Notre Dame.* Although the ambitious reconstruction commenced in the XVI century has never been finished, the tower, which rises at the north angle of the façade, is an interesting and picturesque composition. The church has three aisles and transepts, and is supplied with pendant vaults.

ST. CALAIS, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* The present structure consists of a rectangular tower, a nave, and two side aisles at the extremity of one of which rises the

tower. This tower, which is undoubtedly the oldest portion of the existing edifice, is anterior to the XV century, but the alterations to which it was subjected in the XVII century have completely changed its character. The first four bays of the nave were built and vaulted between 1394 and 1425. The choir window was rebuilt in 1518, and the north side aisle added in 1520. Probably the southern side aisle and the western bays of the nave were constructed immediately afterwards, for according to an inscription on the portal works on this portion of the edifice were terminated in 1540. The façade seems to be a remarkably early example of the Renaissance style. The interior is of little interest; there is no clearstory, and in only one bay is there any system. (Froger; Wismes.)

Abbaye is desecrated.

HUMBERCOURT, Somme. *Église* is remarkable for its tower and stone spire. The coats of arms in the niche over the main portal and the initials "G" and "A" are believed to indicate that this tower was built in the time of Guy de Brimeux and of Antoinette de Rambures, his wife. Since it is known that Guy was made chevalier de la Toison d'Or in 1473 the tower was doubtless erected in the last half of the XV century. (Lefèvre.)

TROYES, Aube. *St. Nizier.* This "monument historique" is an edifice of the XVI century remarkable for its two fine portals, of which the southern is flamboyant in style, the western a work of the Renaissance. The church contains fine glass.

St. Nicolas. It is known that in 1523 Clement VII granted indulgences to all those who should contribute towards the expenses of reconstructing the church of St. Nicolas destroyed by fire. The existing edifice with its wavy system, disappearing mouldings, elliptical arches, omitted capitals, and Renaissance tracery is highly florid in style, and yet for all its decadence the interior is singularly beautiful.

St. Remi dates mainly from the flamboyant period. The tower is almost Romanesque in style, although it is said to date from the XIV century; the nave is adorned with a fine corbel-table.

St. Gilles, classed as a "monument historique," is a wooden edifice of the end of the XV century.

St. Pantaléon is an edifice of the XVI and XVII centuries.

ERVY, Aube. *Église* half flamboyant, half Renaissance in style consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a choir with ambulatory, and contains some remarkable glass. The choir is vaulted in stone, but the nave is covered with wooden imitations of vaults. The tower is of the XVII century. (Arnaud, 227.)

PONT-STE-MARIE, Aube. *Église de l'Assomption* consists of a nave, two side aisles with square east ends, a choir, and an octagonal apse — the whole seven bays long. The three aisles are all of the same height, the side aisles being roofed with a series of gables set at right angles to the main axis. Low vaults surmount all three aisles; the piers are cylindrical; the west portal is a fine piece of flamboyant lace-work. The construction seems to be of the XVI century, and, indeed, the tower is dated 1550 by an inscription. (Fiehot I, 31.)

MONTGUEUX, Aube. *Ste. Croix*, which may be assigned to c. 1550, is an

edifice vaulted throughout. The nave and side aisles are covered by a single gable roof, loftier than that of the choir. This choir is earlier than the nave, for its vaults are simple, while those of the nave have multiple ribs. The piers are monocylindrical. (Fichot I, 123.)

MAMERS, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* This church was finished in 1579, but was doubtless begun long before — probably c. 1500 — for the upper portions are of inferior execution and evidently much later than the lower parts. The interior is characterized by columns without capitals, disappearing and prismatic mouldings, a high clearstory, and plaster vaults in the nave. Flying buttresses were projected but never carried out. There are angle buttresses. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, a choir, and an ambulatory — the latter modern. (Fleury; Wismes.)

St. Nicolas. The nave is a work of the Renaissance, but the tower and the single southern side aisle are flamboyant in style. The portal, also Renaissance in style, dates, it is said, from 1556. Otherwise the edifice is remarkable only for its modern vaults and square east end. (Fleury; Wismes.)

BEC, Eure. *Abbaye.* Of this monastery, in the XII century one of the most famous in Europe, only the tower remains. This tower stood isolated at some distance from the church; it was commenced in 1467, and finished in 1480. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 54.)

CARVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* In the XVIII century this church was burnt, and in the consequent restoration the nave was so shortened that it no longer adjoins the tower. The latter, one of the gems of flamboyant art is truly "the giant of the valley." In a drawing of 1525 it is shown in construction. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

LA CELLE, Cher. *Chapelle St. Sylvain.* This edifice, which is assigned to the XV century, consists of a single-aisled nave with prismatic rib vaults, transepts, and by a narrow choir of two bays. The roof and the vault of the latter have been destroyed. (De Kersers VI, 115.)

CAEN, Calvados. *Ancienne Église St. Étienne-le-Vieux* was originally erected in the XI century some time before the abbey church of St. Étienne, but was enlarged several times before 1426, when the edifice with the exception of two windows of the XIII century was entirely rebuilt, thanks to the liberalities of Henry VI. As the building stands the exterior is of interest chiefly because of its octagonal central tower — a graceful composition. Internally the well-designed nave consists of five bays separated by piers which retain their capitals. A rich balustrade replaces the triforium. The system does not extend below this. (De la Balle.)

Église des Bénédictines (Ancienne Église des Cordeliers) was destroyed in 1562. The rebuilding was commenced only in 1578. Pointed windows of slight interest still survive. (De Caumont.)

St. Ouen is of little interest. The most ancient portions may be assigned to the end of the XV century. (De Caumont.)

BIENCOURT, Somme. *St. Martin* contains a flamboyant portal and fine traceried windows, two of which retain their colored glass. The choir is older than the nave. (Darsy.)

HONFLEUR, Calvados. *St. Étienne* appears to have been constructed at two different epochs, for the easternmost bay and the apse have large round-headed windows, richly moulded, while the nave has segmental windows filled with flamboyant tracery. (De la Balle.)

St. Léonard. The fine flamboyant portal is of the last years of the XV century; the remainder of the church is of the Renaissance. (Benoist.)

FOLLEVILLE, Somme. *Église*, a XVI century structure of exceptional beauty, consists of a single-aisled wooden-roofed nave, a choir with multiple rib vaults and much florid detail, and a three-sided apse. (Bazin.)

CHAPELLE-ST.-LUC, Aube. *Église*, a typical flamboyant edifice, consists of a single-aisled nave two bays long, transepts, a choir flanked by lateral chapels, and a three-sided apse. The date 1579 is inscribed on the exterior wall of the first bay of the nave. (Fichot I, 105.)

CHÂTILLON, Seine. *Église* consists of a nave five bays long, two side aisles, a choir of one bay, and a miniature apse with five windows. The vault, portal, and tower are modern; the choir is the oldest part of the church and is assigned to c. 1400. The piers are square. (Lambin, 41.)

BOURGUIGNONS, Aube. *St. Plet.* The reconstruction of this edifice undertaken early in the XVI century has never been finished. The present structure consists of a nave of four bays, a southern side aisle, and a three-sided apse. The apse has pendant vaults, but the vaults of the nave have been only partially executed. (Arnaud, 95.)

ELBEUF, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Étienne*, said to have been constructed in 1510, consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a choir with a pendant vault. The edifice is famous for its glass. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

St. Jean. The small edifice of the XIII century was rebuilt, it is said, in 1466 and consecrated on September 21st of that year. In 1507 the side aisle was added. The existing tower, although flamboyant in style, is said to date from the XVII century. The edifice contains fine glass and much Renaissance detail. (De la Balle.)

AUMALE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* This monument consists of a polygonal apse, a choir and transepts reconstructed in the XV century, and a nave without character. (Benoist.)

TORVILLIERS, Aube. *St. Denis.* In the XVI century this edifice seems to have consisted of a groin-vaulted nave, two very narrow side aisles covered with half-barrel vaults buttressing the nave vaults, and a three-sided apse, but subsequently several chapels were added. The design is characterized by disappearing ribs, cylindrical piers, angle buttresses, and the absence of a clearstory. The windows contain glass of the XVI century. (Fichot I, 196.)

TOUCHAY, Cher. *St. Martin.* The square choir, very low, is pierced by three windows, and covered with a prismatic rib vault. To the north is a square chapel, also vaulted, that must date from late in the XV century. Its ogee portal is surmounted by a lintel with an escutcheon which no visitor will omit to study. The nave is vaulted in plaster. (De Kersers V, 183.)

LES NOËS, Aube. *Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a five-sided apse. With the exception of the portal of the XVII century, the edifice is a homogeneous edifice of the early years of the XVI century. The aisles are all of the same height, the side aisles being roofed with a series of gables set at right angles to the main axis. Internally the church is characterized by simple rib vaults, prismatic mouldings, and much ancient glass.

PONT-L'ÉVÊQUE, Calvados. *St. Michel* has suffered in two disastrous restorations executed in 1867 and in 1888. In the first the northern and southern façades were rebuilt on an entirely new design; in the second the stone vaults of the nave and choir, which, though projected, had never been carried out, were erected. Ancient records preserved in the treasury record that in 1483 works were executed for the "construction and maintenance" (l'oeuvre et réparation) of the building. This work was still unfinished in 1530, although the windows, which still exist, had been placed in 1498 and 1499. The existing monument — with the exception of the pendant vaults in the side aisles — is very restrained in style. Though the dimensions are large there is neither transept nor ambulatory, and a single western tower relieves the façade. (De la Balle; Benoist III, 50.)

TRESSON, Sarthe. *Église.* One of the ancient windows bears an inscription with the date 1638, but the main body of the edifice seems to be about a century earlier. The building consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a polygonal apse. With the exception of the nave the monument is vaulted throughout, and the vaults of the transepts have multiple ribs and pendants. (Froger.)

ST.-LÉGER-LEZ-TROYES, Aube. *Église.* This unfinished edifice, which is assigned to c. 1510, consists of a nave four bays long, two side aisles, and a five-sided apse. The façade is a work of the Renaissance. A simple rib vault covers the nave; the wooden roof surmounting the nave is continued to the unfinished walls of the side aisles. The church contains some wonderful glass of the XVI century. (Fichot I, 439.)

JAVERNANT, Aube. *Église* assigned to the early XVI century, consists of a single-aisled vaulted nave four bays long, transepts, and a five-sided apse. The western portal with its Renaissance detail is of interest. (Fichot I, 402.)

COMPIÈGNE, Oise. *St. Antoine* was founded, it is said, in 1199. The crossing of the existing structure contains some fragments of XIII century architecture, but the remainder of the edifice is of the XVI century. The building consists of a nave, two side aisles, and a choir with ambulatory. The façade is adorned with two turrets, a rose window, and a fine flamboyant portal, very broad in its effect. (Ballyhier.)

St. Germain was destroyed in 1430 and subsequently reconstructed. (Ballyhier.)

ST.-GERMAIN-LINÇON, Aube. *Église*, of the early years of the XVI century, consists of a nave, two side aisles almost as high as the rest of the edifice and roofed with a series of gables set at right angles to the main axis, and a five-sided apse. The monument is vaulted throughout, and the large windows are filled with tracery. The western bays of the nave have never been finished — a fact concealed by the modern tower. (Fichot I, 246.)

SURY-EN-LERÉ, Cher. *Église*, of the end of the XV or early XVI century, consists of a large nave covered with a rib vault whose members include a ridge rib, of a large chapel adjoining to the south, and of a polygonal apse with angle buttresses. The piers of the nave have prismatic and interpenetrating mouldings. (De Kersers V, 41.)

ST.-PARRE-LES-TERTRES, Aube. *St. Patrocle.* This edifice, erected in the early years of the XVI century, consists of a nave of five bays, two side aisles, and a polygonal apse, but the western bay of the nave has been destroyed. The northwestern tower is dated 1537 by an inscription. The vaults have multiple ribs and pendants. Much of the glass is ancient. (Fichot I, 76.)

FÉCAMP, Seine-Inférieure. *St. Étienne* was designed, it is said, by Antoine Bohier. The edifice has never been completed. (Benoist.)

CHÂTEAU-THIERRY, Aisne. *St. Crépin* is a fine flamboyant church with a lateral tower.

SOMMERVAL, Aube. *St. Martin* consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a semicircular apse. The entire edifice is roofed in wood, with the exception of the choir, which still preserves its Romanesque barrel vault. The main body of the edifice was reconstructed in the XVI century, the western tower in the XVIII. (Fichot I, 466.)

SOUVIGNY-SUR-MÊME, Sarthe. *St. Martin* is of interest as showing the development of the Renaissance style in the XVI century, for the building dates are unusually well established. The nave of a single aisle commenced in 1522 is flamboyant, but Renaissance feeling is evident in the round-arched portal of 1542. The triumphal arch bears the date 1584.

PARNAY, Cher. *Église* is desecrated, and at present converted into a shop. The ribs of the choir vault penetrate the monocylindrical piers. The nave contains a round-arched portal. (De Kersers IV, 130.)

GRÉEZ-SUR-ROC, Sarthe. *St. Pierre.* The existing single-aisled nave dates from the XI or XII century, but the ancient façade was destroyed in 1858. The tower is somewhat later than the nave. An inscription on one of the corbels records that the choir was erected in 1527; it is vaulted and has a fine chevet; its style is that of the Renaissance. The nave was remodeled about the same time that the choir was built. (Vavasseur.)

RICEY-BAS, Aube. *Église* was reconstructed in the XV century, although the west portal is of the Renaissance style. The edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, a central tower, chapels, and a three-sided apse. The nave has a pendant vault, but the vaults of the choir and transepts are simple. (Arnaud, 221.)

LILLEBONNE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* possesses a *clocher* which must be considered as one of the finest products of flamboyant design. This was begun in 1496, but was not completed before 1542. The design is restrained, and the spire is not in open work; the transition from square to octagon is managed not by means of flying buttresses, but by dormers and pinnacles. An effect of peculiar charm is produced by making one of these pinnacles larger than the others. (De la Balle.)

JARS, Cher. *Église.* Of the building erected by Archembaud de Seuly c.

1200 there survives only the core of the western tower, the remainder of the edifice having been remodeled in the XVI century. The present structure consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a seven-sided apse, the whole vaulted with very complex multiple rib vaults. The capitals show Renaissance feeling. (De Kersers VII, 259.)

NEUBOURG, Eure. *Chapelle du Château.* The façade with its two unfinished towers is very decadent in style, but was probably erected during the first half of the XVI century. Capitals are omitted, but strangely enough griffes appear. The remainder of the edifice is a typical three-aisled country edifice, remarkable only for the column placed on the axis of the chevet. (De la Balle.)

STE. MAURE, Aube. *Église.* The nave and the two side aisles are of the end of the XV century, the transepts and the choir were constructed in 1546. The clearstory is omitted. There is a southwest tower. (Fichot I, 56.)

BANNAY, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave, very low and covered with plaster, a choir of one bay, and a polygonal apse. The eastern portions were reconstructed in the XV century. The vault of the apse is formed by six ribs converging towards a central keystone. (De Kersers VII, 1.)

SACQUENVILLE, Eure. *Église*, of the XV century, contains two parallel naves. On one of the keystones of the vault is an inscription which reveals the name of the master builder: —"*André Coury Maçon priés Dieu por li!*"

AUBERVILLIERS, Seine. *Église.* The façade and tower are said to date from 1541. The nave, also of the XVI century, has an elaborate vault with multiple ribs and pendants. The side aisles are also vaulted. The east end is square. (*In. Gen.* I, 69.)

ST. AMBROIX, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular vaulted choir of which the prismatic ribs are carried on corbel-tables, a semicircular arch of triumph, transepts, a chapel, a single-aisled wooden-roofed nave, and a narthex-tower. The building is said to have been erected in the XV century. (De Kersers III, 169.)

IRVY-LA-BATAILLE, Eure. *St. Martin.* The nave of this monument is said to have been reconstructed by Philibert de l'Orme at the command of Diane de Poitiers. The building was probably finished in 1537, since this date may be read on the exterior of the north wall of the chevet. The bell bears the date 1538.

LÉPINE, Aube. *St. Barthélemy* possesses a richly painted wooden ceiling. The three-sided apse, the choir, and the transepts are flamboyant in style, and are characterized by angle buttresses and large traceried windows filled with XVI century glass. The nave is smaller, and appears somewhat earlier. (Fichot I, 256.)

BIENFAITE, Calvados. *Église* of the XV century possesses a graceful slate spire. (Benoist III, 66.)

MARCHÉZIEUX, Manche. *Église* consists of a nave of the XIII century, two side aisles, transepts, and a rectangular choir of the XIV century. The nave vaults, carried on a system in which the capitals are omitted and the vaults disappear, were doubtless added in the XV century. There is no clearstory. The piers are cylindrical and the capitals have round abaci. (De la Balle.)

ST.-AUBIN-D'ÉCROSVILLE, Eure. *Église*, a building half flamboyant,

half Renaissance in style, is characterized by a northwestern tower, by side aisles without vaults, by a square east end, and by the absence of a clearstory. (De la Balle.)

COURS-LES-BARRES, Cher. *St. Pantaléon* has been so many times rebuilt that the nave at present is entirely without character. The choir of the XV century is two bays long and vaulted. The ribs penetrate the quarter columns engaged in the angles. (De Kersers IV, 232.)

BELLÊME, Orne. *Église*, of the XVI century, possesses a broad nave flanked by three chapels on the north, and four on the south, side. (De la Balle.)

VENDEUVRE, Aube. *Église* was entirely reconstructed in the flamboyant period. The nave of three bays has no windows, and its vaults with double pendants are very low. There are side aisles, but no lateral chapels. The church contains some ancient glass. (Arnaud, 213.)

STE.-SUZANNE-SUR-VIRE, Manche. *Église*, constructed about the middle of the XV century, consists of a single-aisled nave and a polygonal apse. There is a deep stone porch. The edifice is rib-vaulted throughout. (De la Balle.)

AIGLE, Orne. *St. Martin* possesses a very beautiful flamboyant spire. (Benoist.)

PONTS-SOUS-AVRANCHES, Manche. *Église*. The transepts and the choir are of the XV century, the portal of the end of the XVI century, but the entire edifice was much altered in the XVII century. The monument, which consists of a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a rectangular choir, is uninteresting. (De la Balle.)

ST. VALERY, Seine-Inférieure. *Abbaye*. The ruined nave of the XV century is half Renaissance, half flamboyant in style, but the lady chapel is frankly Renaissance. (Benoist.)

LA CHAPELLE-D'ANGILLON, Cher. *Église*, erected at the end of the XV century, consists of a single-aisled nave, a polygonal apse, and a northern lateral tower. The whole has been much modernized. (De Kersers III, 7.)

HATTENVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is remarkable for its fine tower of the XVI century.

AUXON, Aube. *Église* of the XVI century, is Renaissance rather than flamboyant in style.

ST. FROMOND, Manche. *Prieuré*. The existing chapel, which is not older than the XV century, consists of an apse, a choir, a central tower, and transepts. The absence of a nave is explained by the fact that a parish church formerly existed in the neighborhood.

LONGNY, Orne. *Église* of the XV and XVI centuries, is characterized by a picturesque tower, a square east end, and a gable roof.

PLAINVILLE, Eure. *Église*. The single-aisled wooden-roofed nave is of the beginning of the XV century, but the choir and the sacristy were erected in the XVI century. (De la Balle.)

MÉNILLES, Eure. *Église*. The portal, a gem of flamboyant design, is characterized by flattened, round, and ogee arches. (De la Balle.)

BOULLERET, Cher. *Église* consists of a nave of the XV century at present covered with a plaster barrel vault, a vaulted choir two bays long reconstructed in the second half of the XV century, and a three-sided apse. The prismatic ribs penetrate the engaged cylindrical piers. The entire edifice has been much modernized. (De Kersers V, 8.)

BRIQUEVILLE, Calvados. *Église* has been recently reconstructed in large part. The tower, with its elegant if somewhat heavy spire, is a structure of the late XII century, made over in the XV century. (De la Balle.)

VILLEMAUR, Aube. *Église* was burned in 1446, reconstructed in 1512, and dedicated in 1519. It consists of a nave of a single aisle, transepts, and a rectangular choir. The windows are without tracery. The vaults have been replaced by a wooden roof. (Arnaud, 207.)

VEAUGUES, Cher. *Église* consists of a rectangular nave roofed in wood, and a choir whose square east end is pierced by a lancet. The ribs of the choir vaults penetrate the supports. (De Kersers VII, 88.)

NEUVY-SAUTOUR, Yonne. *Église.* The nave, dating from the early years of the XVI century, is of slight interest; the remainder of the edifice is a fine example of the Renaissance style. (Arch. de la Com. des Mon. Hist. II, 83.)

ALENÇON, Orne. *St. Léonard* dates mainly from the late XVI century, although the edifice was begun as early as 1489. Only the walls survive. The vault which fell in 1645 was rebuilt in 1840. (De la Balle.)

ST. POUANGE, Aube. *St. Marc* consists of a single-aisled wooden-roofed nave and a five-sided apse. The church, which is of very slight importance, was built in the XVI century. (Fichot I, 455.)

PIPARDIÈRE, Calvados. *Chapelle* of charming simplicity, is said to date from the end of the XV century.

CLAIRFEUILLE, Orne. *St. Germain.* It is known that this church was burned in 1438, and the existing edifice was doubtless constructed immediately after this fire. The single-aisled nave is covered with a modern wooden roof; a massive Norman tower adjoins to the north. (De la Balle.)

THORIGNÉ, (near Livarot), Sarthe. *Église.* In the course of recent restorations an inscription recording that the building was constructed in 1512, — "P. Dumans ma contretillée lan quon dit mil cinq^{c} doze," — was found upon the fine carved timber roof.

NOGENT-EN-OTHE, Aube. *Notre Dame.* This single-aisled chapel of three bays contains some XVI century glass. (Fichot I, 303.)

LA BONNEVILLE, Eure. *Église* of the XV century contains some glass of the epoch. (Benoist.)

AIX-EN-OTHE, Aube. *St. Avit* is said to have been dedicated in 1537. The choir was demolished in 1836. What remains consists of a single-aisled nave lighted by six windows (only one of which has tracery) and covered with a plaster vault. (Fichot I, 282.)

Église de la Nativité dates from the very late XVI century. (Fichot I, 271.)

NOTRE-DAME-DU-TOUCHET, Manche. *Église* consists of a single-aisle nave, a central western tower, and a square choir, probably of the XV century. The eastern window contains some ancient glass. (De la Balle.)

OFFRANVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The construction is said to have been begun in 1517 and to have been interrupted by the Wars of Religion. (Benoist I, 61.)

BIARD, Manche. *Église* was erected in 1530, but the nave and transepts were rebuilt in the XVIII century. The tower, almost entirely Renaissance in style, does not lack a certain charm. (De la Balle.)

DOULLENS, Somme. *Notre Dame*, formerly known as St. Martin, was erected in the XVI century. The ancient sacristy of the XV century has been turned into a chapel.

BAR-SUR-AUBE, Aube. *Chapelle St. Jean* is a plain rectangular structure, two bays long and vaulted. It is assigned to the XV century. (Arnaud, 263.)

VILLEDIEU-LES-POÊLES, Manche. *Église.* The transepts and choir were finished before 1495, the side aisles were added in 1634, and the nave vaults are modern. At present the edifice consists of a nave, two side aisles transepts, a central tower, a choir, and a polygonal apse. The nave is shorter than the choir. There are no flying buttresses, although there is a considerable clearstory. (De la Balle.)

DAMVILLE, Eure. *St. Évroult* is a flamboyant edifice whose plan is cruciform owing to the north lateral chapel and a south lateral tower. The wooden vaults are modern. The tower is the most remarkable part of the building. (Lestrambes.)

BOUQUEMAISON, Somme. *Église.* The choir vaulted with multiple rib vaults is of the XVI century, but the nave is of the XVII century. (Lefèvre.)

VINON, Cher. *Église*, of the flamboyant period, possesses a modern apse, and a central western tower. (De Kersers VII, 91.)

DOUDEVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église*, reconstructed in the XVI century in imitation of St.-Valery-en-Caux, is of no interest.

TOUQUES, Calvados. *St. Thomas.* The choir and tower are said to be of the XV century. (Benoist.)

GRANVILLE, Manche. *Église* is mainly of the XV century, though the nave is of the XVII century. (De la Balle; Benoist.)

BOUILLANCOURT, Somme. *St. Jacques-le-Majeur* was erected at the end of the XV century. The choir is narrower than the nave. The building contains ancient glass. (Darsy.)

ST. THIBAUT, Aube. *Église.* This monument restored in 1877 consists of a single-aisled wooden-roofed nave and a semicircular apse built on substructions of the XII century. The façade retains in part its XVI century decoration. The choir has a barrel vault, but its windows are pointed. (Fichot I, 460.)

SURY-ÈS-BOIS, Cher. *Église.* The single-aisled nave is covered by a modern vault, but the polygonal chevet is of the XV or XVI century. There is a large and entirely uninteresting northern chapel. (De Kersers VII, 273.)

ST. THIBAUD, Cher. *Chapelle* of the XV century is a plain rectangular structure with oblique angle buttresses. (De Kersers VII, 54.)

VIMOUTIERS, Orne. *Vieille Église* consists of a nave, two side aisles, transepts, and a square choir. (De la Balle.)

BOURG-ACHARD, Eure. *Église.* Of the ancient edifice there remain only the choir and transepts built in the XVI century and interesting for their stained glass windows. (De la Balle; Benoist II, 64.)

IMBLEVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* destroyed during the English occupation, was reconstructed at the end of the XV century, the dedication being celebrated in 1522. Alterations were carried out in 1748–51, when the pointed arch of triumph separating choir and nave was erected, and in 1853–63 the choir was entirely demolished and rebuilt in its present form. (De la Balle.)

STE.-HONORINE-LA-CHARDONNE, Orne. *Église.* The choir and the two baron's chapels of the end of the XV century are characterized by angle buttresses and traceried windows. (De la Balle.)

MARTIGNY, Manche. *Église.* The date of the choir (1549–50) is known from two inscriptions. The edifice contains some ancient glass. (De la Balle; Benoist V, 47.)

LONGPAON, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* of the XV and XVI centuries, is chiefly remarkable for its windows. (Benoist.)

VISINE, Somme. *Église* of three aisles dates from the XV century. (Darsy.)

VIGNOUX-SOUS-LES-AIX, Cher. *Église.* The three-sided apse was reconstructed in the XVI century, but retains a corbel-table with grotesque carvings of the XII century. The entire edifice was restored in 1691, and the tower and nave are modern. (De Kersers VI, 248.)

SUBLIGNY, Cher. *Église* consists of a plaster-covered nave, a somewhat narrower choir, a polygonal apse, two rib-vaulted chapels of the XV century, and a north lateral tower. (De Kersers VII, 269.)

ÉCHAUFFOUR, Orne. *St. André* is for the most part a flamboyant structure. The tower is not without interest. (De la Balle.)

INFREVILLE, Eure. *Église.* The choir and the apse are of the end of the XV century, the insignificant tower is probably of the XIII century, and the vaulted nave is for the most part a work of the Renaissance. (De la Balle.)

LE VEUILLIN, Cher. *Église* is desecrated and at present converted into a grange. The choir of the XV century was two bays long and vaulted. (De Kersers IV, 220.)

HEURTEVENT, Calvados. *Église* is said to be of the XV century. (Benoist III, 70.)

ARDEVON, Manche. *Chapelle de St. Gilles* is said to be of the XV century.

BEAUVAIS, Oise. *Ste. Marguerite* is an unimportant monument of the flamboyant period.

VILLELOUP, Aube. *Église.* With the exception of the modern nave, this is an edifice of the XVI century. It consists of a nave, transepts, and a five-sided apse. The choir is vaulted and retains some fragments of its ancient glass. (Fichot I, 209.)

MONTSORT, Orne. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave without character, flamboyant transepts, a central tower of 1707, and a choir. The nave may be as early as the XII century, but the façade is of the XV century. (Antoine.)

PÉCHÉSEUL, Sarthe. *Chapelle St. Michel-d'Avoise* is said to have been constructed in 1539. (Wismes.)

FORMIGNY, Calvados. *Chapelle St. Louis-du-Val-de-Formigny* is an edifice of the XV century. (De la Balle.)

ATHIS, Orne. *Église* is said to be of the XV century. (Benoist.)

CHÉRY, Cher. *Église.* The single-aisled nave (which seems to be an older edifice made over in the XV century) and the western narthex tower bearing the date 1578 are the only surviving portions. The nave has angle buttresses. (De Kersers V, 209.)

MARTAINEVILLE, Somme. *St. Pierre* consists of a five-sided apse, a flamboyant choir, and an earlier nave. (Darsy.)

TOURNY, Eure. *Église.* This flamboyant edifice is a typical three-aisled country church.

LIVAROT, Calvados. *Église* seems to be mainly of the XV century, although the two dates 1625 and 1654 may be read on the façade. (Benoist III, 69.)

CORBIE, Somme. *Église de la Neuville-sous-Corbie.* The portal of the XV century is adorned with remarkable sculptures.

COURBOYER, Orne. *Chapelle du Château* is a flamboyant edifice. (Benoist.)

JUCOVILLE, Calvados. *Chapelle* is a charming construction of the XV century. (Benoist.)

CLAVILLE, Eure. *Église* of the XV century contains some fine windows. (Benoist II, 9.)

ANCOURT, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is remarkable for its seven windows filled with glass of the XVI century. (Benoist.)

TRUN, Orne. *Église.* This unimportant edifice is largely of the XVI century, but the bell tower, which stands detached to the north, is somewhat earlier. (De la Balle.)

ESSAY, Orne. *Chapelle du Château.* This desecrated edifice was erected in the XV century on more ancient foundations. (De la Balle.)

ROMAGNY, Manche. *Église* dates from the commencement of the XV century. (De la Balle.)

MAULEVRIER, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* was constructed in the XVI century. (De la Balle.)

SAGNY, Seine-et-Marne. *Église.* This ruined and desecrated edifice is said to be of the XV century. (Aufauvre et Fichot, 181.)

MEMOURS, Seine-et-Marne. *St. Jean-Baptiste.* This monument of the XVI century is supplied with an ambulatory.

NORMANVILLE, Eure. *Église*, of the XV century, contains fine glass.

BACQUEVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is of the XVI century. (Benoist.)

RAMBURELLES-LE-BOSQUET, Somme. *Église.* The low nave seems very ancient, but the loftier choir is of the XVI century. (Darsy.)

PASSAIS-LA-CONCEPTION, Orne. *Église* of the XV century is of little interest. It contains a single-aisled nave, transepts, and a western tower. (De la Balle.)

SANCEY,[1] Aube. *Église.* This vaulted cruciform edifice is a flamboyant structure entirely remodeled in the XIX century. (Fichot I, 258.)

GRON, Cher. *Église* consists of a single-aisled nave and a polygonal apse. It is of interest only for its glass of the XVI century. (De Kersers I, 228.)

LA SUZE, Sarthe. *Église.* The timber roof was remade in 1473. (Froger.)

GODERVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is in part of the XVI century, but has been much modernized. (Benoist I, 50.)

HAMBYE, Manche. *St. Pierre* is almost entirely modern with the exception of the fine porch of the XV century. (De la Balle.)

ST. AMAND,[2] Cher. *Chapelle des Carmes* is a late Gothic structure with a Renaissance façade. (De Kersers VI, 177.)

PARASSY, Cher. *Prieuré de Miehavant.* Some fragments of XV century architecture which formerly belonged to the apse of this chapel still survive. (De Kersers.)

PREY, Eure. *Église.* The southern portal of the XVI century is finely sculptured. (Benoist.)

LANDE D'AIRON, Manche. *Église* is of decadent style. (De la Balle.)

VILLEMOIRON, Aube. *Église* is almost entirely of the Renaissance. (Fichot I, 346.)

MONTFORT, Eure. *Église.* This almost entirely modern edifice is interesting only for its tower. (Benoist II, 60.)

VIEUX-BELLÊME, Orne. *St. Martin.* The XV century vaults and the tower fell in 1846. (De la Balle.)

SOLIERS, Calvados. *Chapelle Notre Dame-de-Fours* is a small monument of the XV century. (Benoist III, 33.)

BELLEUF, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The nave is said to be of the XVI century. (De la Balle.)

BOSC-GUÉRARD-ST.-ADRIEN, Seine-Inférieure, *Église* is of the XVI century. (De la Balle.)

ST. EUGIENNE, Manche. *Église* is of the XV and XVII centuries.

Chapelle de Prieuré.

ORBEC, Calvados. *Église* is of the XV or XVI century. (Benoist III, 68.)

Chapelle de l'Hôtel-Dieu is of the commencement of the XVI century. (Benoist III, 68.)

SANCERRE, Cher. *St. Denis* contains a sacristy of the XVI century. (De Kersers VII, 70.)

NORVILLE, Seine-Inférieure. *Église* is adorned with a tower of the XV century. (Benoist I, 52.)

SERVON, Manche. *Église* was rebuilt in the XVIII century, and decorated with a strange tower. The ancient gable of the chevet is, however, preserved, and

[1] Or St. Julien.

[2] Or St.-Amand-Mont-Rond.

a fine flamboyant window. The latter, as is known from an inscription, dates from 1526. (De la Balle.)

MONTIGNY, Seine-Inférieure. *Église.* The choir is of the XVI and XVII centuries, the nave of the XVI. (De la Balle.)

ST. LÉGER, Orne. *Église* is in part of the XV century. (Benoist.)

GRÉEZ-SUR-ROC, Sarthe. *Notre Dame.* Of the ancient edifice only the XV century door survives. (Vavaseur.)

MONTFEY, Aube. *Église* is of the XVI century.

ROUEZ, Sarthe. *Église.* The vaults are of the XVI century.

TILLOY, Somme. *Église* of the XVI century, contains some ancient glass.

TOUROUVRE, Orne. *St. Gilles* contains some XVI century glass.

VÉTHEUIL, Seine-et-Oise. *Église* is entirely flamboyant in style.

VILLERS-CANIVET, Calvados. *Église* is of the XV century.

MEULAN, Seine-et-Oise. *Église.* The chapel of St. Michel is of the XV century, but poorly preserved.

LE GRIPPON, Manche. *Chapelle* is of the XV century.

MESNIL-GUILLAUME, Calvados. *Église* is of interest for one stained glass window. (Benoist III, 66.)

FRAMICOURT, Somme. *Église* is of the XV century.

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